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MOROCCO

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

84096

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-FIRST.

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CONTENTS

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

	PAGE
ROUTE FROM TANGIER TO FEZ	1
MEQUINEZ	5
CITY OF FEZ	13
FROM RABAT TO MOGODORE	30
FROM MOGODORE TO MOROCCO	43
CITY OF MOROCCO	48
FROM FEZ TO OUSHDA	64
FROM SANTA CRUZ TO TARUDANT	70
MOUNT ATLAS	76
FROM TRIPOLI TO MOURZOUK	84
SOCKNA	95
BLACK MOUNTAINS	106
MOURZOUK	113
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF FEZZAN	121
FROM MOURZOUK TO GERMA AND GHRAAT	146
THE TUARICKS	159
FROM MOURZOUK TO TEGERHY	175
ZUELA	177
THE TIBBOOS	183
FROM TEGERHY TO KOUKA	191
BOUNDARIES AND PRESENT STATE OF BORNOU	215
FROM KOUKA TO MANDARA	235
FROM KOUKA TO LOGGUN	254
BEGHARMI	272
DAR FOOR	285

PAGE

FROM KOUKA TO KANO 298
KANO 309
FROM BADAGRY TO BOUSSA 318
KATUNGA 335
KIAMA 345
BOUSSA 350

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

CITY OF MOROCCO ..... *to face page* 48
SAND-STORM ON THE DESERT 104
CASTLE OF MOURZOUK 115
TUARICKS 159
TIBBOOS 183
MORA, THE CAPITAL OF MANDARA 238

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

AFRICA.

FROM TANGIER TO FEZ.

In pursuing the description of Morocco, we shall have the advantage of exploring the interior of this Moorish kingdom in company with a Traveller who appeared, to M. Chateaubriand, worthy of being descended from the great Saladin,—the accomplished Ali Bey el Abbassi.* The Author of Atala, delighted to find that his romance was known to the supposed Mohammedan stranger, thought him the most learned and polished Turk in the world. Unfortunately, the race of learned Moors or Turks is extinct: but, as the Spaniard travelled as a complete Moslem, and was every where received as such, by sultans, bashas, and moullahs, his narrative presents a faithful picture of Moorish society.

On the 26th of October (1803), the *pseudo*-moslem

* "Aussitot qu'il m' aperçut, il s'écria:—'Ah, mon cher Atala, et ma chère Rene.' Ali Bei me parut digne, dans ce moment, de descendre du grand Saladin."—Itinéraire, tom. iii. p. 37. Mr. Jackson says, that Badhia (his real name) was known in Morocco under the name of *Seed Hallebee*, i. e., the gentleman of Aleppo, of which city he professed to be a native; and that this title he chose to convert into Ali Bey.—Jackson's Shabeeny, p. 297.

Traveller left his encampment near the walls of Tangier, and crossing a branch of the Tetuan ridge of mountains,* (from the summit of which Cape Spartel is seen to the N.W.,) descended into the extensive plain watered by the *Mescharàdàschef* (Machirà *la chef*.) The next day's route lay chiefly S. W. over extensive verdant plains intermixed with small hills and abounding with springs. Some few Arabs were ploughing with oxen, and many flocks of sheep and herds of goats and oxen were seen; but, except a few miserable hamlets of thatched huts, and some Bedouin encampments, no signs of population presented themselves. On the third day, he passed for at least a quarter of a league through a forest of oak, called the Wood of Daraïzena, and after crossing the Wad'emhagen† and four ravines, encamped near Alcassar Kebir.

* "Upon the left of the road from Tetuan, almost as far as Alcassar, there runs a ridge of exceeding high and bulky mountains, called by the Moors, the mountains of Habib: the inhabitants of them cannot be reduced to the same degree of subjection with the rest of the country, yet, upon civil treatment, will bring the basha a contribution."—Windhus.

† On the banks of this river, the Elmahassen, was fought the memorable battle between Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, and the Moors, in which the Portuguese monarch was slain with the flower of his chivalry. "As this story had given matter to Sir Richard Steele to furnish the world with a paper of the heroical virtue of Muley Moluc," Windhus had the curiosity, he says, "to inquire whether they had any historical account thereof, but found only a traditional story, which most of them agreed in, differing much from Sir Richard Steele, who gives the praise of heroic virtue to the Moorish king, whereas the story of the country attributes it to a slave. Muley Moluc was a prince very much beloved by his people, but infirm, and at the time he left Morocco to defend his country against Don Sebastian, was so ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter; and when he came to Alcassar, (about six miles from the place where the battle was fought,) he there died. Upon which, a slave of his, called Mirwan, whose name the Moors to this day mention with great regard, because of the gallantry and service of the action, wisely considering the consequence of keeping secret

This town, seated on the southern bank of the Luccos, (here a deep and rapid stream, flowing W. ¼ N. W.) was built, towards the close of the twelfth century, by Sultan Almanzor. Ali Bey describes it as larger than Tangier, and the houses, which are of brick, are distinguished by the very unusual circumstance (in this country) of having sloping tiled roofs. Colonel Keatinge says, it is "a considerable, but not a populous place, dirty, straggling, and dilapidated; and its general appearance, especially towards evening, is picturesquely gloomy." It contains ten mosques, and is environed with walled gardens and orchards. The surrounding country is a flat tract of rich meadow land, which is flooded after the rains. There are many shops kept by Moors; the artisans are Jews; some of the inhabitants are reputed rich, and "the women," (another unusual circumstance) wear stockings. Alcassar is situated in lat. 35° 1′ 10″ N., long. 5° 49′ 30″ W.*

the death of a prince so well beloved by his people, at a time when two armies every day expected to join battle, contrived it so as to give out orders for the King as if he had been alive, making believe he was better than he used to be, till the battle was over; when the said slave (thinking he merited a better reward than he met with) wished the successor joy both of the victory and the empire. But the ungrateful prince caused him to be immediately put to death, saying, he had robbed him of the glory of the action. The Portuguese who were dispersed in the battle, could not believe for a long time that their king was slain, but ran up and down the country, crying out, *Onde esta el Rey*, Where is the King? The Moors often hearing the word *rey*, which in Arabic signifies good sense, told them, that if they had any *rey*, they had never come thither."

* "Alcassar was once a city of good note, and the seat of the governor of this part of the kingdom. It was built Jacob Almanzor, King of Fez, about the year 1180, and designed for a magazine and place of rendezvous for the great preparations he was making to enter Granada, and make good the footing his father, Joseph Almanzor, had got sometime before. This city is now very much fallen to decay, so that, of fifteen mosques, there are only two

The fourth day's route lay over the plains, the soil of which is rather sandy, but chiefly clay, and they were now covered with thistles, which being dry and very white, gave the ground the appearance of snow. On the following day, he crossed a hilly tract, and then descended into a vast plain, bounded, on the south, by a chain of mountains about twenty miles distant, and westward by a succession of small lakes. This is the great plain of Mamora, already described in Mr. Maritime route. He encamped on the left bank of the Seboo, then a very deep and rapid stream, and in this part about 180 feet in width. Its channel is a ravine with banks almost perpendicular, and about twenty-six feet above the level of the water. "All the rivers and brooks which I passed on my road," says our Author, "have their beds cut (through the clay) in the same manner; and as they run from east to west, and from the chain of mountains to the sea, they may be looked upon as ditches formed by nature, well adapted to military defence, which is aided by the number of their angles.....I was told, that it is formed by two large rivers; the Werga, from the east, and the Seboo, from the south. A smaller river called Ardat also falls into it." It is crossed by a ferry; but, owing to the height and slipperiness of the banks, and the want of a plank on which to pass into the boat, the passage of the river occupied three hours and a half.

in which they perform service; the reason of which decay, in all likelihood, is the bad situation thereof; standing so low that it is excessively hot in summer and almost drowned in winter. Superstition also has been its enemy, for it was cursed by one of their saints, who was cunning enough to foretell that it should be burned in summer, and drowned in winter····As for the drowning part, the river, being so swelled with the rains, generally overflows into the town. Here are a great number of storks."—Windhus. This Traveller adds, that some of the storks used to drop down dead every day during the heat of summer.

The mules, when unladen, being restive, it was requisite to lift them in and out of the boat by main force.

Proceeding the next day, still towards the S.W., our Traveller arrived, at the end of ten miles, at the bank of another large, deep, and rapid stream, called the Ordom. This was followed for some time; and after passing over "a small mountain of chalky rock; with slaty texture," the route again descended to the river, crossing it three times. About ten miles further, he reached the city of

MEQUINEZ.

VIEWED from the height of the road, Ali Bey says, this town, with its minarets, gardens, and olive-grounds, has a handsome appearance. It is surrounded with a triple wall, 15 feet high and 3 thick, enclosing a very spacious area. This is, in fact, the court town of the northern division of the empire, and is the frequent residence of the Sultan; an honour for which it is indebted to the serenity of the air. The inhabitants have the reputation of superior polish and hospitality; and the ladies, Mr. Jackson assures us, are all extremely handsome.* Many of the Jews are affluent. There was formerly a Spanish hospitium here, as well as at Morocco; but it has long been deserted by the monks. The palace is very neat, chiefly in the moresque style: the marble columns and other decorations are said to have been brought from *Kassar Farawan* (*Kasr Pharaoun*), about a day's journey to the eastward. Thus far our more

* Jackson, p. 68. He describes them as having a fair complexion, with black eyes and hair. The population of Mequinez he estimates at 110,000 souls.

recent authorities: Windhus gives the following account of this capital, a century ago.

"Mequinez was of small note before the emperor chose to build his palace there; though, according to Leo Africanus, it was, about 200 years ago, a place of considerable trade and riches, but since almost ruined by the civil wars. It is situated in a delightful plain,* having a very serene and clear air, which made the emperor make it his place of residence, rather than Fez, and is now (1721) in a more flourishing condition than ever, being the metropolis to which the bashaws and alcaydes resort with the tributes and presents every two or three years, according to the emperor's pleasure. In the middle of the city live the Jews, having a place to themselves, the gates of which are locked at night: they live in great subjection. Close to Mequinez, on the north-west side, only divided by a road, stands a large negro town, that takes up as much ground as the city; but the houses are not so high nor well built: its inhabitants are all blacks or tawnies, out of whom the emperor recruits the soldiers for his court.... The palace is about four miles in circumference, and stands upon even ground, in form almost square, and no hill to overlook it. It is built of a rich mortar, without either brick or stone, except for pillars and arches, and the mortar so well wrought that the walls are like one entire piece of terrace. The whole building is exceeding massy, and the walls in every part very thick: the outward one is about a mile long and twenty-five feet thick. The inside of

* Ali Bey states, that the surrounding country, which, at a distance, appeared to be a level plain, is, in fact, composed of a labyrinth of round hills, between which the Ordom and some small brooks form innumerable windings. The soil is sandy, with little clay, and produces nothing but palms and olives.

the best part of the palace consists of divers oblong squares, a great deal bigger than Lincoln's Inn Fields, having piazzas all round. Some of the squares are checkered throughout the whole space; others have gardens in the middle, that are sunk very deep, and planted round with tall cypress-trees, the tops of which, appearing above the rails, make a beautiful prospect of palace and garden intermixed. There are likewise dispersed throughout the palace, several buildings which they call *cobahs*: they are built square with plain walls on the outside, except the front, which consists of piazzas of five or six arches. The inside is one very large and lofty room or hall, checkered at bottom, and on the sides to almost the height of a man; the top or dome curiously painted and richly gilt; the roof is covered with green tiles, and rises like a pyramid.

"It is reported, that thirty thousand men and ten thousand mules were employed every day in the building of this palace; which is not at all improbable, seeing it is built of hardly any thing but lime, and every wall worked with excessive labour. The emperor never parts with any money, either to defray the expenses of war or of building, and has caused this large and magnificent palace to be erected, without expending a *blankill** towards it; but, instead of money, he gives the alcayde of his buildings a government, which, at present, is all that country lying between Mequinez and Tremezen, a large tract of ground, and a very fruitful soil; but, considering the continual employment and unlimited expenses which his office obliges him to, it is thought he cannot get

* A silver coin equal to one-fourth of a *dirham* or ounce. Five *dirhams* make a half-ducat.

any thing for himself, more than what suffices for his maintenance. The emperor is wonderfully addicted to building; yet, it is a question whether he is more addicted to that or to pulling down; for they say, if all his buildings were now standing, by a moderate computation, they would reach to Fez, twelve leagues off; and those who have been near him since the beginning of his reign, have observed him eternally building and pulling down, shutting up doors, and breaking out new ones in the walls. But he tells them, that this is done to occupy his people; for, says he, 'If I have a bag full of rats, unless I keep that bag stirring, they will eat their way through.' He has also dug many strange caverns in the earth, of all sizes; some for corn, others for powder, arms, brimstone, and money; of which latter, it is suspected he leaves no witnesses when it is finished."*

The ancient ruins above referred to as having furnished the ornamental architecture of the imperial palace, were visited by Mr. Jackson in returning from Fez to Tangier. His first stage was to the renowned sanctuary of Muley Dris Zerone, which gives its name

* Windhus in Pinkerton, vol. xv. pp. 484, 5; 469, 70. A minute description is given of the interior of the palace, for which we must refer the reader to the original. The emperor was at this time about 87 years of age, and had reigned 53 years, having succeeded his brother Muley Archid in 1672, though not without a sanguinary struggle. His mother was a black, but he had nothing of the negro features. He appears to have been an execrable tyrant, and his reign was a reign of terror, though not without some redeeming circumstances. At the beginning of his reign, the roads were so infested with robbers, that it was dangerous to stir out of the towns without being well guarded; but he succeeded in clearing them, so as to render travelling perfectly safe. He had also the merit of maintaining his empire in peace, and of clearing the sea-coast of the Spaniards. His Moorish subjects were less esteemed or trusted by him, than the negroes and mulattoes.

to a town situated on the declivity of the northern Atlas. Here, the standard of Mohammed was first planted in North-western Africa by the fakeer and prince of that name, the founder of the Idrisites. Half an hour after leaving this place, and at the foot of the mountain, he "perceived," he says, "to the left of the road, magnificent and massive ruins. The country, for miles round, is covered with broken columns of white marble. There were still standing two porticoes about 30 feet high and 12 wide, the top composed of one entire stone. I attempted to take a view of these immense ruins, which have furnished marble for the imperial palaces at Mequinas and Tafilelt; but I was obliged to desist, seeing some persons of the sanctuary following the cavalcade. Pots and kettles of gold and silver coins are continually dug up from these ruins. The country, however, abounds with serpents, and we saw many scorpions under the stones that my conductor turned up. These ruins are said by the Africans to have been built by one of the Pharaohs: they are called *Kasser Farawan.*"* The Author even fancied that the ruins appeared to be "of the Egyptian and massive style of architecture;" and he reproves the incredulity of those who say that no Pharaoh ever came so far west. The discovery of some Egyptian coins would be, indeed, delightful. This romantic anticipation, however, is unfortunately dissipated by the somewhat more distinct account of these ruins, furnished by an earlier Traveller, Windhus, who took this route about a

* Jackson's Shabeeny, p. 120. We know not whether this be the site referred to by D'Anville, who, after fixing *Julia Campestris* at Babba, adds: "*Volubilis* may with more confidence be assigned to a place named *Gualili*, which preserves fragments of antiquity."

hundred years ago. After mentioning the sanctuary of Muley Idris, he adds: "Here is a city that takes its name from the said saint,* which stands close under the high mountain Zarhon, which, they say, runs as far as the great mountain Atlas. Almost a league from this city, upon a gentle rising hill, remain some ruins of a very ancient and noble building, which the Moors call *Cassar Pharaon*, Pharaoh's Castle, who, they told us, was a *Christian*, but could not give any further account thereof. These ruins stand about 140 miles S. of Tetuan, and 16 N. E. of Mequinez. One building seems to be part of a triumphal arch, there being several broken stones that bear inscriptions, lying in the rubbish underneath, which were fixed higher than any part now standing. It is 56 feet long and 15 thick, both sides exactly alike, built with very hard stones, about a yard in length and half a yard thick. The arch is 20 feet wide and about 26 high. The inscriptions are upon large flat stones, which, when entire, were about five feet long, and three broad, and the letters on them above 6 inches long. A bust lay a little way off, very much defaced, and was the only thing to be found that represented life, except the shape of a foot seen under the lower part of a garment, in the niche on the other side of the arch. About 100 yards from the arch stands good part of the front of a large square building, which is 140 feet long and about 60 high: part of the four corners are yet standing, but very little remains, except these of the front. Round the hill may be seen the foundation of a wall about two miles in cir-

* "The town, in the centre of which stands the sanctuary, contains about 5000 inhabitants."—Jackson's Shabeeny. In his former work, this Writer had assigned it 12,000!

cumference, which inclosed these buildings; on the inside of which lie scattered, all over, a great many stones of the same size the arch is built with, but hardly one stone left upon another. The arch, which stood about half a mile from the other buildings, seemed to have been a gateway, and was just high enough to admit a man to pass through on horseback."*

The route taken by this Traveller, after leaving Alcassar, lay through Sidi Cassem, a small town situated at the foot of the ridge which incloses the plain of Mamora to the southward;† it takes its name from

* Windhus in Pinkerton, vol. xv. p. 463.

† Sidi Cassem stands in the direct route, apparently, from Fez to Rabat. It is difficult to understand Ali Bey's account of this part of the country. After leaving Fez, he proceeded in a direction chiefly W.N.W., till he descended into the plain watered by the Ordom, which he crossed in a westerly direction, and in about two hours encamped on the left bank of the river, near, as it should seem, Sidi Cassem. The next day, he proceeded W.S.W., passed, in four hours and a half, the Bet river, flowing N.N.E., and encamped three quarters of an hour further. The country which he had been crossing, consisted at first, he says, of a vast plain, bounded southward by the mountain by which he kept moving; while a chain of small hills was seen at a great distance to the north. "The plain to the west seemed to lose itself in the horizon; at noon, we reached its western limits, and I found that this vast plain was nothing else than a large flat, *raised above the continent to the west*, which, from these limits, was discovered as if one had been placed on an immense balcony. We descended between mountains *whose tops were beneath the level of the flat*; and I observed also, that the mountains to our left spread greatly towards the south. After the passage of the river, the road passes through valleys." Ali Bey, vol. i. pp. 122, 3. His subsequent route to Rabat was W.S.W., declining to S.W., over "vast plains cut by ravines," and "small hills intermixed with vast valleys;" he passed, in one place, through a wood of willows, then one of lentisks, and afterwards some woods of high holme-oak, broom, and almond-tree. For the first three days after leaving Fez, he did not see a single tree.

the shrine of a saint, which is a great centre of attraction, and a very large corn and cattle fair is held here. Immediately after leaving this town, the road crosses a rocky mountain, the descent of which is so steep and stony, that a little wet would make it impassable for horses. In four hours and a half, the party encamped in the plain of Muley Idris, near the sanctuary, which is held in so great veneration, that travellers to Mequinez, we are told, go considerably out of their way to say their prayers at it. The country passed through is described as pleasant and fertile, though a great part lies waste and uncultivated; and the hills and mountains yield plenty of olives. In three hours and a half from Muley Idris, the party encamped within three miles of Mequinez."* That city was their *ultimatum*.

We now return to Ali Bey, who, proceeding from Mequinez in a direction E.N.E., reached in ten hours the ancient capital of the Moorish kingdom of Fez, of which he gives the following description.

* From Alcassar to the banks of the Seboo, this Traveller makes to be 36 miles; thence over the plain to Sidi Cassem 20 miles; to Muley Idris, four hours and a half; and thence to Mequinez about four hours. The total distance from Alcassar by this route, therefore, must be about 84 miles, and from Tetuan about 154. Ali Bey was seven days in journeying from Tangier to Mequinez, but his cavalcade moved at the slow rate of only two miles an hour, and, on the average, between seven and eight hours per day. This would make the distance less than 120 miles. Mequinez is, according to this Traveller, 25 miles W.S.W. of Fez; (Jackson places it to the N.W.; Windhus makes it "about 12 leagues westward of Fez," but he speaks from report;) and 66 miles E. of Rabat. Mequinez stands, according to Ali Bey's map, in long. 5° 30′ W., lat. 33° 58′ 30″ N. A typographical error in the English edition makes the latitude to be 35° 58′ 30″.

FEZ.

"FEZ is situated on the slope of several hills, which surround it on every side except the north and north-east. The streets are very dark, because they are not only so narrow that two men on horseback can hardly ride together, but also because the houses, which are very high, have, on the first floor, a projection which intercepts much of the light. This inconvenience is increased by a sort of galleries or passages which connect the upper parts of the houses, and by the high walls which are raised at certain distances from one side of the street to the other, as if to support the houses. This custom I also met with at Tetuan and Alcassar. These walls have arched passages, which are shut at night; and the city then becomes divided into several quarters, and all communication between one part of the town and the rest is effectually precluded.

"As the town is built on inclined planes, and the ground is not paved, the streets are very dirty, especially in rainy weather. It is then impossible to walk, without being up to the knees in mud. When it is fine, they are clean enough, because no nuisances are suffered to remain in them. But their interior aspect is as disagreeable as that of every other African town, from the number of high walls of houses, which always seem in a state of ruin. Many are actually propped up; almost all are without windows; and the few windows that we meet with, are not larger than a common sheet of paper: they are placed very high, and are generally either shut or covered with blinds, from jealousy. The doors have a shabby and mean appearance. Behind these high walls, we sometimes find houses whose inside presents something

like beauty; but the general taste of the country requires that a mansion be composed of a court-yard, surrounded with a colonnade, which forms a kind of gallery, both above and below. By these galleries we reach their adjoining rooms, which usually have their light only from the door, and on this account the door is made rather large. The rooms are very long and very narrow, like those of Tangier. The ceiling, made of planks, is very lofty, and, in common houses, without any ornament. In other houses, the ceiling, the doors of the rooms, and the arcades of the court-yard, are decorated with arabesques in relievo, and painted with various colours, even covered with gold and silver. The floors of all the rooms are of bricks, and, in rich houses, of flat, square Dutch tiles, or of marble of different colours, placed in such a manner as to form designs rather pleasing. The staircases are very narrow, and the stairs high. The roofs of the houses resemble those of Tangier, and are covered with stamped earth, about one foot thick. This heavy load crushes the walls, without sheltering the houses from rain; and as they are made of bad lime, because the people are ignorant how to work it, they soon give way. Hence, few houses are durable. Almost all the walls are fissured, or bulging, or leaning out of the perpendicular, which gives them an appearance of ruins and destruction.

"Fez has a great number of mosques; it is said that they amount to more than two hundred. The principal one is called *El Caroubin*, which contains above three hundred pillars; but it is of a heavy and mean construction. In its architecture, it is not unlike the great mosque of Tangier, except that it has a greater number of arches, but of the same size, form, and proportion as in the other. This building

is constructed of bricks, stones, and lime, but without pillars or any other architectural ornament. It has a great number of gates, and two handsome fountains in the court. But this famous temple is not to be compared with the cathedral which I saw at Cordova in Spain; the latter is infinitely superior in magnificence and in size. The tower or minaret of the Caroubin is small, and without any striking effect.

"The plan on which this mosque, and almost all the mosques of this country, are built, is uniform. They all have a yard surrounded by arcades, and on the southern part, a covered square or parallelogram, supported by several rows of arcades. In the middle of the main wall, facing south or south-east, is the *El Mehreb*, the niche where the Imaum places himself to direct the prayers. At the left side is a small staircase or pulpit, called *El Moubar*, from which the sermon is preached every Friday. The same distribution is visible in the cathedral of Cordova.

"The *Caroubin*, like all monuments of this kind, is not adorned with any paintings: the floor is covered with mats, a general custom in all religious buildings of this nature. The attendants of the place have three indifferent clocks in the minaret, by which they regulate the hours for prayer. On the terrace are two small horizontal sun-dials, to mark the time of noon; at my arrival, they were in such an incorrect position, that they differed by four or five minutes from the true time; observing this, I drew a line to fix the true east direction, and had the satisfaction to hear the hour of noon announced at the exact moment.

"The minaret contains also a terrestrial globe, an armillary sphere, and a celestial globe; they were all made in Europe about a hundred years ago; and as the Mahometans do not know how to use them, they are abandoned to the dust, damp, and the rats; hence

it is impossible, I will not say, to read them, but even to decipher the letters or to see the figures. In another room, there is a collection of old books, which have shared the same fate. I made many exertions to discover the complete works of the famous Titus Livius, which are supposed to have been in this library; but all my researches were fruitless. I saw nothing like them; and every person whom I consulted upon this subject, could not tell me whether it was in existence. I should have been more scrutinizing in my inquiries, but that I was obliged to desist, that I might not become suspected, and give rise to unfavourable prejudices. The great mosque of Fez can boast of the singularity of having a covered place for women who may choose to participate in the public prayers. This is a circumstance unique and peculiar to this building; for, as the Prophet has not assigned any place for women in his paradise, the Mahometans give them no places in the mosques, and have exempted them from the obligation of frequenting the public prayers.

"There is a new mosque, which has been finished by the present sultan, Muley Soliman; it is constructed with more elegance than the others, its arches being more elevated, and its pillars in better proportion; but the plan is just the same as in the rest.

"The mosque the most frequented at Fez, and the least similar to the others, is that which is dedicated to the Sultan Muley Edris, the founder of Fez, and who, of course, is venerated as a saint: his ashes are deposited in this sanctuary.*

"This temple, like all monuments of this kind, has

* "*The veneration of the inhabitants* for Muley Edris is so great, that, in all the situations of life, and in all their spontaneous emotions, they invoke Muley Edris instead of the Almighty."

a court-yard surrounded with arcades; but the covered part is a large square saloon without any arches or pillars; its roof is very lofty, of wood, and decorated with arabesques; it forms an octagonal pyramid, supported only by the four walls of the saloon. The sepulchre of the Sultan Muley Edris is at the right side of the Imaum's niche, and is covered with a checkered cloth of various colours, which has become very dirty from the devotion of numerous votaries. A great number of glass lamps and crystal lustres are suspended in the interior of the saloon. On both sides of the sepulchre, two large trunks are placed, to receive the pecuniary offerings of the faithful. The minaret is the finest and highest in Fez; but it is not much seen, because, being seated in the middle of the city, it stands on low ground. At the bottom of the minaret is a pleasant building, with many apartments, from which there is a charming prospect. In one of its rooms is a good collection of clocks, two of which are very handsome: it may be easily supposed that these clocks were made in Europe; for not only the art of making, but even that of cleaning and regulating them, is here entirely unknown. They shewed me a very old metal one, which was quite deranged, and told me that a Moor had made it; but, from its construction, I saw directly the falsity of the assertion.

"This sanctuary is, perhaps, the most sacred asylum in all the country: the greatest criminal, had he even committed the crime of high treason, is there in safety, and no one would dare to arrest him.

"The other mosques are small and mean, except that belonging to the palace of the Sultan, which is large, but not of a better construction than the remainder; it has no one feature of beauty to distinguish it from the rest.

"The palace of the Sultan is composed of a great number of court-yards, some of them are half-finished, and some are already half-dilapidated; they serve for entrances into apartments which I have not seen. From the first court-yard to the last, we meet with guards, or with closed gates, which are never opened but to the officers or servants of the household, or to persons who have a particular privilege.

"In the third court-yard, there is a small wooden house, not unlike those of the custom-house officers in Europe; four steps lead to it; its inside is covered with a painted cloth; the floor is covered with a carpet; a bed with curtains is placed opposite the door; on one side is an arm-chair, and on the other a small mattress. This cabinet is not more than 15 feet square, and is the place where the Sultan receives, lying on a bed, or seated in an arm-chair, those who have obtained permission to be presented to him, but who never come within the door; his favourites alone pass through that, and sit down on the small mattress near the bed; this favour was always granted to me.

"In the same yard, there is a chapel or small mosque, where the Sultan makes his daily prayers, except on Fridays, when he visits the great mosque of the palace, which is open to the public by a door which leads into the street.

"In the second yard is the office of the minister; it is small, low, and damp, and at the bottom of a small staircase; it is about 5 feet wide by 8 long; its walls are extremely black, and are crumbling away; it has no other furniture than an old carpet, which covers the floor. The minister is generally found squatting down in a corner of this miserable hole, with a common inkhorn at his side, his papers

in a silk handkerchief, with a little book in which he makes his notes. When he goes out, he closes his inkhorn, wraps his papers and memorandum-book in the handkerchief, and puts them under his arm, so that, wherever he moves, he always carries his archives with him.

"This palace is situated on an elevation, and in a quarter or suburb out of the town, which is called *New Fez*. The Jews are forced to live in this quarter, where they are locked up every night.

"There is no other remarkable building to be seen at Fez. The houses of Muley Abdsulem and other persons of the first rank, have nothing which distinguish them externally from the habitations of the people. The inside is not much better, except in their gardens. The Sultan's garden is near the palace; it is but a common kitchen garden, with some trees and a few buildings for ornament. It is called *Bouchelou*.

"The river of Fez crosses the palace. Entering the town, it divides into two arms, which furnish water in abundance to the houses and mosques, so that there is scarcely a house without a fountain. The least considerable buildings have two, and sometimes more of them. The town has many water-mills.

"The number of shops is so very great as to give an appearance of a population of 3 or 400,000 inhabitants. But it is necessary to observe, that this multitude of shops forms a sort of continual fair, to which the inhabitants of the country and of the mountains daily resort to purchase what they want. These people, being divided into small douars, have neither shops nor work-places of any kind among themselves, and are therefore obliged to supply themselves in the town.

"The markets for provisions are very numerous,

and may be compared to those of Europe with regard to the abundance of all kinds of productions. There are also plenty of shops where victuals ready dressed are to be had, as in most of the large towns of Europe.

"The various trades, and the different articles for sale, are divided into classes in separate streets, so that one sees a whole street occupied only by one profession or one kind of trade; others are filled with shops for cloth, shops for silk, and productions brought from over sea, and from the place called *Elcaïsseria*. This part is always well provided with European goods imported by sea, as also with those brought by caravans from the east, and from the interior of Africa.

"The Elcaïsseria, as well as many of the other streets that are filled with shops, are covered with wood shaped into arabesques, with openings or windows of various forms to admit air and light. These streets are in general kept very clean. The crowd assembled there every day, is as numerous as at a fair, and might be roughly compared to the galleries of the Palais Royal at Paris. The Mahometan beauties frequent it, but always wrapt up in their mysterious *hhaïks*, which, however, they are cunning enough to open now and then.

"Fez contains a great number of public baths. Some of them are good, and consist of several rooms, which are heated to different temperatures; so that you may always choose that which suits you best. In all these rooms you find large basins, into which hot water is continually coming from the boilers placed behind, and also numerous stone bottles, which serve either for bathing or for making the necessary legal ablutions. On entering these rooms, all the body

is covered with a subtile dew, because the atmosphere is completely saturated with the vapour of the hot water.

"I took my thermometer to one of the best public baths, and placed it in one of the most retired, and, of course, the hottest room. It rose there to 30° Reaumur. Two rooms further off, where I dressed myself, it marked 22°. In the open air, it was at 9°. In the same exterior room was a fountain, which throws a great body of water into a handsome marble basin. All the rooms are vaulted, and without windows; they have only small holes in the roof to receive the day-light, which are filled with glass. The floor is checkered with well-arranged various colours. The rooms, which are always heated from below, contain small closets to withdraw to and make the ablutions.

"The baths are all the day open to the public. The men go there in the morning, and the women in the evening. I went there generally at night, and took the whole house to myself, in order to prevent interruption from strangers; some friends, and two of my servants, usually accompanied me. The first time I went there, I observed that pails full of hot water were placed with symmetry in the corners of every room and cabinet. I asked the reason of this. 'Do not touch them, sir,' answered all the people belonging to the bath; 'do not touch them!' Why not? 'These pails are for the people below.' Who are they? 'The demons who come here to bathe themselves at night.' On this topic they told me many ridiculous stories. As I have this long while declared war against the devil and all his earthly vicegerents, I had the satisfaction of employing in my

bath some of these pails of water, and of thus depriving these poor devils of their entertainment.

"Fez has a hospital which is very richly endowed, but it is used only for the treatment of lunatics. It is very strange, that a great part of the funds to maintain this establishment, has been bequeathed by the wills of various charitable testators for the express purpose of assisting and nursing sick cranes and storks, and of burying them when dead. They believe that the storks are men from some distant islands, who, at certain seasons of the year, take the shape of birds to come here; that they return again at a certain time to their country, where they resume their human form till the next season. For this reason, it would be considered as a crime to kill one of these birds. They tell thousands of ridiculous stories upon this occasion. Undoubtedly, it is the utility of these animals, who are continually making war against the reptiles which abound so much in hot climates, which has occasioned the general respect for them and the anxiety for their preservation. But the love of the marvellous here, as elsewhere, has substituted absurd fables for the actual truth.

"The government of Fez is like that of the other towns of the empire. The Kaïd or Governor, as the lieutenant of the Sovereign, has the executive power: the Kadi is charged with the civil jurisdiction. A minister called *Al Motassen* fixes the price of provisions, and decides all points that arise on this branch of the public service. The Governor has some soldiers under his orders. I have not seen any other guard than the porters at the entrance of the town and at the gates of some of the streets.

"Fez is surrounded with vast chains of walls, which

are very old and in a state of utter decay. In this inclosure, New Fez and a number of large gardens are comprised. On two of the elevations on the east and west of the town, two strong castles, very ancient, are to be seen; they consist of some square walls, about 60 feet in front. It is said, that there are subterraneous passages which communicate between them and the town. Whenever the people revolt against the Sultan, cannon are planted on the castles, with a hundred soldiers as their guard, though this would be but a miserable defence.

"The town contains a great number of schools. The most distinguished are established at the mosques of Caroubin and of Muley Edris, in a small house and mosque called *Emdarsa*, or academy.

"In order to form an idea of the manner of instruction, imagine a man sitting down on the ground with his legs crossed, uttering frightful cries, or singing in a tone of lamentation. He is surrounded by fifteen or twenty youths, who sit in a circle, with their books or writing-tables in the hand, and repeat the cries and songs of their master, but in complete discordance. This will give an exact notion of these Moorish schools. As to the subjects which are treated of here, I can assert that, though disguised by various names, morality and legislation identified with their worship and dogmas, are the sole topics; that is to say, all their studies are confined to the Koran and its commentators, and to some trifling principles of grammar and logic, which are indispensable for reading and understanding even a little of the venerated text. From what I have seen, I believe that most of the commentators do not understand themselves. They drown their meaning in an ocean of subtilties or pretended metaphysical reasoning, and entangle

themselves often in such a manner, that they are unable to extricate themselves. They then invoke the predestination or absolute will of God, and thus reconcile every thing.

"For geometry, they have *Euclid*, whose work they shewed me in great folio volumes, much corroded, because no one has the courage to read it, and still less to copy it, except, perhaps, a dozen of pages. For cosmogony, they rest on the Koran: their cosmography is taken from Ptolemy, whom they call *B-tlaïmous*. Their astronomy is reduced to a few of the first principles which are necessary to their calculating the time by the sun, with astrolabes, very clumsy, and constructed separately for each latitude. As to mathematics, they know nothing but the solution of a small number of problems. They study no geography. In physics, they follow Aristotle, but scarcely give him the least attention. Metaphysics are their delight; and the doctors consume all their moral powers in the study of this science. Chemistry is unknown to them; but they have some notions of alchemy, and now and then some miserable adepts appear. Anatomy is entirely banished by their religion, on account of their legal purity, their ideas on the dead, on the separation of the sexes, &c., &c. In medicine, they study only a few miserable empirics, and know nothing about the old masters of this art. Their therapeutic is always mixed with superstitious or cruel treatment. Natural history offers the same difficulties as anatomy. Their law prohibits paintings, drawings, and statues; and the Mahometan gravity leaves entirely the practice of music to the female sex, and to the lowest class of the people; hence they have no liberal arts, and no pleasures or agreeable occupation.

"The study of astronomy is confounded with astrology: every one who looks into the skies to know the time of day, or of the new moon, is considered by the people as an astrologer, or prophet, who can foretell the fate of the king, of the empire, and of individuals. They have some astrological books, and this talent is very much respected with them. It opens the road to high places at court, on account of the influence which the astrologers exert both in public and private affairs.

"This empire has some historians or authors who have written on this country and its inhabitants; but their works are very little read: they are quite ignorant of the history of other nations.

"Their language is in a state of extreme degradation; they have no printing-offices; and the great imperfection of their writing arises from the circumstance, that they frequently confound the letters with the dots and accents. These circumstances united destroy the little scientific knowledge that remains; so that it happens very often that the inhabitants do not understand each other. It is a formidable task to them to read a written paper, which very often the writer himself is unable to decipher. This may account for the circumstance, that when the famous orientalist Golius came into this country, he could not understand a word of their Arabic, but was obliged to make use of an interpreter.

"This imperfection in the language and in writing, forces the inhabitants to read it as if singing; it makes them also confound the meaning of the phrases, which, besides, are not distinguished by any orthographical punctuation, but only by quiverings and cadences: these give the reader the time necessary

for him to comprehend the meaning of the writing, which he would not be able to do, if it were read to him rapidly. If an individual is found to read the Koran with facility, or any other book, it is because he has learned it by heart. I speak from repeated experience. I have often stopped the reader in the midst of his reading; but, though he has had the book before him, as if reading it, he could never, if interrupted, continue his reading, nor find again in the page of the book the place at which he had been stopped. Hence, they read like parrots; and the book which is before them serves for nothing but to make them appear learned. Such is the state of knowledge at Fez,—a town which might be considered, if the comparison could be allowed, as the Athens of Africa, from the great number of doctors and pretended men of learning, and from the schools, which are generally frequented by two thousand scholars at a time.

"This town contains about two thousand Jewish families, whose quarter is in the suburbs of New Fez. They live in the most abject state. The contempt of the Moorish inhabitants is so great for them, that they are not permitted to come into the town, whether male or female, without walking barefoot. When they meet even the most common soldier, or the most miserable negro belonging to the King's house, whether in town or country, they are obliged to take off their slippers. Notwithstanding this degrading state, and the continual vexations they every day receive, I have seen at Fez a great number of handsome Jewesses, elegantly dressed, and also some Jews who had a very prosperous appearance, which I never remarked at Tangier: this is a proof that they are not so poor and miserable here as they appear to be in the other city. They have several synagogues in their

quarter, and a market-place which is well provided : they are almost all either artisans or merchants.

" The manufactures of Fez are, woollen hhaïks, sashes, and silk handkerchiefs; slippers of very good leather, which they possess the art of tanning in a high perfection; red caps of felt; some coarse linen cloth; very fine carpets, which I thought to be preferable to those of Turkey in their softness, though inferior in pattern; some very common earthenware; some weapons, sadler's ware, and copper utensils. There are several goldsmiths, but, as the application of gold and silver in dress is considered as a sin, and the Government is very despotic, every one is afraid of shewing much luxury. From this circumstance, the arts find no encouragement, and are by far inferior to those of Europe, except in the preparation of leather, and in the fabrication of carpets and of hhaïks, which the manufacturers know how to weave as fine and as transparent as gauze; they are also pretty clever in wax-works, weapons, and harness.

" The couscoussou is the chief part of the food for the people. Their consumption of meat is considerable, but they use few vegetables. In their meat, they are extremely fond of the fat, which they eat with avidity, drinking after it plenty of cold water: this causes some disorders, but, as the climate is very wholesome, the people in general enjoy good health. This country produces in abundance a kind of narcotic plant called *kiff*: as it only grows in spring, I have not seen it in blossom, but only dried, and almost reduced to powder.* In order to make use of it, they boil it with a good deal of butter in an earthen pot for twelve hours together; they afterwards strain

* *Kief* is the seed of the *hashisha*, a species of hemp.

the butter, and it serves to season their victuals; or they mix it with sweetmeats, or swallow it in the form of pills. It is said, that, in whatever form it be taken, its effect is very certain: others smoke the leaves of the plant instead of tobacco. I have been told that its merit is, that it does not intoxicate, but raises the spirits, and fills the imagination with agreeable fancies. I must own, that I never felt inclined to try it.

"As I remained at Fez during the winter, I saw no fruit except oranges and some very good sweet lemons. Various kinds of dates came from all the southern parts of the country, or from Taffilet. The mutton was of a better quality than the beef. Poultry was in great abundance at the markets, and for four or five shillings, one might buy a dozen fowls. About twenty pounds of meat may be had at the same price. The bread is pretty good at the baker's, but most people prepare their loaves themselves, and give them to young children, who go about in the streets with a board, to carry them to the baker, and to bring them back when done. It is the fashion to drink sour milk, but I could not accustom myself to it.

"During all my stay at Fez, I found the climate very mild; but they told me that in summer the heat is suffocating. In winter, I felt the cold as much as in Europe, but the thermometer of Reaumur did not fall below 4° above nought. The average height of the barometer was about 27 inches. The abundance of water keeps the atmosphere in a high state of humidity, and almost always with so much mist, that astronomical observations were hardly practicable even in the serenest days." *

* Ali Bey, vol. i. pp. 67—82. On the 13th January, 1804, the shock of an earthquake was felt at Fez, which caused many dis-

The city is situated, according to our Traveller, in latitude 34° 6′ 3″ N., longitude 4° 58′ 15″ W. It is impossible to compute exactly the number of the inhabitants; but he was told, that it contained about 100,000 souls, and that before the last plague, they were double that number. Mr. Jackson estimates the population of the old and new city at 380,000 souls; (an assertion, Malte Brun has remarked, too extravagant for discussion;) while, by other authorities, it is brought down as low as 60,000, and even 30,000 souls.* Fez (or, as Mr. Jackson strenuously contends it should be written, Fas) was founded about the 185th year of the Hejira (A. D. 786) by the renowned Muley Idris. It consists in fact of two distinct towns, *Fas el Bâlee* (Old Fez) and *Fas Jedide* (New Fez). The latter, which was founded in the thirteenth century, is built on an eminence commanding the old city, surrounded with gardens abounding with all sorts of delicious fruits and odoriferous flowers. "Westward, towards the Emperor's palace, stands a castle built by one of the princes of the Luntuna family, wherein the Kings of Fas kept their court before the palace was built; but, when New Fas was begun by the sovereigns of the Marin dynasty, the castle became the residence of the governor of the city."† The river which supplies the town with water, is called, on account of its value, *Wed el Juhor* (the river of pearls): it comes from the south, and falls into the Seboo, which passes within six miles of the city. The situation of the old city is very singular, at the bottom of a valley, which is formed by the surrounding hills into a sort of funnel. This

asters on the Spanish coast, and was also felt at Madrid. It began at thirty-nine minutes after five P. M., lasted twenty seconds, and made thirty oscillations; the first four or six were very strong.

* Jackson, p. 25. Malte Brun, iv. p. 189.

† Jackson, p. 72.

city was formerly held in so high veneration, that when the pilgrimage to Mecca was interrupted in the fourth century of the Hejira, the western Moslems, as a substitute, repaired to Fez, while the eastern journeyed to Jerusalem. After it had begun to decline, Fez unexpectedly revived, owing to the numerous refugees driven thither from Spain, by the impolitic and savage bigotry of its government. By these Spanish Moors was introduced the mode of dressing goat and sheep skins, then known by the name of Cordovan,* but which has since acquired the name of Morocco. The city has shared in the general declension of the Moorish power; and when the kingdom of Fez was swallowed up in that of Morocco, it finally lost its political importance.

FROM RABAT TO MOROCCO.

Ali Bey resided at Fez for nearly four months (from Nov. 5, to Feb. 27); he then proceeded, by way of Sidi Cassem and Rabat, to Morocco. His route from Rabat to the Morbeya lay along the coast, which is there composed of inaccessible rocks, against which, even in calm weather, the sea beats furiously. The country consists of small hills of chalky rocks, with a sandy soil, which was then clothed with beautiful vegetation, and abounded with flowers. Numerous rivers and brooks cross the road. About twenty-five miles S. of Rabat is El Mansooria, a square castle built by Sultan Jacob Almanzor for the protection of the road against banditti. About twenty-five miles further S., is Fedala, where a peninsula, "which forms an indifferent shelter to small vessels, has been called in some maps an island. The Emperor Sidi Mohammed, before he founded Mogodore, was desirous of building

* See MOD. TRAV., Spain, vol. ii. p. 42. From Cordova comes the French corduannier; *Anglice*, cordwainer.

a city here. The situation, as to country and produce, is delightful; and, to encourage commerce, he caused the corn to be brought from the *matamores* (subterranean granaries) of the adjacent provinces, and allowed it to be shipped here; inducing the merchants to build houses, as a condition of their being allowed to export it. But the place, though in an excellent situation, was abandoned soon after the corn was shipped, owing to some new whim of the Emperor. The road here is, with the exception of Agadeer, the only one where ships may ride at anchor in security in winter, owing to the projection of the land south of the peninsula, towards the west."* Ali Bey says, that he found the mosque of Fedala rather handsome. The inhabitants, among whom are a number of Jews, were in a wretched condition. To the southward of this town, the plains are intersected by extensive lakes and marshes, bordered with thickets of high reeds, and abounding with water fowl.

At about twelve miles from Fedala is *Dar el Beida*,† a town formerly in the possession of the Portuguese, but now in ruins; consisting only of some huts surrounded with a great wall, with a very small port, formed by a river, on which are some mills. The neighbouring plains are so fertile in grain, that in one year, during the reign of Sidi Mohammed, we are told, 250 vessels, of from 150 to 700 tons, were loaded with corn.‡ The

* Jackson, p. 41. Colonel Keatinge states, that Fedala is four miles from the shores of the Atlantic. He was not permitted to enter the town.

† "Formerly called Anafa, probably from the quantity of aniseseed (*anafu*) grown in the neighbourhood."—Jackson.

‡ Jackson's Shabeeny, p. 208. Colonel Keatinge, who traversed this "Great Plain," says, that "it extends in every direction three days' journey. Here is some corn sown: but the face of the country is chiefly occupied by vast herds of cattle, the property of Arabs, who were extremely anxious to know if the Gibraltar mar-

bay will admit of vessels of considerable burthen anchoring in it with tolerable safety, except when the wind blows hard from the north-west.

Fifty-six miles further, is Azamore, situated on the southern bank of the Morbeya, in lat. 33° 18′ 46″, long. 10° 24′ 15″. This town was fortified by the Portuguese, and the walls are still standing. It was taken

ket were likely to be opened anew to them. This circumstance is a tolerably strong specimen of the natural resources of the country, its powerful redundance, and the wretched policy which governs it, when so small an outlet being stopped or opened, should affect to such a remote extent. The Tangier market touched a radius of 200 miles; and this, the State shuts for a wretched bribe paid into the hands of the head of it." The richness of the tract which extends for about forty miles towards the Morbeya, "exceeds all parallel," the soil being a soft, black vegetable mould of great depth. When this Traveller crossed it, it was covered, to a great extent, with wild mustard or fennel in full (yellow) blossom, rising to a height of even five feet. In the drier tracts, numerous *mazmorras* (or *matamores*) are found, often to the number of thirty together. "These are subterranean granaries, narrow at the top, so as barely to admit the body of a man, but they widen below into a large room. When filled with grain, they are covered over carefully; and a person unacquainted with the process, would wonder how the year's harvest, which covered the country so plentifully, could be so suddenly disposed of. They are so numerous in many places, that, being now disused, and the ground about them overgrown with bushes, they render riding off the trodden road a matter of some risk. They afford convenience to the Arabs to avoid taxation: though their masters have instinctive faculties in this science, not easily to be deceived. Sometimes, they and their contents are so well concealed, as not to be recovered again unless by chance. The corn remains to any period unimpaired. The Arab's eye sometimes discovers a *matamore*, where it is not suspected. He goes out before sun-rise, when a slight mist lurks upon the ground; and when this rises, wherever its skirt dwells longest on the surface, he seeks for a *matamore*, and is often compensated for his trouble."—Keatinge, vol. ii. pp. 28—31. From this description, it is evident, that the "subterranean pyramids" on Mount Olivet, which puzzled Dr. E. D. Clarke, are nothing more nor less than *matamores*. See Mod. Trav., Palestine, p. 171. These granaries form, it may be supposed, most dismal and wretched dungeons,—a purpose to which they have been sometimes applied. Might not the "pit" into which Joseph was cast by his brethren, be of this description?

by the Duke of Braganza in 1513, but was abandoned about a century afterwards. Though a large place, it has nothing to repay the attention of the traveller. Ali Bey says: "The great mosque has a pretty aspect. Before the town is a fine suburb, with a hermitage. The river, which may be about 150 feet wide, is very deep, and of a strong current: boats pass it with great difficulty, and not without danger. The left shore is high and steep, but the right one is flat and even. When I saw it, the water was red and charged with slime, as the Nile at the time of its inundation; it was, therefore, not to be drunk without having stood awhile to settle. There was formerly much trade carried on upon this river. I thought the sea about the eighth part of a mile off. I could not see it, but I heard its roaring; and when I saw it yesterday, it was red, for a distance of four or five miles, from the water of the river."*

We here enter the province of Duquella and the kingdom of Morocco. A little to the south of Azamore, on the northern extremity of the Bay of Mazagan, are the ruins of Têtt, which Mr. Jackson will have to be "the ancient city of *Titus*, founded by the Carthaginians." "On the southern extremity of this bay, stands the town of Mazagan, built by the Portuguese in 1506, and called by them *Castillo Real*. There is a dock on the north side of the town, capable of admitting small vessels: large vessels anchor about two miles from the shore, on account of the Cape of Azamore stretching so far westward; as, in the event of a S. W. wind blowing, they would not be able to

* Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 134. Jackson says, the situation is not adapted for commerce, owing to the dangerous entrance of the river. The storks here, he adds, considerably outnumber the inhabitants.

clear it, if they lay nearer. Mazagan was besieged by the Moors, ineffectually, in 1562. In 1769, the Portuguese had resolved to abandon it, when the Emperor Seedy Mohammed laid siege to it, and took it, the Portuguese having previously evacuated it. It is a strong and well-built town, having a wall twelve feet thick, strengthened with bastions. The air is peculiarly salubrious; the water also is excellent, and has a good effect on horses soon after their arrival here, after passing through a country where that element is very indifferent, and is taken up in buckets from wells about 100 feet deep. There still exists in this town, a subterranean cistern, constructed by the Portuguese in a very elegant style, sufficiently large to supply the garrison with water, which is collected in the rainy season from the terraces of the houses: the lime brought with it from the terraces, clarifies and preserves it from worms and corruption. This cistern was somewhat damaged by the bombs thrown into the town during the siege in 1769, but it still serves the purpose of preserving the water. The vaulted roof is supported by twenty-four columns of the Tuscan order. The exportation of corn and wax from this place was very considerable in the reign of Seedy Mohammed. At a short distance S. W. of Mazagan, is an ancient town called Bureeja, which name the Moors give to Mazagan.

"Thirty-five miles S. of Mazagan, is the town of El Waladia, situated in an extensive plain.* Here is a very spacious harbour, sufficiently extensive to contain 500 sail of the line; but the entrance is obstructed by a rock or two, which, it is said, might

* Lempriere describes the country between Azamore and Saffy as rocky and barren, producing scarcely a tree, or indeed any verdure, But he travelled in October.

be blown up. If this could be effected, it would be one of the finest harbours in the world. The coast of El Waladia is lined with rocks, at the bottom of which, between them and the ocean, is a table land almost even with the surface of the water, abounding with springs, where every necessary of life grows in abundance. The view of this land from the plains above the rocks, is extremely picturesque. The town of El Waladia is small, and contains but few inhabitants: it is encompassed with a square wall. It may have been built towards the middle of the seventeenth century, by Muley El Waled, as the name seems to indicate. To the south of this, at the extremity of Cape Cantin, are the ruins of an ancient town, called by the Africans, Cantin; probably the *Conte* of Leo Africanus.

"Twenty-five miles S. of El Waladia, we discover the ancient town of Saffy, situated between two hills, which render it intolerably hot, and in winter very disagreeable, as the waters from the neighbouring mountains, occasioned by the rains, discharge themselves through the main street into the ocean, deluging the lower apartments of the houses. This happens sometimes so suddenly and unexpectedly, that the inhabitants have not time to remove their property. The walls of Saffy are extremely thick and high. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was taken by the Portuguese, who voluntarily quitted it in 1641, after having resisted every effort of the Mooselmin princes who endeavoured to take it. The road is safe in summer; but in winter, when the winds blow from the south or south-west, vessels are obliged to run to sea; which they have been known to do several times in the course of a month, while taking in their cargoes. There are many sanctuaries in the environs

of Saffy, on which account, the Jews are obliged to enter the town barefooted, taking off their sandals when they approach these consecrated places; and, if riding, they must descend from their mule, and enter the town on foot. The people of Saffy, although it has been a place of considerable trade, particularly in corn, are inimical to Europeans, fanatical and bigoted. The surrounding country abounds in corn, and two falls of rain a year are sufficient to bring the crops to maturity."*

Soon after leaving Saffy, the road passes over the mountain at the foot of which it stands, by a steep and rugged path, only broad enough to allow of one mule passing at once, with a perpendicular precipice towards the sea.† It then enters a forest of dwarf oaks, about six miles in length, extending southward to the river Tensift, which discharges itself sixteen miles S. of Saffy, near the ruins of an ancient town, "probably the *Asama* of Ptolemy." This is a very broad river, but may be passed on horseback in summer. In the rainy season, or when swelled by the tide, it is crossed in rafts, which drift down to a square fort on the opposite side, built by Muley Ismael for the accommodation of travellers, in the

* Jackson, pp. 43—46. Saffee, Safi, Azafi, or Asfee (for it is written with these variations) is supposed by D'Anville to represent *Rusupis*. It is situated at the foot of a steep and high mountain, a part of Atlas, and is described by Lempriere as "a small place remarkable only for a neat palace, the occasional residence of the Emperor's sons, and a fort at a little distance N. of the town. Its vicinity is a mixture of mountains and woods, which give it a wild and truly romantic appearance. Saffy carried on a considerable commerce with Europe, before Sidi Mahomet obliged the European merchants to reside at Mogodore."—Lempriere, p. 113.

† This defile, Jackson says, is called *Jerf el Eudee*, the Jews' Cliff, because, as the story goes, a Jew, in passing, slipped and fell down the precipice, which is some hundred feet deep.

midst of a thick wood. It is now falling to ruin. The breadth and windings of the river, its high and wooded banks, and the castle just discoverable amid the trees, form a scene highly picturesque. The road now lies through the plains of Akkermute. Near the fort of *Jebel el Heddid* (the Iron Mountain), are seen the ruins of the large town of that name, which was depopulated by the plague about the middle of the last century. At the end of between thirteen and fourteen hours from the Tensift, the traveller reaches the sea-port of Mogodore.*

* The following Itinerary of a journey from Tangier to Mogodore, is given by Jackson. (Jackson's Shabeeny, p. 132.)

From Tangier.	Hours.
to Arzilla.....	10
— L'Araich	7
— Ras Doura.....	10
— Sallee.....	16
— El Mansooria ..	12
— Dar el Beida....	8½
— Azamore.....	21
— El Waladia	17
— Saffy	9
— River Tansift ..	6
— Sidi Buzurukton	10
— Mogodore	3½
	130

According to Lempriere, the distance from Tangier is about 350 miles. Col. Keatinge gives this as the distance from Morocco to Tangier; the journey occupying thirteen days. The description of the country given by the former Traveller, is highly unfavourable; owing, partly, to his having travelled in October, by which time all verdure has disappeared from the sandy plains that in spring are clothed with rich herbage and grain; besides which, he suffered from the dejection of spirits often produced by the climate at that season. Thus he describes the whole country from Sallee to Mogodore, and thence to Santa Cruz, as "barren, mountainous, and rocky,"—a description wholly inapplicable to the fertile plains which extend at a short distance from the coast.

This town, built by Sidi Mohammed in 1760, takes the name by which it is known to Europeans, from the adjacent sanctuary of Sidi Mogodol. The name bestowed upon it by its founder, is Saweera (or Suera), "in allusion to its beauty, it being the only town altogether of geometrical construction in the empire." * It stands upon a sandy beach forming a peninsula, the foundation of which is rocky, adjoining to a range of shifting sand-hills, which separate it from the cultivated country. The town is defended from the encroachments of the sea, by rocks which extend from the northern to the southern gate; but, at spring tides, it is almost insulated. There is a citadel and an outer town. The former (the *luk-sebba*) contains the custom-house and treasury, the residence of the alcaid, and the houses of the European merchants.† The Jews (with the exception of such as belong to *El Commercio*, the name given to the body of foreign merchants) are obliged to reside in the outer town, which is walled in and protected by batteries, as well as the citadel. The streets are laid out in right lines, but are unpaved and very narrow; and

* Mogodore was built on plans furnished by a French engineer. "As far as parapets, ramparts, embrasures, cavaliers, batteries, and casemates constitute a fortress," says Colonel Keatinge, "this town is one; but the walls are flimsy; the cavaliers do not command; the batteries do not flank; and the casemates are not bomb-proof. The embrasures are so close, that not one in three upon the ramparts could be worked, if they were mounted, which they are not. All their guns, which had been only twelve months here, were in very bad order already, from exposure to the climate and surf. The casemates are so damp, that their interior is covered constantly with a thick nitrous incrustation."—Keatinge, vol. i. p. 181.

† "The factory of Mogodore consists of ten or twelve mercantile houses of different nations, whose owners, from the protection granted them by the Emperor, live in full security from the Moors, and keep them at a rigid distance."—Lempriere, p. 120.

the houses, though lofty and regular, have a sombre appearance, there being few windows towards the street. There is a handsome market-place, surrounded with piazzas, and the public buildings have a neat appearance. The situation is, however, in many respects, ill chosen. The immediate neighbourhood is an absolute desert. Fruit and vegetables are brought from gardens from three to twelve miles distant; the cattle and poultry also are brought from the other side of the sand-hills; and the only fresh water is obtained from the river, a mile and a half to the south, whence it is conveyed in jars and casks by mules and asses. In case of an attack, this supply would become precarious. The port is formed by a curve in the land and an island about two miles in circumference, about a quarter of a mile from the shore; but, as there is only ten or twelve feet water in this channel at ebb-tide, ships of war do not enter the port, but lie at anchor a mile and a half west of the battery, which extends along the west side of the town.* This was constructed by a Genoese, and is more remarkable for beauty than for strength. Towards the entrance of the road, there is a semi-circular battery, on which are cannon and some mortars, with a curious brass gun, taken by Lord Heathfield at the siege of Gibraltar, and presented to the Emperor, who gave in return a cargo of corn, duty free. The carriage, which is also of brass, is in the form of a lion; it opens in the middle, and contains the gun within it. Underneath this battery, is an extensive *mitfere*, filled by the rains, which will supply the garrison with

* "The mouth of the harbour is very narrow, yet, a heavy sea tumbles in; but, behind the island, is smooth water of four fathoms depth at *high tide*. Vessels which have overrun this port, during summer, even a few leagues, have been for three weeks beating up before they could recover it."—Keatinge, vol. ii. pp. 177, 8.

water for a twelvemonth. The road is very much exposed, Lempriere says, when the wind is at N.W. Jackson states, that "a winter seldom passes, but some ships are driven ashore here by the *south-west* winds; and this happens generally between the 12th of December and the 22d of January, the season called *Liali* by the Arabs, and the only period dangerous to shipping in the bay." * The landing from boats is neither pleasant nor safe. The Jews have the duty imposed upon them of conveying the Christians through the surf; "a burden which it would be an indignity to impose on the shoulder of a Mussulman."

Mogodore is now the only port in the empire that maintains a regular and uninterrupted commercial intercourse with Europe. How it came to be chosen in preference to El Waladia, which possesses so many advantages, it would be idle to conjecture. It stands in latitude 31° 32′ 40″ N., longitude 9° 35′ 30″ W.† Colonel Keatinge found the weather, in the beginning of April, chilly and showery; and Europeans of the north were glad to recur to the comforts of a sea-coal fire, as under the parallel of 52°. "But they have," he adds, "a source of amusement in a delightful spot about three miles inland;—a garden containing a light, clean, airy structure for the purpose of dining in; and here are possessed the real luxuries of nature, verdure, shade, and water, in a genial climate. Hither the Europeans, mounting their horses, come to spend the day.....It was given by the Sultan to the Europeans in general, as an adjoining one was at the same time to the Dutch in particular. The tract forms a

* Jackson, pp. 46—52. Lempriere, pp. 120, 1. Keatinge, vol. i. p. 177, &c.

† According to Ali Bey. Colonel Keatinge makes the latitude of the anchorage 31° 25′.

verdant oasis, or nearly so, in the billowy ocean of white sand which rises and beats around it, if not entirely, for five-sixths of its precincts. Just to the south, it may barely connect with some of the best scenery of the country, which is of the description we should term parkish. Mogodore is invested with these shifting sand-hills. The winds of winter, from the S.W., drive them some miles in an opposite direction; but, when the stiff, steady summer breeze sets in from the N., the whole atmosphere here is obscured to a certain elevation with sandy particles in progress of migration to resume their summer position. The little river, on the southern bank of which are the gardens of the Europeans, and which discharges itself into the bay, though no more than a trout-stream, has power to arrest and prostrate this Goliath of the atmosphere, forbidding his advance one step beyond the northern bank of the brook. Here, the masses of sand lie accumulated to the height of 70 feet, as steep as such a material can retain its form, and in a succession of uniform undulations of this elevation, like an ocean of billows propelled by a violent wind, and suddenly arrested while in that form.* The fruits and esculent vegetables here consist of pomegranates, melons, figs, *tomatas*, and peas as good as in England. Where this shifting sand does not predominate, the soil is a tenacious clay of a fertile quality. It is in part cultivated, chiefly under barley and millet; and it is elsewhere covered with broom, which grows to the height of six feet, and under

* Ali Bey affirms that, in a very few hours, a hill of 20 or 30 feet in height is transported from one place to another, which he did not believe, till convinced of it by his own eyes. This translocation, however, "does not take place all on a sudden, and is by no means capable of surprising and burying a caravan which is on the march."

which, at this season, strong grass is not deficient, though the herbage is of a coarse kind. The trees which are diffused over it at intervals, are of two species; a dwarf cedar, and the *argali*, or wild olive, which produces an oil of a disagreeable flavour.* The primary articles of life are here in a cheapness almost below calculation. The sea abounds with varieties of excellent fish. An indifferent species of mullet is obtained from the river.....It would be doing the place injustice, not to mention the salubrity of its climate. And some Europeans give it full trial. Several too have resided on this coast for thirty years' continuance without an hours' illness." †.

This Traveller accompanied the British Consul-general on a diplomatic mission to the Court of Morocco, in May 1784; and his account of the route from Mogodore, comprises by far the best description of this part of the country.‡

* This oil constitutes a main ingredient in the native cookery, but its flavour is corrected by its being always "flashed" previously to using it. Ali Bey calls it the *argan*, and says that it is the *rhamnus Siculus* of Linnæus, the *rhamnus pentaphyllus* of Dryander, and the *elæodendron argan* of Retz and Wildenow.

† Keatinge, vol. i. p. 182—6; 187; 201.

‡ The direct route from Tangier to Morocco, followed by Keatinge, diverges from the maritime route near Fedala, traversing "the Great Plain" to the ferry over the Morbeya, opposite the castle of Bulaghaun, which stands on a boldly elevated isthmus, formed by a large elbow of the river. A few negro soldiers formed the garrison. The river is very wide, uncommonly rapid and turbulent, and the water red as blood to the eye, but, when taken up in a glass, is colourless and unusually good. Between Fedala and the ferry (five hours from the Morbeya) is another large castle of admirable architecture, with good wells and subterraneous granaries, called *Kassar Welled'i Jeddi*, from the Arab tribe who inhabit the district. It is put down in some maps under the name of *Mediona*. After crossing the Morbeya, Colonel Keatinge's route lay through an uncultivated country; and for an eight hours' stage (thirty miles), it yields no water; it then crossed a ridge of broken,

FROM MOGODORE TO MOROCCO.

It was far advanced in May, when the Embassy left Mogodore; yet, the verdure had not disappeared from the surface of the soil. The barley harvest was in progress; and on the first advance into the country, its general aspect was pleasing,—very different from what might be expected out of Europe, and under such a parallel. Where tillage did not prevail, an open wood of the spreading *argali*, (which has very nearly the effect of the dwarf-oak, or the white thorn,) threw broken shades over the undulating surface of the vast plain. By means of irrigation, the soil is converted into a garden. "Rains fall during this month with a tropical suddenness and impetuosity, but occasionally only. When they do fall, they revive instantly, and for several days, that verdure which the power of the sun so rapidly exhales. In the intervals of the showers, nothing can exceed the beauty of the atmosphere,—the clearness of the air, the rich blueness of the sky, and the fleecy whiteness of the vast masses of cloud; while even at mid-day, the temperature, although the air is calm, is not beyond a genial warmth." This happy season, however, is but of transitory duration.

rocky, schistose hills of inconsiderable elevation, running E. and W., from which is obtained the first (or last) view of the capital. The Tensift is crossed by means of a modern bridge of twenty-seven pointed arches of small span, about ten or eleven miles from Morocco. Ali Bey pursued the coast route to Azamore, and then proceeded in a S.E. direction. At the end of the third stage, he found himself, he says, on a true bed of granite, of a reddish brick colour, slightly mixed with mica, and in a state of disintegration, arising from the conversion of the feldspath into porcelain earth. The granite is succeeded by slaty-clay, and, lastly, chalky sand.—Ali Bey, vol. i. pp. 137, 8.

The first day's stage was to a sanctuary surrounded with a few unoccupied huts, indicating the site of a fair or mart, twenty miles from Mogodore: it is called Shidyma or Sidyma. (Sidi Moktara?) The second day's journey lay at first through "parkish tracts, still covered with an open wood of the wild olive." The trees were alive and the air resounded with the multitudes of doves drawn around by the progress of the genial season.* But the mid-day halt was made under a tuft of date and fig trees, near the first Arab camp they had yet seen, where the surrounding scenery, by a complete transition, was purely Arabian. The stage ended near a fine spring, where the ground was covered to a considerable extent with the foundations of ancient buildings, "which being of stone (not hewn) may be ascribed to Carthaginians, Romans, or Vandals." The natives, of course, our Author adds, give the honour of these constructions to Pharaoh, whose name here appears to be strangely familiar, and serves the same purpose of satisfying or cutting short all inquiries, that the name of King Solomon does in the East.

In the third day's stage, the surface of the country was bare, with the exception of a few stunted bushes, and was covered with rubble-stone to an inconvenient degree. Many more remains of building were observed on the right hand of the route, but no signs of cultivation appeared as far as the eye could reach. Mount Atlas, which is visible at Mogodore, now assumes, on the right, a grand appearance, clothed, at

* Numerous flocks of the bird called *gue pie* abound in these districts. The cow-bird, resembling the sea-gull, but its plumage a pure white, is seen an attendant upon the herds of cattle. A species of partridge was shot, considerably larger than the red-legged partridge, of the same plumage, but with three claws and no heel.

this season, "to a vast proportion downwards," with snow. In this part of the route, hills of a most uncommon shape are scattered over the plain, indicating some extraordinary physical revolution. "They are circular, truncated cones, of an elevation about one-half of their base, apparently water-level, or nearly so, and all aligned to one height. Some insisted, so regular are their forms, that they are the work of art; and, indeed, they strikingly resemble those mounds of earth which, by an absurd misnomer, are called in Ireland, Danish forts. These could be viewed correctly only through glasses, as none lay directly in the route, and our guard, from solicitude for our safety, would not permit the Europeans to ramble. One superincumbent *stratum* of stone seems to have capped them all. This should seem to be trap, with perpendicular fissures in its exterior, and in a *stratum* of above 4 feet depth. Each has probably a surface of about a rood. The decomposition which forms their bases at an angle of about 45°, is of a softer material; and the summit *stratum*, projecting at its edges, gives the resemblance somewhat of a full-formed mushroom. Similar hills are observed between Smyrna and Aleppo; but the tendency of the formation of this continent, with the exception of Atlas, is to table-land." *

On the fourth day, the party reached the Guadissawa,† and encamped on the further side, amid luxuriant meadows shaded by large trees of the darkest foliage. "About two miles distant, in awful gloom

* We give the Author's description of this geological phenomenon, but omit his theoretical comment. His general conclusion from this and other facts, is, that "Africa has evidently been *washed upwards*."—Keatinge, vol. i. p. 213.

† This must be the *Schouschâoua* of Ali Bey, the *Shoshawa* of Jackson.

and *solitude*, stands the once busy, but now abandoned town of *Soor Lawid* (Town of the Negroes). Its lofty battlements, the machicolated and loop-holed walls, of unburned brick of a dusky red hue, flanked and crowned with square towers, embosomed in luxuriant foliage of the fig-tree, and now in the most picturesque stage of dilapidation,—gave it, in the gloom of a tropical evening, an interest which the enthusiasts of the pencil will easily conceive." From this place, the Arabs brought some "dwindled apples and apricots, the remains of the orchards." The banks of the numerous rivulets which serpentine through these plains, were now beautifully fringed with the oleander, "here an aquatic, its gay blossoms just rising clear of the banks of the stream which produces them." The next day's route lay over open plains, thickly studded with Arab camps, to the river Guadenfiss (*Wad' Enfiss* or *Elfees*). Here, the tower of the great mosque of Morocco is clearly seen above the horizon. Beyond the river, the plain is as level as a lake; and across its remotest verge, stretch the palm-woods which invest the city, concealing it from view, till the traveller has advanced to the very walls.

Colonel Keatinge describes the approach to the city as singularly picturesque. The whole horizon is occupied by these vast, open groves of lofty palms, the tops of which present a parallel level of verdure. Above this line of foliage, so characteristic of the country and climate, rises, to triple its height, the tower of the great mosque, of dingy red, its spire surmounted with three golden balls, which glisten in the blaze of day. The vast snowy masses of Atlas seem almost impending upon the right, while its base is still invisible through the purple haze of the atmosphere, the nebulous region or zone of the mountain forming to the eye the founda-

tion of its lofty peaks, which are thrown forward in strong relief by the strong, deep blue of a cloudless sky and the glare of a tropical sun. The road lies over meadows of superlative beauty,* but is intersected by lines of deep pits, the ventilators of the city aqueducts; and the earth is undermined by myriads of rats, which, attracted by the supply of water, have converted the plains into one vast burrow.

Just within the verge of the wood, the Embassy were received by the governor of the city, at the head of a great body of horsemen in white clothing, designated as the "Sultan's Friends," and a corps of about 400 cavalry under five standards; two red, two green, and one striped green and red. They proceeded, headed by this escort, and were next met by a large groupe of musicians and dancers, dressed in red and white, headed by a young Moor borne on a man's shoulders, who proved to be *maître de ballet* to the court. On his signal and example, the groupe began a wild dance, with extravagant gesticulations to the music of their hard drums; while, by way of interlude, the cavalry began to perform their complimentary evolutions, hallooing, and firing their muskets. All the wall tops and battlements were covered with crowds of women, muffled, however, up to the eyes, who had displaced the storks, the ordinary occupants, to witness the entry. "Exhausted by heat, deafened with noise, and nearly

* Ali Bey describes the soil of this plain as calcareous sand,—"a true desert, affording nothing but briars and osiers." He crossed it April 26. Jackson describes the plains watered by the Sheshawa and Wed Elfees, as a fine champaign country abounding in corn. "The mountains of Sheshawa," he says, "which are higher than any in Great Britain, have strata of oyster and other shells at the top of them. I had the curiosity to examine the depth of these strata of shells, and found them several feet deep, and extending all the way down the mountains."—Jackson's Shabeeny, p. 82.

stifled by crowd and dust, we entered," says our Author, "the venerable gate of the city, and within the precincts of its lofty, dingy, and mouldering walls. Proceeding through new crowds, between dead walls, over heaps of dilapidating ruins and suffocating dung-hills, we, at an unexpected turn, and by instant transition, found ourselves at once in a delightful garden, secluded, silent, shaded, verdant, and cool, and at full liberty to take our repose."*

CITY OF MOROCCO.

ALI BEY's description of the capital claims insertion, as at all events the most recent that we possess; and there is, in fact, in the city itself, little that is worth describing.

"The city of *Marraksh*, or Morocco, having been ruined by successive wars, and depopulated by the plague, presents, at this moment, only a shadow of its former prosperity, when it contained above 700,000 souls, whose industry maintained its agriculture, arts, and trade. It contains, at present, hardly 30,000 inhabitants.† The walls which surround the town, have survived the ravages of time and of man, and give some proof of the former splendour of this place. They embrace a circumference of about seven miles, the interior of which is covered with ruins, or converted into gardens: the remainder forms the pre-

* Keatinge, vol. i. pp. 202—227. The travelling distance from Mogodore is reckoned 90 miles. The geographical distance is exactly 2° of longitude, according to Ali Bey, the difference of latitude being only 5′.

† "The last plague," says Col. Keatinge, is "reported to have carried off in Morocco, 300,000 lives. Yet, its population is doubted by Chenier at 30,000 souls!"—Jackson liberally assigns it 270,00 inhabitants.

sent town; and though the walls of the houses are in a line, and form streets, yet, there are many great spaces left wholly unoccupied.

"There are nine gates into Morocco. The walls of the town are pretty thick, very high, and, from the outside, provided with towers, except the south-east side, on which the Sultan's palace is situated: on this part, the towers are like a citadel which command the town. These walls are for the most part made of *tabby* or earth beaten with lime.* The streets of the town are very uneven in width, and the entries to the houses are formed by lanes so narrow and crooked, that a horse can with difficulty pass them; which enables the grandees, in time of rebellion, to defend their houses against the rabble. Four or six men are sufficient to defend one of these lanes. The houses are like forts: very few have windows toward the street. Several are built of stone, but most of them are of *tabby*. The city contains several public squares or market-places; but, like the streets, they are unpaved, and are, therefore, very dirty when it rains, and covered with dust in dry weather.

"Among the great number of mosques at Morocco, six may be distinguished for their size: the principal ones are *El Kutubia*, *El Moazin*, and that of *Benious*. *El Kutubia* stands by itself in the middle of a very large open square: it is of elegant architecture, and its minaret, which is very high, has a great resemblance to that of Sallee. The mosque of *Benious* was built

* This mode of construction has already been described. The mortar is composed of lime, earth, and sand, and is beaten between two planks fixed to the two surfaces of the wall. The word is properly *tabia*, the same as the Portuguese *tapia*. The city gates also, large double porches, are built of *tabby* in the Gothic style. Lempriere states, that the walls are remarkably strong, *eight* miles in circumference, and surrounded with a wide and deep ditch.

652 years ago: it is of a large size, but of a strange construction, uniting ancient and modern architecture, a great part of it having been rebuilt in modern times. The mosque *El Moazin*, which is about 300 years old, is really a magnificent building: ten ministers are employed in its service. The saint and patron of Morocco is Sidi Belabbess: his mosque is, like that of Muley Edris at Fez, composed of a square saloon, covered with an octangular cupola, carved and painted with arabesques, and on the outside covered with varnished and coloured tiles. The sepulchre of the saint is covered with many pieces of woollen and silk, one above the other: the chest for the alms is on its side. The floor and part of the walls are covered with carpets and other hangings. Adjoining the mosque are various court-yards with arcades and rooms to lodge the poor, the maimed, the invalids, and the old: these present a most shocking sight. Eighteen hundred wretches of both sexes are actually provided for in this establishment by means of the alms and funds of the mosque. This sanctuary serves as an asylum for those who are prosecuted by despotism. From this place, they can negotiate to obtain their pardon, and wait till they safely rejoin society, certain that this asylum will never be violated. The chief of this establishment bears the title of *El Emkaddem* (the elder), like that of Muley Edris at Fez: he is equally respected, and almost looked upon as a saint.*

* "The two greatest saints of all the empire of Morocco are, Sidi Ali Benhamet, who resides at Wazein, and Sidi Alarbi Benmâte, who lives at Tedla. These two saints decide almost on the fate of the whole empire, as it is supposed that they attract the blessings of heaven on the country. The departments which they inhabit, have no pasha, kaïd, or governor; the inhabitants of them pay no kind of tribute, and are entirely ruled by those two saints under a kind of theocracy." The ensuing paragraphs slyly intimate them to be, in fact, nothing better than licentious voluptuaries. The saintship is hereditary.

The mosque called *El Kutubia* must be, apparently, that which Jackson refers to as built by Muley Almanzor. "The body of it is supported by many pillars of marble; and under it is a *mitfere* which holds a large quantity of water, used by the Moors for their ablutions. The tower is square, and built like that of Seville in Spain, and the one near Rabat.* The walls are four feet thick, and it has seven stories, in each of which are windows, narrow on the outside, but wide within, which renders the interior light and airy. The ascent is by a gradually winding terrace, composed of lime and small stones, so firmly cemented as to be nearly as hard as iron. On the summit of the tower is a turret in the form of a lantern, (hence called *Smâa el Fannarh*, the lantern tower,) whence Cape Cantin, distant about 120 miles, is distinctly visible. The roofs of the different chambers in this building, which are all quadrangular, are very ingeniously vaulted; and indeed, the whole workmanship is of the most excellent kind. Prayers are performed here every Friday in presence of the Emperor. That part of the city adjoining this edifice is now a heap of ruins."† The tower with three golden balls, which Colonel Keatinge describes as so conspicuous an object on approaching the city, is not that of the great mosque, but, according to Lempriere, belongs to a mosque built by Muley Abdallah, in the *Laksebba* or citadel. The three balls, said to be (or *to have been* originally) of gold, and to weigh together 10 *quintals*, are believed to be fixed by magic, and guarded by a *jin* or spirit. The most curious mosque, Jackson says, is the *Jamâa*

* See p. 371 of our first volume.

† Jackson, p. 51. The waste ground about the great Mosque, Keatinge says, seems not less than thirty acres. The mosque itself, though a considerable building, "dwindles to a mere barn under the shade of its vast tower."

Sidi Yusef, built by Muley el Mumen on the site of one erected by the prince whose name it continues to bear, in the middle of the city; but he gives no description of it. "The gates of Seville, the triumph of the mighty Almanzor," are not attached to the great mosque, Colonel Keatinge says, but to another ancient one, which he omits to name. They are covered with horizontal plates of thick brass, which lap each over the one beneath it, like the boarding of a boat. The guides conducted the visiters to no fewer than four mosques, before they hit upon the right one.

"The quarter for the Jews," Ali Bey says, "is itself about a mile round, and is situated between the inclosures of the palace and the city. It is, like the others, half ruined, and contains nothing remarkable but a well-stocked market-place.* Morocco is said to contain about 2000 Jews, who all live in this quarter; and of whatever age or sex they be, they dare not come into the town, unless barefooted. They are treated with the utmost contempt. Their dress is black and shabby, as at Tangier. Among the women, who go into the streets with unveiled faces, I have seen some of great beauty. Most of them are of a fair complexion: their rose and jasmine faces would charm

* "At the extremity of the city, near the palace, is the department of the Jews, called *El Millah*, the gates of which are shut at night. These people have an alcaid appointed over them, to whom they apply for protection against insult, and to whom they pay a poll-tax. They are for the most part rich; but, from motives of policy, endeavour to appear poor, miserable, and dirty. Not more than 2000 Jewish families now reside here, great numbers having been induced to emigrate to the adjacent mountains, where they are free from taxation. In this quarter stands the Spanish convent, which, till lately, was inhabited by two or three friars; but it is now deserted."—Jackson, p. 62. Col. Keatinge describes the Jews' quarter as very offensive, and thronged to suffocation; the houses, of red mud, mouldering over the heads of their inhabitants.

Europeans; their delicate features are very expressive, and their eyes enchanting. These beauties, worthy to serve as models to a Grecian sculptor,* are treated with disdain, and, like all the others, are obliged to walk barefooted, and to prostrate themselves before ugly negro women who live with the Mussulmans. The male infants of the Jews are also handsome, but, as they grow up, they get plain, and the Jews of a certain age are all ugly. The Jews exercise several arts and professions: they are the only goldsmiths, tinmen, and tailors at Morocco. The Moors are the shoemakers, carpenters, masons, smiths, and weavers of *hhaïks*.

"The town of Morocco was formerly surrounded with gardens and plantations which extended to a great distance. Water was conducted to them from thousands of fountains which had their sources in the mountains of Atlas, either by open channels or by subterraneous aqueducts. Of all these vast works, nothing but ruins are to be seen; and it is painful to observe the destruction of these numerous canals, and the deserts which are now replacing fertile and productive ground. There are still, however, some conduits remaining, which supply several gardens. The aqueduct which conveys the water to Semelalia, is so large, that, when I ordered it to be cleaned, the men walked in it to a great distance. The water is excellent.....Provisions are still cheaper at Morocco, than at Tangier. This unfortunate town, partly destroyed by wars and partly by the plague, is without any trade. Arts and sciences are entirely out of the question, as there is scarcely a school of any note. It would be impossible to believe such an astonishing and rapid decline, if it were not proved by its large walls, its immense masses of ruins,

* Here, Ali Bey strangely forgets his part as an orthodox Moslem.

the great number of conduits become useless, and its vast cemeteries."*

From numerous astronomical observations, our Traveller ascertained the longitude of his house, situated near the centre of the city, to be 7° 35′ 30″ W.; the latitude 31° 37′ 31″ N.; and the magnetic variation 20° 38′ 40″ W. The atmosphere was almost constantly clear during the months of May, June, and July. In August, some thunder-storms occurred, with high winds and rain; but it was represented as an unusual circumstance. Towards the end of this month, the storks commonly migrate to Soudan. Early in September, the thermometer was at its greatest height, rising at noon, on the 2d and 3d., to 34° 8′ of Reaumur in the shade. The gnats disappear in October; the frogs and toads, in the beginning of November; and the flies, towards the latter end of the month. The evenings and mornings are then so chilling, that colds are very common. The leaves now begin to fall, but the trees are only partially stripped of their foliage till the middle of December, when the rains begin in abundance. On the 18th of that month, the thermometer was at its lowest point, 7° above *zero* of Reaumur. On the 1st of January, at half-past ten A.M., it was 29° 5′ in the sun.

This Traveller has furnished the following interesting calendar of the seasons of the Morocco year. May. In the middle of this month, the pomegranate is in full blossom; also, the date-tree and olive: towards the end of the month, apricots in abundance, and the barley cropped. June. The fig season begins, lasting to the middle of August; wheat harvest begins; pom-

* Ali Bey, vol. i. pp. 149—157. We have occasionally deviated from the translation, which is very indifferent. The supposed Moslem is made to speak of the vast *churchyards* at Morocco!

pions, pimento, and other vegetables are abundant. July. Melons and water-melons are now abundant. August. The markets are stocked with an enormous quantity of grapes about the middle of the month; and towards the end, the first dates of Tafilet are to be seen; the jujubes and quinces now begin to ripen. September. The pomegranates are gathered about the middle of the month. November. The date harvest is now gathered, and in the latter part of the month, the olives ripen. All sorts of vegetables now abound in the garden, and the barley is about eight inches high.*

"The Moors, although their climate may be called humid, and the winters cold, dispense with fires, except for culinary purposes. Indeed," adds Colonel Keatinge, "winter is not the season to visit these countries. This people seem, like the Spaniards, to lay in a sufficient stock of radical heat during summer, to carry them through the winter. From its greater elevation, the northern province here is certainly less warm than Andalusia.....In winter, the Moors of upper station, in short, all who can afford it, wear, over a loose linen shirt and drawers, a cloth waistcoat of the hussar cut and loose woollen trowsers; over these, a white *silham*, or hooded cloak of light woollen; and over that again, a more substantial one of broadcloth, usually red or blue. On their heads, they wear a red pointed cap, from the era of matrimony, which, wound round with white linen or muslin, constitutes the turban. But, in summer, instead of the thick woollen clothing and *silham*, they wear a *haïk* of fine linen or muslin, and a lighter *silham* when occasion requires.†

* Ali Bey, vol. i. pp. 161—5.

† The city is shielded by the Atlas from the scorching *shume*,

Colonel Keatinge has devoted no fewer than 120 quarto pages to desultory observations on the city of Morocco; but the additional information which they supply, will admit of being compressed into a small compass.

"The *Bocanum Hemerum* of the ancients," he remarks, "was situated somewhere about this part of the plain, and by the radical term is indicated to have been a seat of government. But there was also on the Maurbeya river, a very ancient city named *Ta Maroc*.* Whether the first-mentioned ancient site was here or not, or whether the capital of the ancient rulers of this country was on the Maurbeya, it is still plausibly believed, that a more ancient establishment was planted in this site before the present city was founded by the Marabous (or Moravidi) in the twelfth century, when they rescued the plain from the domination of the pastoral Arabs.† In about a century after (A.D. 1170), the great Jacob Almanzor sat upon this throne." The subsequent history of the city is that of the empire.

"The throne is in the possession of an Arabian; yet, the Arabs are not the favoured people: they are, whether it be cause or effect, the refractory part of the community. The standing army consists of negro youths bought in their own country, or of the

the hot wind blowing from Tafilet and Sahara; yet, in summer, Jackson says, the heat is intense, though the nights are cool; and in winter, the cold is severe.

* "The radical topographic term means any wide expanse of flat; land or water."

† See pp. 345, 6, of our first volume. Jackson ascribes the foundation of Marocco (as he writes it) to Jusuf Teshfin Luntuna, A. H. 424; but adds, that, according to the testimony of the Moors, as well as of the Berebbers, it is of higher antiquity, being a more ancient town than Fas. Tafilet was annexed to the empire by the conquests of Abu Tashfin.

children of negroes born here.* They first appeared in the reign of Muley Hamed, the second successor on the throne of the heroic Muley Mohammed, who died at Alkasr. He conquered Congo and Tombut (Timbuctoo), and those nations purchased peace by a tribute of slaves. Muley Ishmael, however, first gave them their consequence in the state. Their number at one time, as is said, under him, amounted to a hundred thousand. They were originally settled in various parts of the country, as, for instance, at Soorlawid. Most military offices are filled from this body. All rise from the ranks of the infantry, and being mounted is to them promotion. They constitute the Sultan's body guard, and all castles and garrisons are entrusted to them. They are devout Mussulmans, and are both the curb and safeguard of the state.† The militia is composed of Moors, people of the cities, or of Arabs. The Moorish militia are provided, accoutred, and subsisted, while on service, by the respective places whence they are sent; and each man, on going home, is presented from the Sultan with either money or clothing as a free gift or bounty. When they have served a limited

* "The same man who, if kidnapped at his parents' door and brought westward, should handle the hoe,—if sold in a northerly direction, wields the *baton* of command, and, by his talents, steadiness, and bravery, is considered the pillar of the state. And the same female who, if exported across the Atlantic, should daily be lacerated by the stripes of the cow-skin, the victim of the brutality of one sex, and the malignity of the other, now sits upon a throne, because chance pointed her captivity hither. *It is hardly possible to over-rate the negro character here:* the distinguishing character is steadiness, inflexible fidelity. Very few crimes are committed amongst them."

† Ali Bey says, the Sultan's only standing army is his guard, consisting of 10,000 men, chiefly negroes, and the rest are Moors of the *Oudain* tribe. This same Traveller estimates the revenue of the state at between 1,000,000 and 1,250,000*l.* sterling.

time, the militia-men are relieved by fresh drafts from their towns and districts. These people serve on horseback: they are commanded by alcaids appointed by the Sultan, and this office has annexed to it a judicial power. The Arab militia receive neither pay nor gratification, and their tribe is obliged to subsist them, the Sultan finding nothing but tents. They skirmish in small bodies with fire-arms only, without collecting or closing. Each district has its distinctive standard, but the number of men annexed to a standard is not definite. On the whole, the military organization of this country is far from despicable."*

"The cities of Morocco and Fez are both *entrepôts* of Tafilet. The communications with this country, the ancient Sugulmessa, are very important. The city of Tafilet is, by the route of the caravans, 20 days' journey from Morocco across Mount Atlas, and 400 miles from the foot of the mountain.† And when trade has reached Tafilet, there is a further *trajet* to the utmost point in the interior, where is the Grand Mart; and during this, cruel privations are endured (chiefly from the want of water). Tafilet, besides its

* "Chenier gives a list of the (Arab) tribes nominally. The number of males paying capitation tax (of the age of fifteen and upwards) in the plain of Fez, is calculated at 300,000; in the plain of Morocco, at 100,000; a vast nomade population,—two millions at least, evasions included."

† "The people of Tafilet live, in fortified towns of about 400 families in each, on dates and the milk of their camels. Deer and ostriches are numerous. The country is a flat plain: what is not under trees, is bare sand. Little corn is grown, comparatively; and what is produced, is sown by the bank of a swelling river,—one of the first class of magnitude. Its name implies *The Gullet*, given it by reason of a part of its course being forced through a narrow rocky pass. It overflows annually by the thawing of the snows of Atlas, enriching the lands that border it, and this inundation is celebrated by the natives with great rejoicing. The heat of the climate is intense, and it never rains."

intercourse in that direction, sends tobacco and dates to Guinea in exchange for gold-dust. Salt is the chief article which Tafilet receives from Morocco. A proof of the value of this trade is, that the Sultan has taken it all into his own hands. These caravans are always commanded and attended by Moors of distinction. They take with them blankets of the manufacture of Fez, tobacco, and salt: their great return is in the human traffic—boys and girls."

Among the chief imports of Morocco, this Traveller enumerates hardware, turners' ware, elegant china tea-equipages, delft, and crockery, broad-cloth, manufactured tobacco,* patent medicines of not formidable operation, but gratifying to the palate and cordial in their effects, spices, linens, cottons, muslins, and, beyond all, their darling tea.†

* "The Moors," Colonel Keatinge says, "do not smoke, but take snuff." In this respect, as well as in their preference of tea to coffee, they maintain a national difference from the Turks. In like manner, while almost every man in Spain smokes, the Portuguese never smoke, but most of them take snuff. The English and the Irish were formerly distinguished by the same whimsical difference.—See MOD. TRAV., Spain, vol. ii. p. 290.

† See, also, on the subject of Commerce, Jackson's Morocco, ch. xi. Besides Jackson's work, Colonel Keatinge recommends to the stranger about to fix himself in Morocco, to include in his *portable* library, the works of Marmol, Leo Africanus, Herbelot, Mouette, the History of Muley Archy, the Spanish History of the Xeriffs, Poiret for Botany, Buznot (Mequinez 1704), St. Olonne (1699), Windus (1720), Braithwaite, Phytologia Tingitana, Philosophical Transactions at large, vol. xix., Jezreel Jones from the same work, Saugnier, Lempriere, Jardine, Brisson, and Chenier. Others might be added to this useless catalogue, upon the principle, that "there is hardly a book from which nothing could be learned." Murray's Brief History of Discoveries in Africa contains, however, a sufficient abstract of the early travellers; and we must confess that we have found cause for dissatisfaction and vexation, in the flimsy, meagre, and inaccurate accounts from which we have been obliged to draw our materials.

We must close this account of the capital with Colonel Keatinge's description of the presentation of the British Embassy to his Moorish Majesty, "Saadi Hamed Ebn Abdullah," the grandson of Muley Ismail, who then filled the throne.

"At the time which best suited his Majesty, the Sultan admitted the British Embassy to his presence by a sudden and summary order. Accordingly, at mid-day, the British set out for the palace, and entering the gates thereof, came into a large oblong area, of perhaps two acres of ground, sanded, and inclosed within blank walls of very considerable height, white-washed, and the tops of which were covered by lines of innumerable storks, which breed here not only unmolested, but are objects of regard for their services. In a small round pond in the centre of this area, were a few tame geese, the original breed whereof, as we were informed, came from England. They do not appear to have spread in their new domiciliation. The Embassy, having arrived at a point of station, were informed that his Majesty was at prayers. After waiting about an hour, we were, at the expiration of that time, conducted by the alcaid, Tor Finiss, to another open area, of about a furlong in length by a hundred yards or more in breadth, which led from the mosque to the apartments of the palace; the mosque where his Majesty then was, being on our right hand. We proceeded here through a lane of the courtiers, great men, and guards, apparently about twelve hundred in number. These people were all dressed in pure white, the total effect of which was merely varied by slight streaks of red from caps, sabre-scabbards, and belts; and with the white walls, bright yellow sands, and scorching noon-day glare, un-

allayed by shade or verdure, gave an effect totally novel to European eyes. The Embassy were placed in a line with the door of the mosque, at which stood the Sultan's horse, and by which was also, leaned against the wall, his crimson umbrella, the primitive distinction of royalty. In about half an hour more, we had the satisfaction to see his Majesty come out, mount his horse, and approach us. He had been, thus, fully two hours employed in the duties of devotion. On mounting his horse, the crimson umbrella was hoisted over his head, and was kept turning continually with a rapid motion. He was preceded by four tall men, carrying long red spears with red tassels and large heads of silver filigree-work. On each side of his horse, somewhat behind, walked a man with a long white napkin brushing off the flies. The Sultan rode a bright bay horse, with furniture of crimson velvet, loaded with gold and jewels; and as he advanced, at a slow walk, all, save the Embassy, prostrated themselves in large groupes, touching the ground with their foreheads, and crying aloud:—'*Liber comer Saadi!*'—(Live our Lord!)—To which he made repeatedly a gracious reply, to this effect: 'Rise, my People,' pronounced in a mild tone and with a consistent aspect; and they accordingly rose. The whole ceremony was novel, grand, and impressive. Such numbers, of such various complexions, their uniformity of action, the expressions of devotion and awe, and the venerable and graceful figures of this vast body of men, all arrayed in white clothing to the very feet, composed a spectacle most highly gratifying.

"The Sultan was upwards of seventy-five years of age, very tall, very meagre, very much bent, his head and breast leaning forward over his horse, of black

complexion,* with a long, pointed white beard, and thick white eye-brows. His eyes glance in different directions, one revolving upwards, while the other is cast on the person to whom he addresses himself, (appearing as if, like the eyes of the chameleon, governed by distinct nerves,) and his mouth, which he does not shut, has lost all its teeth, save one, which protrudes. He was dressed in long robes of white and almost transparent muslin, one end of which was flung over his head, whereon he wore a turban considerably larger than the vulgar costume, with the end of the robe down below his shoulders and over his back. His deportment was that of command and ease, but the expression of his countenance was shrewdness. When the Sultan approached the Embassy, he halted, and the British, with the governor of the city, advanced. The credentials, enveloped in silk, being delivered to an officer, (for the Sultan, at audience, receives nothing into his own hands,) his Majesty, through the medium of the interpreter, a Jew, said, that whatever it was the wish of the British envoy should be done, he should mention to the alcaid Ben Amoran. Hereupon, the Sultan was informed, that the object of the present mission was, to assure his Majesty of the continuance of friendship on the part of Great Britain. The Sultan then asked, whether Great Britain had made peace with America. An answer being given in the affirmative, he waived further discourse, turned his horse, and rode away; whereupon, the Embassy returned to their quarters. The presents, however, which were partly held in the hands of those who had charge of them, and partly loaded on the backs of mules, all formed for the

* His mother was a negress.

audience in a rank behind the Envoy, remained where they were. Such was the procedure of the first interview with the Mauritanian sovereign." *

When Lempriere was admitted to an audience with his Majesty Sidi Mohammed, the Sultan was found seated in a European post-chaise, placed in one of the open courts of the palace, and drawn by one mule in shafts, having a man on each side to guide it. Behind the carriage were foot-soldiers, negroes and Moors, in two divisions, forming a semi-circle. This magnificent carriage was the only wheeled vehicle in the country. When the Emperor went out in it, the blinds were drawn up; slaves ran before to clear the way; some courtiers and shereefs ran by the side, and the negro guards, on foot, bustled after. "On the whole," says Colonel Keatinge, "it is, indeed, a most unregal *cortége*, and gives a very different impression from the mounted appearance of the monarch, which is altogether oriental and military."

We must now take leave of the faded splendour of the Moorish court, and give the sequel of Ali Bey's travels in this country.

Ali Bey arrived at Morocco on the 21st of March, 1804. In the following month, he visited Mogodore, by the Sultan's direction, but returned to the capital in the middle of May, where he remained till the fol-

* Keatinge, vol. i. pp. 235—8. Saadi Hamed Ebn Abdallah (or, as he is usually styled, Sidi Mohammed) succeeded his father, Muley Abdallah, in 1757; whose predecessor was Muley Hamed Debby, the eldest son and successor of "the tremendous Muley Ismail." Saadi Hamed was succeeded by his son, Muley Yezzid Ibn Hamed; on whose death, Muley Soliman, another son, ascended the throne. It was the latter sovereign, in whose eyes Ali Bey found favour. The reigning Sultan is Muley Abderrahman, who succeeded to the throne in 1822. The title *Muley*, which seems to answer to Prince or Highness, is the same, Colonel Keatinge says, as the Gaelic *mullough, excelsus*.

lowing January. For great part of the time, he was laid up by a dangerous illness. He afterwards returned, by his original route, to Fez; whence he set out, May 30, for Algiers, by way of Oushda.

His route, after crossing the Seboo, lay in an E.N.E. direction, winding through the mountains. On the fourth day, he reached Teza, a small but neat and thriving town, romantically situated on a rock, at the foot of much higher mountains to the S.W., and surrounded with ancient walls. The rock, which is in some places very steep, was covered with fine orchards; its lower part was surrounded with gardens, with a falling river on one side, and several brooks, forming cascades, on the other. A half-decayed bridge, and the lofty minaret of the mosque, added to the interest of the picture. The valleys were covered with abundant crops; and innumerable nightingales, turtle-doves, and other birds, rendered the spot as agreeable as it was picturesque.* A stage further, proceeding eastward over hills and valleys intersected by numerous brooks with deep channels, the soil a glutinous clay, the Author reached an ancient square castle called *Temessuin*. The route now entered upon a vast plain of pure clay, without inhabitants and without vegetation, being composed of heaths burned up by the

* The longitude of this place by chronometer was found to be 6° 0′ 15″ W. of Paris, and the latitude 34° 9′ 32″. "I consider Teza," says the Author, "to be the prettiest town in all the empire of Morocco, and it is the only one not in ruins. Its streets are handsome, its houses neat, and painted on the outside. Its principal mosque is very large, well constructed, and has a fine porch. The markets are well provided, the shops are numerous, and the place has fine gardens and orchards. The water is excellent, and the air very salubrious. The inhabitants seemed to be very sensible men. All these considerations made me prefer Teza even to the capitals of Fez and Morocco."—Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 196.

sun. At four hours and a half, however, a small river was crossed; and early the next day, he reached the great river *Moulouia* running N.E., which was followed for two hours, and then forded. It is here very wide, the shores flat and wooded, and the water of a reddish colour, thick as the Nile, but of good quality. The next stage, the clay soil began to be mixed with beds and hills of calcareous formation; and at length, the route entered upon a fine cultivated country, containing rich crops, and watered by the Enza, flowing W., to join the Moulouia. A desert tract now again succeeds, yet not destitute, it appears, of springs and rivulets; and in two stages more, our Traveller reached Oushda, a village of about 500 inhabitants, situated in latitude 34° 40′ 54″ N., longitude 1° 47′ 45″ W.,—an oasis in the desert.

Here, our Traveller's further progress was arrested by the unpleasant intelligence, that an insurrection had broken out in the province of Tlemsan, and that the route was unsafe. He was ultimately compelled to return to the coast. On leaving Oushda, he struck out of the high road, on which he had reason to fear being waylaid by an armed band of Arabs, and pushed southward into the desert. The consequence of his imprudence had nearly proved fatal. On the second day, their water was exhausted, and the country afforded no supply. Not a tree was to be seen, not a rock that afforded shade; the intense rays of the sun were reflected from the chalky soil as from a burning-glass, and the slight breezes scorched like a flame. Such is the Author's picture of the district he was traversing. The mules began to stumble under their burthen; several of the party successively dropped from fatigue and thirst; and every one thought only of saving himself by pushing on, to reach, if possible,

the next watering-place. At last, about 4 P.M., the Author himself fell down exhausted and senseless. The sequel to the adventure must be given in his own words.

"Extended without consciousness on the ground in the middle of the desert; left with only four or five men, one of whom had dropped at the same moment with myself, and all without any means of assisting me, because they knew not where to find water, and if they had known it, had not strength to fetch it; I should have perished with them on the spot, if Providence, by a kind of miracle, had not preserved us. Half an hour had already elapsed since I had fallen senseless to the ground, (as I have since been told,) when, at some distance, a considerable caravan, of more than two thousand souls, was seen to be advancing. It was under the direction of a marabout or saint called Sidi Alarbi, who was sent by the Sultan to Tlemsen (or Tremecen). Seeing us in this distressing situation, he ordered some skins of water to be thrown over us. After I had received several of them over my face and hands, I recovered my senses, opened my eyes, and looked around me, without being able to discern any body. At last, however, I distinguished seven or eight sherifs and fakihs, who gave me their assistance, and shewed me much kindness. I endeavoured to speak to them, but an invincible knot in my throat seemed to hinder me; I could only make myself understood by signs, and by pointing to my mouth with my finger. They continued pouring water over my face, arms, and hands, and at last I was able to swallow small mouthfuls of water. This enabled me to ask, 'Who are you?' When they heard me speak, they expressed their joy, and answered me, 'Fear nothing; far from being robbers, we are

your friends;' and every one mentioned his name. I began, by degrees, to recollect their faces, but was not able to remember their names. They poured again over me a still greater quantity of water, gave me some to drink, filled some of my leather bags, and left me in haste, as every minute spent in this place was precious to them, and could not be repaired.

"This attack of thirst is perceived all of a sudden by an extreme aridity of the skin; the eyes appear to be bloody; the tongue and mouth, both inside and outside, are covered with a crust of the thickness of a crown-piece; this crust is of a dark yellow colour, of an insipid taste, and of a consistence like the soft wax of a bee-hive. A faintness or languor takes away the power to move; a kind of knot in the throat and diaphragm, attended with great pain, interrupts respiration; some wandering tears escape from the eyes; and at last the sufferer drops down to the earth, and in a few moments loses all consciousness. These are the symptoms which I remarked in my unfortunate fellow travellers, and which I experienced myself.

"I got with difficulty on my horse again, and we proceeded on our journey. My Bedouins and my faithful Salem were gone in different directions to find out some water; and two hours afterwards, they returned, one after another, carrying along with them some good or bad water, as they had been able to find it. Every one presented to me part of what he had brought; I was obliged to taste it, and I drank twenty times; but, as soon as I swallowed it, my mouth became as dry as before; at last, I was not able either to spit or to speak.

"At seven in the evening, we halted near a douar and a brook, after having made a forced march of two-and-twenty hours without a moment's inter-

mission. All my people and baggage at last arrived one after another, during the night, and I found I had sustained no loss. The caravan of Sidi Alarbi had met them successively, and saved the men as well as the beasts. If this caravan had not happened to arrive so fortunately, we should all have perished, as the water which was afterwards brought by the Bedouins and by Salem would have come too late; our breath and vital functions would have ceased, and I do not think that we could have remained two hours longer alive. When I consider that so considerable a caravan had, upon the false report that two or three thousand were going to attack it, (who in fact were only the four hundred Arabians that watched me,) quitted the road, and that this mistake was the cause of our preservation, I cannot sufficiently admire the gracious direction of Providence to save us. I can now easily conceive how the unfortunate Major Houghton may have perished in the desert, in consequence of a situation like that which I have just described. It is very possible, that those who accompanied him did not commit any treachery.

"The greatest part of the soil of the desert consists of pure clay, except some small traces of a calcareous nature. The whole surface is covered with a bed of calcareous stone of a whitish colour, smooth, round, and loose, and of the size of the fist; they are almost all of the same dimensions, and their surface is carious like pieces of old mortar; I look upon this to be a true volcanic production. This bed is extended with such perfect regularity, that the whole desert is covered with it, a circumstance which makes pacing over it very fatiguing to the traveller. There is no animal of any kind to be seen in this desert, neither quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, nor insects, nor any plant

whatsoever; and the traveller who is obliged to pass through it, is surrounded with the silence of death." *

The next day, our Author once more reached the right bank of the Enza, and found himself in the province of Shaouia; whence, retracing his steps to Temessuin and Teza, he traversed the province of Hiaina,† and crossing the rivers Levenn and Werga, which fall into the Seboo, reached the large open town of Wazein, in latitude 34° 42′ 29″, longitude 4° 34′ 45″. This town, which gives its name to an extensive district, is the residence of the famous Maraboot, Sidi Ali Benhamet, who lives in a state of perfect independence, and has the whole country under his command. The district is composed of vast plains, confined, towards the east, by pretty high mountains. A lofty, insulated, red mountain rises in the middle of the plain, on the declivity of which the town is built. Not a tree is to be seen, and the only water is furnished by several small springs. Yet, the harvest was abundant, and in no country had our Author seen finer cattle or more numerous herds. The province of Hiaina chiefly consists of a succession of round, bare hills of glutinous clay, with no other water than that which is obtained from wells dug on the declivity of the mountains. Most of this water is brackish, sulphureous, or mineral; and the beds of the torrents are often covered with a deposite of very white salt. In several places, metallic strata are visible amid the clay; and rocks, almost entirely composed of mineral substances, rise here and there from

* Ali Bey, vol. i. p. 191—194.

† These provinces, or rather districts, are not mentioned by Jackson, but appear to be comprehended in those of El Rif and Tedla. The province of Shaoula or Shawiya, according to the latter Traveller, lies between Beni Hassan and the district of Morocco.

the plain, like insulated towers. Yet, these hills are laboriously cultivated, and were now covered with crops of millet. The inhabitants occupy huts of mud in winter: in the fine season, they live under tents, like other Arabs.

From Wazein, our Traveller was conducted, by the Sultan's orders, *viâ* Alcassar, to Laraish, where a corvette from Tripoli was in waiting to convey him out of the empire of Morocco; the Sultan's suspicions having been awakened as to the true character and real object of his accomplished Visiter.*

It only remains to notice the southern province or kingdom of Suse, which will lead us once more back to the Atlantic coast.

SANTA CRUZ.

THE last port, proceeding southward in the Emperor's dominions, is Agadeer, better known under the Portuguese name of Santa Cruz,† distant from Mogodore

* During the latter part of his residence in Morocco, a report prevailed, that Bonaparte was preparing an immense army to subjugate the country; and Ali Bey was not merely suspected to be his secret agent, but some persons were credulous enough to believe that he was Bonaparte himself in disguise!—Jackson's Ghabeeny, p. 304.

† D'Anville, after remarking that the ancient *Mysocoras* may be represented by Mogodore, adds: "Another remarkable place upon this coast, which the Portuguese have named Santa Cruz, commanded by a castle called *Tamara*, should be *Tamusiga*. Cape Ger, which terminates a considerable gulf, at the bottom whereof is Santa Cruz, may correspond to the promontory distinguished by the name of Hercules, to whom is attributed an expedition into this country."—D'Anville, vol. ii. p. 223. Major Rennell concurs in opinion, that the promontory of Hercules agrees pointedly to Cape de Geer, which is the proper termination of the ridge of Mount Atlas, on the coast."—Rennell, p. 421. Jackson states, that Santa Cruz is the *Guertguessem* of Leo.

three days or seventy-six miles. Lempriere describes the route along the coast as presenting a continued expanse of wild, mountainous, and rocky country. His progress could be compared to nothing, he says, but the continual ascending and descending of a series of rough and uneven stone steps. Santa Cruz is situated upon the declivity of a high and steep mountain forming the western termination of the Greater Atlas, at the distance of about half a league from the sea, seven leagues south of Cape de Geer, in latitude 30° 35′ N. Its bay, Jackson says, is probably the best road for shipping in the empire, being large, deep, and well defended on every side from all winds. During his three years' residence there, this Writer says, there was not a ship lost or injured. The town is very strong from its position, and its walls are defended by batteries. The principal battery, however, is half-way down the western declivity of the mountain, and was originally intended to protect a fine spring close to the sea: it commands also the approach to the town, both from the north and the south, and the shipping in the bay. The town called by the Portuguese *Fonte*, and by the Shelluhs *Agurem*, is still standing at the foot of the mountain towards the sea, and the arms of Portugal are to be seen in a building erected over the spring.

The history of this settlement, as given by a Spanish author cited by Lempriere, is as follows.

In the reign of King Emanuel of Portugal, a Portuguese adventurer was induced to settle on this part of the coast, on account of the quantity of excellent fish with which its bay abounds. Having found means to build himself a timber fort, he garrisoned it with his followers, and named his settlement Santa Cruz, while his African neighbours called it *Dar al*

Rumi, the Christian's House. Soon afterwards, Don Emanuel, foreseeing the great importance of this place to the navigation of these seas, and to his projected conquest of the western parts of Barbary, took it into his own hands, re-imbursing the adventurer who had founded it. Santa Cruz, being thus annexed to the kingdom of Portugal, was soon enlarged and fortified (A.D. 1503);* and as this part of the empire was then divided among several petty sovereigns, generally at variance with each other, it afforded the new colony an opportunity of firmly establishing itself, numbers of discontented Moors and Arabs being induced to tender their allegiance to the Portuguese sovereign. "The assistance afforded by these people to the Christian garrison, enabled them to make frequent incursions up the country, plundering and seizing upon a great number of the inhabitants, whom they sent over to Europe as slaves. At this period, the Portuguese had established themselves so firmly on the African coast, that, had not the family of the Shereefs started up, and the attention of these Christian adventurers been directed to their new acquisitions in America, the greater part of the country would, in a short time, have been completely depopulated, and the Portuguese would have established in it a permanent sovereignty. The Shereefs, in order to add importance to their government,—knowing, too, that it would flatter the prejudices of their subjects, who had been so continually harassed by their Christian neighbours,—determined upon expelling the Portuguese from Santa Cruz, and, if successful, to carry on their attacks against the

* The walls are of sufficient strength to resist an attack from the Arabs, but they could by no means, we are told, withstand a cannonade from a regular artillery.

other Christian garrisons on the coast. For this purpose, in the year 1536, an army of 50,000 men, horse and foot, was raised with all expedition, and placed under the command of Muley Hamed al Hassan, who, with this force, completely invested the garrison. After many unsuccessful attacks on the part of the Moors, Santa Cruz owed at last its destruction to the negligence of one of its own people, in carrying a lighted match into the powder-magazine: it blew up, and the concussion made a large breach in the wall, of which the Moors availed themselves, before the astonished Portuguese had had time to remedy the accident. They now attacked their enemy with such superior numbers, that they soon reduced the garrison, and put every person in the place to the sword. Thus did Santa Cruz fall into the hands of the Moors, by whom it has ever since been possessed. The loss of this important place proved extremely injurious to the Portuguese navigation to Guinea and India, by affording a harbour to their European enemies, whose ships were accustomed to slip out from this port, and to plunder and take the Portuguese as they passed by; while they supplied the barbarians with powder, cannon, and other warlike stores, enabling the Moors, by that means, in the course of time, to attack the other possessions of the Portuguese in Africa." *

"In the reign of Muley Ismael, Agadeer," Mr. Jackson informs us, "was the centre of a very extensive commerce, whither the Arabs of the Desert and the people of Soudan resorted to purchase merchandize for the markets of the Interior, and caravans were constantly passing to and from Timbuctoo." On this account it was denominated *Beb Soudan*, the gate of

* Lempriere, pp. 122—126.

Soudan. About the middle of the last century, the Danes made an attempt to establish themselves on this part of the coast. They landed a mile south of Agurem, and, with stones already cut and numbered, erected on an eminence called *Agadeer Arba*, by the dawn of the following day, a battery of twelve guns. But, by a stratagem of the Basha of Suse, they were dispossessed and forced to retreat to their ships, and the adventure was abandoned. The place had, however, it seems, excited the jealousy of the Sultan; and in 1773, the inhabitants, from what cause does not appear, became refractory. Upon hearing this, the Emperor Sidi Mahomed marched against the town, which speedily surrendered, the rebellious governor having destroyed himself. The European merchants were allowed but a very short time to collect together their effects, and were ordered to remove to Mogodore. In 1792, Muley Yezzid consented to a proposal made by the Dutch Government, to re-open this port to the commerce of that nation, to the great joy of the natives; but the privilege was not of long continuance. In March 1797, the merchants were summoned to Morocco, where they were informed that the port was shut; and the only alternative allowed them was, to reside at Mogodore or to quit the country.* The inhabitants are now supposed not to exceed 300 souls.

From Santa Cruz, a fine level road through a woody and uncultivated country, leads to Tarudant; distant forty-four miles E. This was formerly the capital of a petty kingdom, and is still the chief town in the province of Suse, and may be considered as the frontier town of the Sultan's dominions in this direction.

* Jackson's Morocco, p. 53. Jackson's Shabeeny, pp. 55, 60, 79.

It stands in a fine, but uncultivated plain, about twenty miles S. of the Atlas range.* The walls, now half in ruins, inclose a much larger area than is occupied by the buildings, which are irregularly scattered; and as each house is surrounded with a garden and wall, the place altogether bears a greater resemblance to a collection of hamlets, than a town. The houses are built of *tabby*, and consist of only one floor. The apartments are, in general, mean and inconvenient, the inhabitants being chiefly of the lower class of mechanics. Very few Moors of distinction reside here, except those who are attached to the prince-governor, and who are usually accommodated in the castle, which is very extensive. The *Jewdry* is a miserable place about a quarter of a mile from the town, the inhabitants of which are, as elsewhere, in the most abject state of poverty and degradation. The prince has a private residence at a short distance from the town, called *Dar Beyda*, inclosed in a tolerably neat garden, laid out by a Frenchman. Upon the whole, Tarudant, though its population has greatly declined, may be regarded as one of the most considerable places in the empire. The principal manufactures are, the weaving of fine *haiks* and the working of copper, which is obtained in great abundance from the neighbouring mines.† From this place, it is a journey of about 125 miles, crossing the mountains, to Morocco.‡

* Jackson says that the river Suse passes through the town, a circumstance not mentioned by Lempriere, who resided for some time at Tarudant; and in his map it does not stand near it.

† The pass is called, from its abrupt and angular turnings, "the camel's neck." For nearly four hours, it is a continued steep and difficult ascent; and the descent into the plain of Morocco is "dreadfully steep and rocky."—Lempriere, p. 165.

‡ Lempriere, pp. 151—154. Jackson assigns to Terodant a population of 25,000 souls, which must be mere conjecture. He also speaks of "handsome buildings and a magnificent palace," but Lempriere appears not to have seen them. The town is now

Into the central recesses of Mount Atlas, no European traveller has hitherto penetrated; and the height of its loftiest summits remains unascertained. From the city of Morocco, the snowy peaks bear S.E. It is a distance, according to Jackson, of not less than thirty-five miles from Morocco to the foot of the mountains, although their magnitude makes them appear not more than five miles from the city; and the ascent is so gradual, that it takes two days more to reach the snow. Yet, this part of the chain is discernible at sea twenty miles W. of Mogodore, and, consequently, at a distance of from 170 to 200 miles from the snowy summits; which requires an elevation equal to that of the loftiest mountains of Europe, and approaching to the altitude of the Himalaya itself.* In fact, according to Humboldt's principles, the line of perpetual snow under the parallel of 32°, cannot be less than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea.† Shaw, who saw only the Numidian branch of these mountains, too hastily concluded, that the representations of the ancients respecting the height of Atlas, were mere poetic fiction; ‡ but it is now admitted, that their fictions had their foundation in real phenomena. Thus, the description of Atlas given by Solinus,

celebrated, he tells us, for saltpetre of a very superior quality, for the manufacture of leather, for saddles, and for dyeing.—Jackson, p. 73.

* Mr. Jackson makes the distance at which the peaks are visible, to be 245 miles or 211 geographical miles; and he infers, that, if Mr. Colebrooke's observation be correct, the summit of Atlas must be not less than 29,000 feet above the level of the sea.—(Jackson's Shabeeny, p. 93.) Mr. Colebrooke's statement is, that it requires an elevation of 28,000 feet to be discernible, *in the mean state of the atmosphere*, at the distance of 200 geographical miles; but a much inferior elevation, he admits, may suffice under circumstances of extraordinary refraction. Asiat. Res. vol. xii. p. 256.

† See the learned Traveller's Observations on the Peak of Teneriffe, Pers. Narr. vol. i. p. 261.

‡ See page 341 of our first volume.

who says, that its snowy summit shines with nocturnal fires,* is fully verified by Colonel Keatinge, who speaks of Mount Atlas, as seen from the city of Morocco, in the following terms. "His nebulous region is now, during the summer solstice, from sunset, *a blaze of lightning and electrical fluid*.....His face is here composed of cliff and narrow defiles, covered below with woods, above with snow; the intervening nebulous region, so grand a feature of a mountain of this scale, reigns in a vertical direction of 6000 feet."†

Mr. Jackson, who, in March 1797, crossed the mountains between Santa Cruz and Morocco, gives the following account of the distinct climates and zones of vegetation, through which the pass ascends. The governor and garrison of Santa Cruz, together with the merchants, had been summoned by his Imperial Majesty to the capital; and the whole body set forth accordingly. The route lay through the plains of the Howara Arabs; and about the middle of the second day, they reached the foot of Atlas. Here the country abounds with extensive plantations of the olive-tree; the almond-tree, the orange-tree, the pomegranate, the *fashook* (or gum-ammoniac tree), and other gum-bearing shrubs, the indigo-plant, and vines producing purple grapes of enormous size and fine flavour, also flourish here; the stick liquorice, called *ark Suse* (the root of Suse), grows all over the province, and there is great abundance of worm-seed, called *sheh*. The *euphorbium* plant is found in rocky parts of the mountain. "Ascending the Atlas," continues Mr. Jackson, "after five

* "*Vertex semper nivalis lucet nocturnis ignibus.*" This Atlas, Humboldt admits, was not, as some have supposed, the Peak of Teneriffe, but the *Dyris* of the ancients; a word which may perhaps be recognized in the Mount Daran of Arabian geographers.—Pers. Narr., vol. i. pp. 244, 246.

† Keatinge, vol. i. pp. 332, 341.

hours' ride,* we reached a table-land, and pitched our tents near a sanctuary. The temperature of the air is cooler here, and the trees are of a different character: apples, pears, cherries, walnuts, apricots, peaches, plums, and rhododendra are the produce of this region. The next morning at five o'clock, the army struck their tents, and after ascending seven hours more, we met with another change in vegetation. Leguminous plants began to appear; pines of an immense size; ferns; the *beloot* (a species of oak, the acorn of which is used as food); the elm; the mountain ash, and two species of juniper, called the *seedra* and the *snobar*.

"After this, we passed through a fine champaign country of four hours' ride. We were informed that this country was very populous, but our guide (a revered *fakeer*) avoided the habitations of men.† We now began again to ascend these magnificent and truly romantic mountains, and in two hours, approached partial coverings of snow. Vegetation here diminishes, and nothing is now seen but firs, whose tops appear above the snow. The cold is here intense. Proceeding two hours further, we came to a narrow pass, on the east side of which was an inaccessible mountain, almost perpendicular and entirely covered with snow; and on the west, a tremendous precipice of several thousand feet in depth, as if the mountain had been rent asunder by an earthquake. The path is not more than a foot wide, over a solid rock of granite. Here, the whole army dismounted, and many pros-

* That is, we presume, not five hours' ascent, but five hours from the encampment of the morning. It is to be regretted, however, that the Author should express himself so ambiguously.

† "It is remarkable, that the pullets' eggs that we procured in this champaign country, were nearly twice the size of those of Europe."

trated themselves in prayer, invoking the Almighty to enable them to pass in safety. Notwithstanding every precaution, however, two mules missed their footing, and were precipitated with their burdens into the yawning abyss.* Proceeding northward through this defile, we continued our journey seven hours, gradually descending towards the plains. Two hours further, (making together nine hours' journey,) we encamped on another table-land on the northern declivity of Atlas, at the entrance of an immense plantation of olives, about a mile W. of a village called *Ait Musie*, in a most luxuriant and picturesque country.† The village of *Ait Musie* contains many Jews, whose external appearance is truly miserable; but this is (assumed) through mere policy, for they are a trading and rich people. We remained encamped here three days, amusing ourselves by hawking with the prince's falconer and hunting the antelope.‡ On the

* "There is no other pass but this and that of *Belawin*, which is equally dangerous for an army; so that the district of Suse might be defended by a few men against an invading army of several thousands, by taking a judicious position at the southern extremity of this narrow path, which is but a few yards in length." The other pass, that of Belawin, is, we presume, "the camel's neck," by which Lempriere crossed the mountains in travelling from Terodant to Morocco.

† "The olive-plantations at this place and in many other parts of the country, do honour to the agricultural propensity of the Emperor Muley Ismael. Wherever that warrior (who was always in the field) encamped, he never failed to employ his army in some active and useful operation, to keep them from being devoured by the worm of indolence, as he expressed it. Accordingly, wherever he encamped, we meet with these extensive plantations of olive-trees, planted by his troops, which are not only a great ornament to the country, but produce abundance of fine oil. Those of Ras el Wed, near Terodant, are so extensive, that one may travel from the rising to the setting sun under their shade, without being exposed to the rays of an African sun."

‡ The prince had sent forward couriers from this place, to announce his approach.

fourth day, we descended the declivity of the Atlas, and in eight hours, reached the populous town of Fruga, situated in the same extensive plain wherein the city of Marocco stands. From this place to Marocco, a day's journey, the country is one continued corn-field."*

The inhabitants of these mountains are a race entirely distinct from either the Moors of the cities or the Arabs of the plains, and are supposed to be the aboriginal possessors of the country. Those whom Colonel Keatinge saw, were, he says, well-formed men, with the features, curled beards, and fair, freckled complexion of the temperate climes of Europe. They appear to have been inhabitants, however, of the mountains to the north of the city of Morocco, who differ materially, Mr. Jackson says, in language, costume, and habits, from the Shelluhs of the southern mountains. The latter are a weaker race, not so athletic and robust as the true Berbers.† Lempriere, not aware of any such distinction, de-

* Jackson's Shabeeny, pp. 74—78. The Island of Teneriffe exhibits, in a similar ascending series, five zones of plants, which Humboldt distinguishes as the region of vines, the region of laurels, that of pines, that of the *retama*, and that of grasses. These zones, arranged in stages on the steep declivity of the Peak, occupy a perpendicular height of 1750 toises, or about 10,500 feet. The region of vines ascends to the height of between 1500 and 1800 feet; the second, that of the chestnut, oak, and arbutus, extends to the height of 5400 feet; the third, entirely filled by a forest of pines, is 2400 feet in breadth; the fourth and fifth zones occupy heights equal to the most inaccessible summits of the Pyrences.—Humboldt's Pers. Narr., vol. i. pp. 260—270. Taking into consideration the difference of latitude on the one hand, and on the other, the isolated situation and volcanic character of the Peak of Teneriffe, the pass over the Atlas must reach an elevation of not less than between 9000 and 10,000 feet above the sea.

† Jackson's Shabeeny, p. 326. See also, for specimens of the Berber and Shelluh dialects, *ib.* pp. 366—8. The latter is denominated *Amazirk*, and is nearly the same as that of Siwah in the

scribes the mountaineers of Atlas in the following terms; but how far he gives the result of his personal observation, is doubtful.

"The villages (in the Atlas) consist of huts rudely constructed of earth and mud, and walled in: they are very numerous, and are inhabited by a race of people named Brebes. Each village is under the direction of a shaik, who, contrary to the practice in the encampments of the Arabs, is an officer of their own choice. The Brebes are a very athletic and strong-featured people, patient, accustomed to hardships and fatigue, and seldom removing far from the spot where they reside. They shave the fore part of the head, but suffer their hair to grow from the crown as far behind as the neck; they wear no shirt or drawers; they are covered only by one woollen garment without sleeves and belted round the middle; though I saw some few who wore the *haick*. Their principal amusement is in the use of their muskets; they are excellent marksmen, and are particularly dexterous in twirling their muskets round, throwing them very high in the air, and afterwards catching them. So attached are they to these instruments, that they frequently go to the expense of sixty or even eighty ducats, to ornament them with silver and ivory. Their employment consists principally in cultivating the valleys, looking after their cattle, and hunting wild beasts, the skins of which become a very valuable

Ammonian Oasis. Col. Keatinge suggests, that there may be an etymological connexion between Shellu and the *Psylli* of Libya; and the same word seems to occur in composition, in the *Mas-syli* and *Massæ-syli*. The Siwahan is the Showiah of Shaw, which, he says, differs only in some words from the Shillah. In his vocabulary of this dialect, there occur the Shelluh words, *yeese*, horse; and *ikfee*, milk; the Berebber *ouli*, a sheep; and *thamatoute*, a woman; and some Arabic words. Further remarks upon this language, will be found in the account of the Tuaricks.

article of sale. Like the Arabs, they have their regular market for the disposal of cattle, &c., where they either receive money or some other article in exchange. They have fallen, in a great measure, into the customs and religion of the Moors, but they still retain their original language; and a Moor is frequently obliged to use an interpreter to enable him to converse with them. Besides those who reside in huts in the valleys, which are numerous, there are also others who live in caves in the upper parts of the mountains; so that the number of the whole must be very considerable."*

Besides the Berbers, many Jews reside in the valleys, in separate villages. These people are employed in the trifling mechanical occupations which the Berbers require.

The town of Wedinoon (or, as Colonel Keatinge writes it, *Guaudnum*) is a considerable *entrepôt* of the Soudan trade; and a great traffic is thence carried on, by regular days of sale, with the hamlets in the interior of the mountains, chiefly by Jewish merchants.† A considerable manufacture of gunpowder of indifferent quality is established at Wedinoon; an article which the petty warfare carried on among the mountain tribes, is said to render much in request. They were described to Colonel Keatinge as a

* Lempriere, pp. 169—171. "In the winter season," says Col. Keatinge, "the mountaineers, true Troglodytes, lodge themselves and their herds in caves, keeping all warm by great fires; they probably have an ample supply of timber. They till the earth, and raise corn enough for their own consumption, commencing their labours when the return of the sun invites them back from their caves to their villages....The remains of Christianity, ruins of convents and cells, are yet extant, as it is said. But is it conceivable, that Vandal conquest could have reached, or any cupidity have excited, thus far?"—Keatinge, pp. 336, 338.

† Keatinge, p. 339.

ferocious and hospitable. The arrival of a stranger among them, in the heat of their fiercest contests, is a signal of truce. They include all foreigners under one general name,—*Romi*, Romans. In religion, they are represented to be Mohammedans, but of questionable orthodoxy. This Traveller states, that the creed of Moseilama, the contemporary of Mohammed, has been perpetuated in these parts; and that the spiritual head of this sect is an independent Imaum, resident near Cape Noon, in a fertile and well-watered district, who is acknowledged by the republican Arabs inhabiting the undefined southern borders of the empire.

We must now return once more to the point on the northern coast from which we commenced our topographical description; in order to explore, with our adventurous countrymen, the recesses of Interior Africa

FROM TRIPOLI TO MOURZOUK.

In the year 1818, in consequence of the amicable dispositions evinced by the Bashaw of Tripoli towards the British Government, it was resolved to appoint a vice-consul to reside at Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan; and the late Mr. Ritchie (then private secretary to Sir Charles Stuart, our ambassador at Paris) was selected for the undertaking. He was joined at Tripoli by Captain G. F. Lyon, who had volunteered his services as his companion; and to this enterprising and more fortunate Traveller, who has braved alike the rigours of an Arctic winter and the scorching heats of Central Africa, we are indebted for the narrative of the expedition.

On the 25th of March, 1819, the *kafflé* (*kafila*, *kofla*, caravan), consisting of about 200 men and the same number of camels, commenced its march from Tripoli for the Interior. They were accompanied by Mohammed el Mukni, the Sultan of Fezzan, from whose protection and friendship the greatest advantages were anticipated. By the express advice of the Bashaw, the English Travellers assumed the Moorish costume with the character of Moslems. Mr. Ritchie's name was converted into Yusuf ul Ritchie; Captain Lyon called himself Said Ben Abdallah; and Belford, a shipwright who had entered into their service, took the name of Ali. In the *kafflé* were several parties of liberated blacks, "all joyful at the idea of once more returning to their native land, though the means of their support were very slender, and many of them, with their young children, had to walk a distance of 2000 miles before they could reach their own country."

The route lay, for the first two days, over a sandy, irregular desert, and then entered the mountains of Tellyoona, situated to the S.E. of Tripoli, and which seem to be a continuation of the Gharian (or Wahryan) range.* Several little streams flow from the

* During his detention at Tripoli, Captain Lyon made an excursion to Gharian. About twenty miles S.S.W. of Tripoli, he came to the ruined mud castle of Mejnine, formerly a frontier post. On approaching the mountains, the path became rugged and steep, in many places covered with basalt; and to the left of the track is a small conical mountain of basalt, having very little earth on the top of it, called *El Kelb Assoud* (the black dog). Near it were two or three smaller hillocks, also entirely of basalt. The Gharian pass is described as the most difficult and dangerous the Writer had ever seen. The rocks are worn so smooth, that it was necessary to lead the horses with the utmost care, as one false step would, in many places, have precipitated them down the side of the mountain. On the summit (in lat. 32° 7′ 50″; long. 13° 2′ 10″) is a tower to defend the pass, and a subterranean village called *Beni Abbas*. A person unacquainted with the troglodytic habits of the people, might cross the mountain without suspecting it to be inhabited. The mountain top spreads into a fine plain, in the highest state of cultivation; corn and saffron fields being diversified with olive-yards, and apple and almond trees are planted in such little ledges of the rock as are too narrow for grain. There are many Jews in these mountains, whose dwellings are much cleaner and better excavated than those of the Arabs, and are also neatly whitewashed. The loftiest summit of this part of the range, called *Tekoot*, was observed S. 23° W. It is surmounted with the tomb of a famous Maraboot. Three miles S. of this mountain, there is a Roman building, about twelve feet square, standing on two or three broad steps; probably a tomb. The Castle of Gharian, called *Gusser Turk* (*Kasr Toork*), is an immense ill-constructed building of rough stones, having a turret at each corner, with embrasures for cannon, and here and there a loop-hole for musketry. Near it a market is held weekly, and there are several villages within a few miles, both above and under ground. Gharian is famed for the excellence of its soil, the richness of its saffron, and the goodness of its corn. The men are well made, and have an air of freedom. Captain Lyon here shot three wild animals of the species called *Gundy*, which burrow among the rocks. They resemble a Guinea pig in form, but are covered with a long, silky fur of a light-brown mouse colour; their

sides of the hills, and there is much game here, chiefly partridges and snipes. On the sixth day, passing over a stony desert, they reached Benioleed,* an Arab village of about 2000 souls. The houses (or huts) are built of rough stones, on each side of the *Wady*: none are above 8 feet in height; they receive their light only through the doors; and their appearance is that of heaps of ruins. The inhabitants, who are of the tribe Orfilly, are a handsome race, and the young girls "are really beautiful." They have the character ("and I believe," adds Captain Lyon, "not without deserving it") of being the greatest rogues and robbers in the neighbourhood of Tripoli.† The *Wady* produces little corn, but the palms and olive-trees are very flourishing. The wells are from 100 to 200 feet in depth: the water is excellent. The people are cruelly mulcted and oppressed by the Bashaw, the

eyes are large, black, and prominent; and their flesh eats like that of a rabbit. A very dreary and rugged road, through difficult passes, and over mountains and gravelly plains, leads to Benioleed, distant about 80 miles S. 40 E.—Lyon, pp. 21—34.

* "Benioleet consists of several straggling mud villages on the sides of a fertile ravine, several miles in length, and bounded by rocks of difficult access. The centre is laid out in gardens planted with date and olive-trees, and producing also corn, vegetables, and pulse. The valley is subject to inundation during the winter rains, but, in summer, requires to be watered with great labour by means of wells of extraordinary depth. It is inhabited by the Orfilla tribe, which amounts to about 2000 souls, subsisting chiefly by agriculture and the rearing of cattle, aided only in a trifling degree by a manufacture of nitre: they are accounted hardy, brave, and industrious, but at the same time dishonest and cruel."—Smyth in Beechey, p. 507. Benioleet castle stands in latitude 31° 45′ 39″ N., longitude 14° 12′ 10″ E.

† "The Orfilly Arabs have almost universally a bad character, and are much disliked. A man murdered or robbed, a house fired, a camel stolen, or any lawless act, is almost always traced to an Orfilly; and certainly a more insolent, thievish, and begging set of men, I never saw."—Lyon, p. 314.

Kaid, his collector, and the Kaid's Chowse, the deputy-collector, by whom the original requisition is often doubled and tripled. Dr. Oudney describes the *wady* over which the huts are scattered, as a rich valley, bounded on all sides by whitish-brown hills, chiefly limestone, but capped in many places with greenstone and amygdaloid: their height does not exceed 400 feet. Rugged villages and ruinous castles are seen on every point, some overtopping the columnar greenstone, and scarcely distinguishable from it. Captain Lyon was told, that, during the rains, the valley frequently becomes flooded by the torrents, and that sometimes, the water has been known to rise so high as to hide from view the tallest olive-trees in the low grounds: "the depth, in that case, must be at least 30 feet." Many natives confirmed this account, adding, that men and animals had often been drowned in the night, before they could escape; the torrents from the hill sides rushing down with such impetuosity, that, in an hour or two, the whole country is inundated.

On leaving Benioleed (April 2), it was necessary to take a supply of water for three days. The country presented an alternation of stony desert* and plains

* The second day's march lay entirely over a stony plain, without the least sign of vegetation, and covered with small stones, resembling, in size and form, lumps of sugar, with vitrified and shining surfaces. Dr. Oudney says: "The upper, or, as I would call it, the lavaceous crust, appears as if a layer left by a flowing fluid." He mentions as one of the highest hills in this part, the *Jibel Gulet* (the *Gila* of Lyon), about 600 feet high, with a tabular top. The lowest exposed *stratum* is a calcareous tufa, formed almost entirely of sea-shells (oyster and limpet) in a very perfect state. Above are beds of very soft carbonate of lime, like whiting, and falling to dust on the slightest touch, in which is embedded a large quantity of lamellar calcareous spar.] [Above, and apparently

not incapable of cultivation, but having at this season no water. Much good herbage and some fields of barley occurred; and the second day's march terminated at a valley in which were some thick groves of the *talh*-tree, a species of acacia.* On the fifth day (April 6), they crossed Wady Zemzem, which runs into the Gulf of Syrtis, and passing over a plain strewed in some parts with cockle-shells, reached the Well of Bonjem, which is the northern boundary of Fezzan.†

extending to the summit, is a tolerably fine marble. The quantity of *debris*, and the size and appearance of the masses, might induce a person to attribute the rent and rugged appearance of the side of the hill to an earthquake; but this Writer considers it as accounted for by the mouldering of the soft *stratum*. The hill is about three miles long from E. to W. "In the vicinity are a number of small conical hills of a soft whiting-like substance, appearing as if recently thrown up, although, from every thing around, this is not at all probable."—Denham and Clapperton, vol. i. p. 10. The curious conical mounts near Morocco, described by Colonel Keatinge (see page 45), are probably of similar formation. Several *tumuli* of stones, marking the burial-places of unfortunate travellers murdered there, added to the dreary character of the rugged and barren scenery.

* Dr. Oudney describes, apparently, the same valley as containing some thick groves of acacias, together with a plant like a *mespilus*, bearing small astringent berries, called by the natives *butomo*. The *talh*, according to Burckhardt, is the gum-arabic tree, a species of acacia.—See MOD. TRAV., Arabia, p. 172.

† Dr. Oudney does not mention Wady Zemzem, but says, that, after leaving the valley *Niffud*, they entered an extensive plain called *Ambulum*, the surface of which was a fine sand, with here and there rocky eminences, and patches of fine gravel mixed with fragments of shells. In some places, they found some beautiful fragments of striped jasper and small pieces of carnelion. The *feniculum duter*, and a beautiful *genista* which extends all the way from the coast, were common; and the *butum* occurred in abundance. Near the Wells, the *arundo phragmites* is found, with long, creeping roots. Plants of this kind, this Writer remarks, would soon make considerable encroachments on the Desert, and render it habitable where it is now difficult to travel over.

The Well of Bonjem is situated in latitude 30° 35′ 32″ N. The water, which resembles, both in taste and smell, bilge-water from a ship, lies in a *stratum* of black clay about 5 feet below the sand. At the distance of half a mile from the well is a Roman castle, situated among some high sand-hills: it is of an oblong form, having in the centre of each of the walls, a large arched gateway between two strong towers. Each of the former, with its flanking towers, is in a different style of architecture. Only one remains perfect: the others have fallen, or are partially buried in the sand. The stones of which these buildings are composed, are of the magnitude common to all Roman structures, and are of a kind of dark granite. In the inclosed space are several immense stones standing upright, and so placed as to give the appearance of having once supported a large building: some are 10 feet in height, independently of the part imbedded in the sand. The mouth of a well is visible, still bearing the marks of the cords used in drawing the water: it is now entirely choked up with sand. The walls are above 200 paces in length from E. to W., and from N. to S. about 150. The Arabs, probably in the time of the Khalifs, appear to have used the northern towers; as remains of their rude masonry still surmount the original buildings. Over each gateway, there has been an inscription: the northern one is most perfect. Under each had once been a large eagle, carved in basso-relievo; but they are now so mutilated as to bear very little resemblance to that bird.*

There is another route to Bonjem from the coast,

* Lyon, pp. 65, 6. The inscription, as given by the Writer, contains the names of the Emperors Septimius Severus and Aurelius Antoninus.

by way of the Well of Zemzem and Zleetun,* which was taken by Captain Lyon on his return, and subsequently by Major Denham. The holy well which gives its name to *Wady Zemzem*, is so called on account of its having been blessed by a Maraboot.† Captain Lyon, who reached it on the fourth day's march from Bonjem, describes it as apparently of Roman workmanship, and 84 feet in depth: he found the water salt and putrid. In this *wady*, which is of great length (running N.E. and S.W.), are the ruins called Ghirza, an exaggerated account of which led Captain Smyth to undertake a journey from Tripoli on purpose to visit them, under the impression that they might prove the *Ras Sem* of Shaw and Bruce.‡ His route was by Benioleed, and thence, across the *Souarat* mountains, to a pretty but neglected valley called *Taaza*, in which the myrtle, the lotus-tree, the juniper, the cypress, and the *talh* flourish spontaneously. On the evening of the third day from Benioleed, he encamped near the Well of Zemzem; where it was found necessary to burn away the stubble, in order to destroy a venomous species of spider, from the bites of which the Travellers had two or three narrow escapes. The ruins are between three and four miles from the Well. Early the next morning, Captain Smyth set off over the hills to explore the ruins of which he had heard so much; and sore was his disappointment, when, after a short ride, he found himself in sight of some ill-constructed houses of comparatively modern date, on the break of a rocky hill, with a few tombs at a short distance beyond the

* See page 69 of our first volume. Captain Lyon was seven days in journeying from the Well of Zemzem to Zleetun.

† Zemzem is the name of the sacred well in the Temple of Mecca.

‡ See page 156 of our first volume.

ravine. "On approaching the latter," he continues, "I found them of a mixed style and in very indifferent taste, ornamented with ill-proportioned columns and clumsy capitals. The regular architectural divisions of frieze and cornice being neglected, nearly the whole depth of the entablatures was loaded with absurd representations of warriors, huntsmen, camels, horses, and other animals in low relief, or rather scratched on the freestone of which they are constructed. The pedestals are mostly without a dye, and the sides bore a vile imitation of arabesque decoration. The human figures and animals are miserably executed, and are generally small, though they vary in size from about three feet and a half to a foot in height, even on the same tombs, which adds to their ridiculous effect; while some palpable and obtruding indecencies render them disgusting.

"Across a fine but neglected valley to the south-eastward, (in which were numerous herds of wild antelopes and a few ostriches,) is a monumental obelisk of heavy proportions; and near it are four tombs of similar style and ornament with the first set. These are remarkable, however, as more strongly combining a mixture of Egyptian and Greek architecture, and are so placed as to give a singular interest to the scene. There are but three inscriptions, and these are comparatively insignificant; nor can other particulars be learned, the whole of them having been opened, in search, probably, of treasure; but, as no person permanently resides near the spot, I was deprived of any local information. A wandering Bedoween, who had been some time in the *wady*, brought me a fine medal, in large brass, of the elder Faustina, which he had found in the immediate vicinity. The tombs appear to have remained unin-

jured by the action of either the sun or the atmosphere, excepting only a deep fallow tint they have imbibed; the sculpture, therefore, as we must call it, remains nearly perfect. As these edifices are near the Fezzan road, people from the Interior have occasionally tarried to examine them; and being the only specimens of the art they ever saw, yet representing familiar objects, they have described them on their arrival at the coast, in glowing colours.....It has been deemed a species of pilgrimage to resort thither as the caravan passes, and inscribe a blessing for the supposed unfortunate petrified Moslems; and with these, the pedestals are actually covered. Thus, notwithstanding the diminutive size and despicable execution of these bas-reliefs, the Turks who accompanied me, eyed them with admiration and respect, pointing out to my notice that the horses had actually four legs, and other similar trifles.

"Ghirza is situated near some barren hills called *Garatilia*, and, from its want of water, and sterile, comfortless appearance, could only have been a military post in communication with Thabunte and the stations along the shores of the Greater Syrtis. The wady, indeed, may have been formerly well-cultivated, being even now covered with spontaneous vegetation and flourishing *talha*, cypress, lotus, and other trees. The position of the ruins is in latitude 31° 7′ 16″ N., longitude 14° 40′ 50″ E." *

Major Denham, who visited Ghirza in returning from Mourzouk to Tripoli, has supplied copies of the inscriptions found there, which are in Latin, rudely cut, and probably of the time of the Lower Empire. The two principal ones "are clearly tributes of

* Beechey's Northern Coast, pp. 508—512.

children to the memory of their parents; and the termination is remarkable for the prayer, that their parents might revisit their descendants on earth, and make them like themselves."* This Traveller takes no notice of the sculptures described by Captain Smyth, and he probably did not visit them. "We found here," (at Ghirza,) he says, "the remains of some buildings said to be Roman, situated about three miles W.S.W. of the well, which appeared to me extremely interesting. There must have been *several towns*, or, probably, *one large city*, which extended over some miles of country. There are remains of four large buildings, which appear to have been mausoleums, though two of them are nearly razed to the earth. The architecture was rude, but various: capitals, shafts, cornices, and entablatures lay scattered about; some of curious, if not admirable workmanship. The entrance to all the buildings was from the east, and by fourteen steps to the base of the upper range of pillars, now totally destroyed." At Hanafs, fifteen miles to the east, there are some other ruins of a character similar to those of Ghirza. Two inscriptions were noticed, but they are perfectly unintelligible and obscured by time.†

Wady Zemzem is said to run into the Gulf of Sert below Tawurgha (or Towergha). The village of that name is seven or eight miles from the coast; and the waters of this *wady*, probably, discharge themselves into the great marsh, converting it, periodically, into a lagoon.—We now return to Capt. Lyon.

* As restored by Dr. Young, the words so rendered are:—"VISITENT FILIOS ET NEPOTES MEOS ET TALES FACIANT."

† Denham, vol. ii. pp. 143—149. Both Major Denham and Captain Smyth returned from Ghirza by way of Benioleed. It is to be regretted that they were unable to proceed to Towergha.

On the 7th of April, the camels being loaded with four days' water, the caravan left Bonjem, and proceeded over a barren desert called *Klia.* The soil, where clear of sand, is gypsum with numerous shells. At the end of three hours and a half, they passed a remarkable mound of limestone and sand, resembling, until a very near approach, a white turret. Dr. Oudney says, it is about forty feet high, and is called by the natives, The Bowl of Bazeen.* The halt was made, at the end of ten hours, in a sandy *wady*, called *Boo-naja* (ewe's father), twenty-two miles S.S.E. of Bonjem.

The next day, the road led through a defile called *Hormut Emhalla* (the pass of the army); then, passing a range of table mountains running N. E. and S.W., called *Elood*, it crossed a stony and very uneven plain, encircled with mountains, to the pass of *Hormut Tazzet.* At seven hours and a quarter, an insulated conical hill of gravel was passed, called, from its resembling in shape a tent, *El Khayma.* Having cleared the pass, the road opened upon a plain called *El Grarat Arab Hoon*, where the caravan encamped, after a march of twelve hours and a half. One of the camels died this day; three others were unable to come up; and all of the camels in the *kaffle* were much distressed, not having for several days tasted any kind of food. Two hours and a half further, there is a solitary tree, which is reckoned a day's journey from water. "Slaves, in coming from this water, are not allowed to drink until they reach the tree,

* "It is formed above of a calcareous crust with sulphate of lime, and below of soft chalk." Denham and Clapperton, vol. I. p. 13. Bazeen is the name of an Arab dish, a sort of hasty pudding. The name, Captain Lyon says, is also applied to the surrounding country, and alludes, probably, to the nature of the soil, a soft white chalk with a crust of gypsum.

which is one of the longest stages in the journey from Fezzan." At the end of nearly eleven hours, the route led through a pass called *Hormut Taad Atar*, and after winding through a *wady* closely hemmed in by mountains, opened into a small circular plain, in which was found a well of brackish, stinking water. In hot seasons, this well is dry; and even now, it was very low; but the horses sucked up with avidity the mud that was thrown out of it. Still, there was no fodder for the camels, till, about the middle of the next day's march, they reached a small *wady* in which were some low bushes. A strong sand-wind from the southward now rendered the march extremely harassing. The sand flew about in such quantities, that the Travellers were unable to prepare any food, and they could not even see thirty yards before them. In the evening, they encamped amid a plantation of palms, near two wells of tolerably fresh water, at a short distance from Sockna. Of this town, which is about half way between Tripoli and Mourzouk, Captain Lyon gives the following description.

"Sockna stands on an immense plain of gravel, bounded, to the south, by the Soudah mountains, at about fifteen miles; by the mountains of Wadan about thirty miles to the eastward; a distant range to the west; and those already mentioned on the north. The town is walled, and may contain 2000 persons. There are small projections from the walls, having loop-holes for musketry. It has seven gates, only one of which will admit a loaded camel. The streets are very narrow, and the houses are built of mud and small stones mixed, many of them having a story above the ground floor. A small court is open in the centre, and the doors which open from this area, give the only light the rooms receive. The water of Sockna is

almost all brackish or bitter. There are 200,000 date-trees in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, which pay duty; also an equal number, not yet come into bearing, which are exempt.* These dates grow in a belt of sand, at about two or three miles' distance from the towns, and are of a quality far superior to any produced in the north of Africa. Owing to their excellence, they are sold at a very high price at Tripoli. The adjoining country is entirely destitute of shrubs or any kind of food for camels, which are therefore sent to graze about five miles off; while, in the town, all animals are fed on dates. Sheep are brought here from Benioleed, and are, in consequence of coming from such a distance, very dear. In the gardens about three miles from the town, barley, maize, and *gussob* (*dhourra*) are cultivated, as well as a few onions, turnips, and peppers. The quantity of flies here is immense, and all the people carry little flappers, made of bunches of wild bulls' hair tied to a short stick, in order to keep these pests at a distance. The dates all being deposited in store-houses in the town, may account in some degree for the multitude of these insects; which, in a few minutes, fill every dish or bowl containing any liquid.

"The costume here is the same as that of the Bedouins, consisting generally of a shirt and barracan, a red cap, and sandals. A few, whose circumstances allow of it, dress in the costume of Tripoli. The neat appearance of the men in general, is very striking, compared with that of the Arabs about the coast. The

* "The duties paid by this place amount to 2000 dollars annually, exclusive of a tax of one dollar on each 200 date-trees."—"The Tripoli money is the currency of Sockna, which occasions great losses to the people, who are obliged to pay their taxes in Spanish dollars, which they buy at extravagant prices. The Bashaw's coin is now almost worthless."—(p. 320.)

women are considered exceedingly handsome; indeed, one or two were really so, and as fair as Europeans; but they are noted for their profligacy and love of intrigue.*

"When the kingdom of Fezzan was governed by a native prince, this town, and the two neighbouring ones (of Hoon and Wadan), were in a manner independent; the distance from their own capital, as well as from Tripoli, securing them from surprise. All discontented or disaffected people, from either country, took refuge here; and the population was, at that time, more than double what it now is. The people of Sockna speak a language peculiar to themselves and to the Tuarick of the Great Desert: it is called *Ertana*, and is, I believe, the original Breber tongue.† .....The Arabs of Sockna are of the tribe *Riahh*. There are also some wanderers from Tripoli and the Syrtis, who frequent these towns on the frontier. They are of the tribes *Waled boo Saif*, *Waled ben Miriam*, and *Sohhoob*, and change their residence as

* "The women," says Major Denham, "are certainly very pretty, and are said to be remarkable for their love of intrigue. This may be true, or not; but we had no opportunity of ascertaining it from our own knowledge. Of their affability and good-humour, however, we had many proofs.. .The dress of the Sockna women is nearly that of the Tripoline: they wear striped shirts of silk or linen, large silver ear-rings, with leg-lets and arm-lets of the same: the lower classes wear those of glass or horn."—Denham, vol. i. pp. 16, 17. This Traveller thought that the population of Sockna must be considerably more than 3000, but numbers had probably gathered from the neighbourhood. The clean and neat appearance of the town surprised him.

† It is only spoken in this town, their neighbours of Hoon and Wadan not understanding it at all. From the vocabulary given by the Author, it appears to have a considerable mixture of Arabic; but the *Ertana* words are mostly the same as in the Siwahan of Horneman, the Showiah of Shaw, and the Shellu of Jackson.

they find pasture." The latitude of Sockna, according to several observations, is 29° 5′ 36″ N.*

When Major Denham and his companions subsequently travelled this route (in 1822), they met with a welcome from the people of Sockna, which was the more gratifying, as they were the first English travellers in Africa who had resisted the persuasion that a disguise was necessary. They had determined to travel in their real character as Britons and Christians, and to wear on all occasions their English dresses; nor had they, at any future period, occasion to regret having adhered to this determination. On approaching Sockna, they were met by the Governor and the principal inhabitants, attended by some hundreds of the country people, who crowded round the horses of the strangers, kissing their hands, and welcoming them with every appearance of satisfaction. In this way they entered the town, amid shouts of "*Inglesi! Inglesi!*" from a hundred voices. During their stay at Sockna, the marriage of the son of one of its richest inhabitants, Haji Mohammed el Hair Trigge, was celebrated in the true Arab style; which, in its "rudely chivalrous ceremonies," presents a striking contrast to the dull monotony of a Tripolitan wedding.

"The morning of the marriage day (for the ceremony is always performed in the evening, that is, the final ceremony; for they are generally betrothed, and the *fatah* read, a year before) is ushered in by the music of the town or tribe, consisting of a bagpipe and two small drums, serenading the bride first, and then the bridegroom, who generally walks through the streets very finely dressed, with all the town at his heels; during which time the women all assemble at

* Lyon, pp. 72—4; 79, 80.

the bride's house, dressed in their finest clothes, and place themselves at the different holes in the wall which serve as windows, and look into the court-yard. When they are so placed, and the bride is in front of one of the windows, with her face entirely covered with her barracan, and the bridal clothes, consisting of silk shifts, shawls, silk trowsers, and fine barracans, to shew her riches, are hung from the top of the house, quite reaching to the ground,—the young Arab chiefs are permitted to pay their respects. They are preceded from the *skiffa*, or entrance, by their music; and a dancing woman or two advances with great form, and with slow steps, to the centre of the court, under the bride's window. Here, the ladies salute their visiters with '*loo! loo! loo!*', which they return by laying their right hand on their breasts, as they are conducted quite round the circle. Ample time is afforded them to survey the surrounding beauties; and there are but few who, on these occasions, are so cruel as to keep the veil quite closed. Such an assemblage of bright black eyes, large ear-rings, and white teeth, are but rarely seen in any country. After having made the circuit, the largess is given and exposed to view by the chief *danseuse*; and, according to its amount, is the donor hailed and greeted by the spectators. Previously to their departure, all visiters discharge their pistols; and then, again, the ladies salute them with the '*loo! loo!*' So far from being displeased at my asking permission to pay my respects, they considered it as a favour conferred; and the bridegroom, although he could not himself be admitted, attended me to and from the house of his mistress. This ceremony being ended, a little before sunset, the bride prepares to leave her father's house.

A camel is sent for her with a *jaafa*,* or sedan-chair of basket-work, on its back, covered with skins of animals, and shawls from Soudan, Cairo, and Timbuctoo. Having stepped into this, and placed herself so as to see what is going forward, while she is completely hidden, she is conducted outside the town, where all the horsemen and footmen who have arms, are assembled. Our escort on this occasion added greatly to the effect, as they were all, by Boo Khaloom's order, in the field, consisting of sixty mounted Arabs; and when these all charged and fired at the foot of the bride's camel, I really felt for her situation; but it was thought a great honour, which, I suppose, consoled her for the fright. They commenced by skirmishing in twos and fours, and charging in sections at full speed, always firing close under the bride's *jaafa*. In this manner they proceeded three times round the town, the scene occasionally relieved by a little interlude of the bridegroom's approaching the camel, which was surrounded by the negresses, who instantly commenced a cry, and drove him away, to the great amusement of the by-standers. With discharges of musketry, and the train of horsemen, &c. she is then conveyed to the bridegroom's house; upon which it is necessary for her to appear greatly surprised, and refuse to dismount. The women scream, and the men shout, and she is at length persuaded to enter; when, after receiving a bit of sugar in her mouth from the bridegroom's hand, and placing another bit in his, with her own fair fingers, the ceremony is finished, and they are declared man and wife."†

* "This is called *jaafa*, only when a bride is conveyed in it; at other times, a *caramood*."

† Denham and Clapperton, vol. i. pp. 32—35. Captain Lyon has given a drawing of a *jaafa*. In the instance which he witnessed at Sebha, the camel was led by a relation of the bride, preceded by

The first day of spring is, at Sockna, a day of general rejoicing. Captain Lyon witnessed this festival on the 28th of February, 1820. "It is then the custom," he says, "to dress out little tents or bowers on the tops of the houses, decorating them with carpets, *jereeds*, shawls, and sashes. A gaudy handkerchief on a pole, as a standard, completes the work, which is loudly cheered by the little children, who eat, drink, and play during the day in these covered places; welcoming the spring by songs, and crying continually, 'O welcome spring! with pleasure bring us plenty.' The women give entertainments in their houses, and the day is quite a holiday. From the top of our house, these little bowers (*goobba*) had a very pretty effect, every roof in the town being ornamented with one. I saw this day, four ears of corn perfectly ripe, which was very early for the season. The gardens here are excellent, compared with the others in Fezzan. Lemons had been lately introduced from Tripoli, and promised well."*

Ten miles E. by S. from Sockna is the town of Hoon. It is smaller than Sockna, but is built and walled in the same manner. It has three gates, three mosques, and a large building which is dignified with the name of a castle; but it does not appear to have even a loop-hole for musketry. The palm-groves and gardens come up close to the walls of the town, and completely conceal it. The soil is sand, but is fertilized by being constantly refreshed by little channels from wells of brackish water. The inhabitants, who are of the tribe Fateima, bear a good character.

dancing people, music, and Arabs, mounted and dismounted, shouting and firing; and "the bridegroom walked before them, a fan in his hand, his fingers dyed with henna, loaded with tawdry clothes, and looking very solemn."—Lyon, p. 299.

* Lyon, p. 317.

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The town of Wadan is between twelve and thirteen miles E. by N. of Hoon. It appeared much inferior to either of the other two in point of neatness, comfort, and convenience, although its aspect is much more pleasing: it is built on a conical hill, on the top of which are some inclosed houses called the castle. Here is a well of great depth, cut through the solid rock; evidently not the work of the Arabs. The tombs and mosques, both here and at Hoon, were ornamented with quantities of ostrich eggs. The inhabitants of Wadan are *shereefs* (pretended descendants of the Prophets), who form the bulk of the resident population, and Arabs of the tribe *Moujer*, who spend the greater part of the year with their flocks in the Syrtis.* A few miles eastward of the town, there is a chain of mountains, which, as well as the town itself, derives its name from a species of buffalo, called *wadan*, immense herds of which are found there.† There are also great numbers of ostriches in these mountains, by hunting which many of the natives subsist. At all the three towns, Sockna, Hoon, and Wadan, it is the practice to keep tame ostriches in a stable, and in two years, to take three coverings of the feathers.‡

* All the camels belonging to these people are pastured in the Syrtis, a distance of five days' journey.

† The *wadan* is of the size of an ass, having a very large head and horns, a short reddish hide, and large bunches of hair hanging from each shoulder to the length of eighteen inches or two feet; they are very fierce. There are two other species found here; the *bogra el weish* (evidently the *bekker el wash* of Shaw), "a red buffalo, slow in its motions, having large horns, and of the size of a cow;" and "the white buffalo, of a lighter and more active make, very shy and swift, and not easily procured."—Lyon, p. 76. The *wadan* seems best to answer to the *oryx*.—See Shaw, p. 416. There are two or three other places named Wadan in Edrisi's Geography; but the word denotes also a meeting of two *wadys*.

‡ Capt. Lyon supposes, that all the fine *white* ostrich-feathers sent

On the 22d of April, Mr. Ritchie and his companions left Sockna, in company with Sultan Mukni, for Mourzouk, which they entered upon the 4th of May. The whole way is an almost uninterrupted succession of stony plains and gloomy *wadys*, with no water but that of wells, generally muddy, brackish, or bitter, and at fearful intervals. On the first evening, the place of encampment was a small plain, with no other vegetation than a few prickly *talh* bushes, encircled by high mountains of basalt, which gave it the appearance of a volcanic crater. Here, at a well of tolerably good water, called *Gutfa*, the camels were loaded with water for five days. The next day, the horse and foot men passed over a very steep mountain called *Nufdai*, by a most difficult path of large, irregular masses of basalt: the camels were four hours in winding round the foot of this mountain, which was crossed in one hour. From the *wady* at its foot, called Zgar, the route ascended to a flat covered with broken basalt, called *Dahr t' Moumen* (the believer's back); it then led through several gloomy *wadys*, till, having cleared the mountainous part of the *Soudah* (*Mont Assoud*), it issued in the plain called *El Maitba Soudah*, from its being covered in like manner with small pieces of basalt. Three quarters of an hour further, they reached *El Maitba Baida*, a plain covered with a very small white gravel, without the slightest trace of basalt.

to Europe, are from tame birds, the wild ones being in general so ragged and torn, that not above half a dozen good perfect ones can be found. The black, being shorter and more flexible, are generally good. All the Arabs agreed in stating, that the ostrich does not leave its eggs to be hatched by the heat of the sun. "The parent bird forms a rough nest, in which she covers from fourteen to eighteen eggs, and regularly sits on them in the same manner as the common fowl does on her chickens; the male occasionally relieving the female. It is during the breeding season that the greatest numbers are procured, the Arabs shooting the old ones while on their nests."—See page 187 of our first volume.

"We did not see any where," says Captain Lyon, "the least appearance of vegetation; but we observed many skeletons of animals which had died of fatigue on the Desert, and occasionally the grave of some human being. All these bodies were so dried by the extreme heat of the sun, that putrefaction did not appear to have taken place after death. In recently dead animals, I could not perceive the slightest offensive smell; and in those long dead, the skin, with the hair on it, remained unbroken and perfect, although so brittle as to break with a slight blow. The sand-winds never cause these carcases to change their places, as, in a short time, a slight mound is formed round them, and they become stationary." Afterwards passing between low, table-topped hills called *El Gaaf*, the *kafflé* encamped, on the third evening, in a desert called *Sbir ben Abeen*, where the plain presented on all sides so perfect an horizon, that an astronomical observation might have been taken as well as at sea. From the excessive dryness of the air, the blankets and barracans emitted electric sparks, and distinctly crackled on being rubbed. The horses' tails also, in beating off the flies, had the same effect. On the fourth day the route passed over sand-hills to a sandy, irregular plain, "very difficult and dangerous." Here, the wind, being southerly, brought with it such smothering showers of burning sand, that they frequently lost the track, being unable to distinguish objects at the distance of even a few yards.*

* "The overpowering effect of a sudden sand-wind, when nearly at the close of the desert, often destroys a whole *kafila*, already weakened by fatigue. The spot was pointed out to us, strewed with bones and dried carcases, where, the year before, fifty sheep, two camels, and two men, perished from thirst and fatigue, when within eight hours' march of the well which we were anxiously looking for."—Denham and Clapperton, vol. i. p. 16.

The next day's march (the fifth from Sockna), over a rocky country, led to the walled village of *Zeighan*, or *Zeghren*, situated in the midst of a large forest of palms, in latitude 27° 26′ N.* Eight miles further (S. 23° W.), crossing a barren plain with small basaltic hillocks, is another village, somewhat larger and more neatly walled, called *Samnoo*. The houses are very neatly built, and the rooms are washed with a yellow mud, which has a pretty effect. Three tolerably built white-washed minarets (the first that had been seen since leaving Tripoli) rise to some height above the houses, and have a pleasing appearance. Palm-trees encircle the town, and the gardens are considered good. This town, as well as Zeighan, is famed for the number and sanctity of its Maraboots. A stage of twenty miles (S. 75° W.), over a barren plain of gravel, leads to another, but inconsiderable town, called *Timenfint*. On the next day but one (the eighth), they reached Sebha, a mud-walled town picturesquely situated on rising ground,

* "The first four days of our journey after leaving Agutifa (Gutfa), were all dreariness and misery . . . as the third time that I passed these deserts but no familiarity . . . the scenery at all relieves the sense of wretchedness which its dreariness inspires. After three dreary wastes, it was no small pleasure . . . rest a day at Zeghren. . . . The houses (there) are better built than those of any other town in Fezzan. There is generally a *skiffa* and an ante-room, which opens into a *cowdie*: the walls are thick and strong, formed by sand and troad, and are white-washed with a kind of pipe-clay found in some of the hills in the neighbourhood. The roof is usually supported by four or six date-trees. Divers small windows with slight bars of date sprigs, are made in the walls; and by this means, a current of air is always obtained. A staircase opens to the roof, generally leading from the *cowdie*; and there at night, the mats are spread, and the Moors sleep and breathe the fresh evening breezes. The women's apartments are generally on another side of the house, and separated from the common rooms by an inner court."—Denham, vol. i. pp. 44.

surrounded with its palm-groves, in the midst of a dreary, desert plain: it has a high, square, white-washed minaret to its principal mosque. It stands in latitude 27° 3′ 8″ N. At this place, Captain Lyon remarked a change of colour in the population, the people being mulattoes. Two marches more led to *Ghroodwa*, "a miserable collection of mud-huts, containing about fifty people, who appeared a ragged, drunken set, as the immense number of tapped palms [illegible] from the ruins of some large mud edifices, this place seems once to have been of more importance." The palms which extend for ten or fifteen miles E. and W., are the property of the Sultan, and appeared in worse condition than any they had seen. On leaving this place, the route again entered on a barren, stony plain; and in five hours and a half, passed a small *wady* called *Wad el Nimmel* (the valley of ants), from the number of ants of a beautiful pink colour, which are found there. A few scattered palms and some ill-built ruined huts, occurring at intervals, and betokening the greatest wretchedness, alone relieved the dreariness of the remainder of the journey.

Before, however, we enter Mourzouk, we must add a few general observations upon the remarkable tract of country described in the preceding route.

The basaltic chain known under the name of the *Soudah* or *Jebel Assoud* (Black Mountains), commencing not far from Socna, extends from N. to S. three days' journey, but in so winding a direction as not to exceed, at the utmost, according to Major Denham, thirty-five miles in a straight line.* West-

* Captain Lyon makes them extend nearly 100 miles from north to south, between the parallels of 28° 40′ and 27° 30′. "Traces of basalt also occur near Tripoli, in latitude 32°, at a spot called Black Dog, in a valley through which the road passes from Beni Abbas to Benioleed."—Lyon, p. 363.

ward, they extend as far as the well of Assela on the road to Shiati, (a district westward of Sebha,) where the red clay hills continue alone, and connect with those of Benioleed. To the east, they extend three days on the road to Zuela, to a *wady* called *Temelleen.* They form, in fact, a branch or repetition of the mountainous desert traversed by Horneman, in his route from Cairo to Mourzouk, called *Harutsh el Assouat,* of which he gives so fearful a description. On the seventh day from Augila, he came in sight of this region, "so much dreaded by travellers." He was then travelling over a desert of calcareous limestone, into which the eastern foot of the range he was approaching, jutted like a promontory. The mountain presented the form of an imperfect cone, and the rock, on fracture, appeared to be ferruginous basalt. Range upon range of dreary, black mountains rose before him; and during the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth days, and the first part of the thirteenth, the march wound incessantly through narrow and dismal ravines, now and then spreading to some width, having some grass, and even a tree; and sometimes opening into a valley where the herbage looked fresh and even luxuriant from the copious rains that fall [illegible] mountainous region, fertilizing the soil which it washes down. The only watering-places were pools left by the rains. Sometimes, they moved on slowly and with difficulty over layers of loose stones for half a mile together; and to the south of the route, scenes even more dreary and terrific occasionally caught the eye. At length, emerging from this dark region, they entered on an extensive plain, bounded westward by low, bare, calcareous mountains, which they entered on the following day; and on the sixteenth day, they "came

again to the society of men," at Temissa, a walled town within the territory of Fezzan.*

"The rugged, broken, and altogether wild and terrific scene which this desert tract affords," Mr. Horneman remarks, "leads strongly to the supposition, that its surface, at some period, took its present convulsed form and appearance from volcanic revolution. Its inequalities of ground are no where of great altitude. The general face of the country shews continued ranges of hills, running in various directions, rising from 8 to 12 feet only above the level of the intermediate ground; and between which branches, (on perfect flats, and without any gradual ascent of base or foreground,) rise up lofty, insulated mountains, whose sides are exceedingly steep from the very base. A mountain of this description, situated midway on the journey over this desert, and north of our caravan road, is by the Arabs termed *Stres:* it has the appearance of being split from the top down to the middle. I was prevented from particular examination of it; but soon, on our caravan's halting, had the opportunity of inspecting another of the same kind. This mountain I perceived, from the foot to the summit, to be covered with detached stones such as wholly constitute the lower hills. The small plain from which this mountain rose, was encompassed

* Horneman's Journal, pp. 43—47. Mr. Horneman left Cairo, September 5, 1798, and on the 15th, reached Ummesogeir. Thence he proceeded to Siwah, a journey of twenty hours, where he remained (with the caravan) eight days. On the 29th, he again proceeded, and on the fourth day, reached the fruitful valley of Shiasha. From this place, it was a journey of sixty-three hours and a half to Mojabra, one of the three places comprised in the *Fallo* (district) of Augila, about four hours from the capital. On the 27th of October, he left Augila, and on the 17th of November, entered Mourzouk.

with rows of hills, such as above described, closely running into each other, and connected as a wall. The flat within was overspread with white quicksand, on which lay, irregularly scattered, large blocks of stone (basalt). With some trouble, I procured a sample of the earthy *stratum* beneath the sand: it seemed to me, at the time, to have the appearance of ashes thrown out from a volcano. In the vicinity of this mountain, I found stones of smaller bulk and a reddish colour, resembling that of burned bricks: some of these were one half red, the other blackish; the red part had not the same weight or density, on fracture, as the black; the former is more porous and spongy, and bears a general resemblance to slags or *scoriæ*. The stony substance of which the mass of these mountains consists, varies in colour and density; in some parts, heavy and compact; in others, having small holes and cavities. These species are intermingled, and I could not discover in either any extraneous substance. The stratification is perfectly horizontal, but often disturbed; parts of the first layer sinking into and mixing with the second below, and the second with the third. Sometimes, the *strata* take an oblique direction; sometimes, are promiscuously confused; and, sometimes, no *strata* appear at all, and a series of low hills is formed of one solid mass of rock, with fissures towards the north. The plain too shews occasionally level rock of the like nature and substance, in parts bare of sand or soil. The whole of this region of hillocks, hills, rocks, and mountains, is, in parts, intersected by vales occasionally having water; and though the soil is of white sand, yet, it is so far fertile as to produce single trees and pasturage: in these productive spots are frequently to be seen the tracks and slots of game.

"Contiguous to the *Harutsh el Assuat*, or Black Harutsh, lies the White Harutsh, *Harutsh el Abiat:* The country denoted by this appellation is a vast plain, interspersed with mounds or isolated hills, and spreads to the mountains rising towards Fezzán. The stones covering the surface of this plain, have the appearance of being glazed; and so too has every other substance, and even the rocks which occasionally rise or project from the level. Among the stones are found fragments of large petrified marine animals, but mostly shells closed up and insolidated. These shells, when struck or thrown forcibly on others, give a shrill sound, and the fracture presents a vitreous appearance. The low, bare, calcareous hills which border the plain, are, by the Arabs, comprised in the *Harutsh el Abiat;* but they are of a nature very different. Of all that I have seen, this range of hills contains the most petrifactions. These mountains rise immediately steep from the level; and the matter of which they are formed, is alone friable limestone, in which the petrifactions are so loosely imbedded, that they may be taken out with ease: they consist of petrified conchs, snail-shells, fish, and other marine substances. I found heads of fish that would be a full burthen for one man to carry. In the adjacent valleys are shells in great number, and of the same kind as those found on the great plain, and which have the appearance of being glazed." *

The description of the *Jebel Assoud* to the south of Sockna, given by Major Denham, strikingly corresponds to the preceding account of the Black Harutsh. "Immediately at the foot of the mountain is the well of *Agutifa*" (the *Gutfa* of Lyon); "and from hence,

* Horneman, pp. 48—52.

probably, the most imposing view of these heights will be obtained. To the south, the mountain path of *Nifflah* presents its black, overhanging peaks, and the deep chasm round which the path winds, bearing a most cavern-like appearance. A little to the west, the camel-path called *El Nishka*, appears scarcely less difficult and precipitous. The more southern crags close in the landscape, while the fore-ground is occupied by the dingy and barren *wady* of *Ayutifa*, with the well immediately overhung by red ridges of limestone and clay; the whole presenting a picture of barrenness not to be perfectly described either by poet or painter. Large masses of tabular basalt, and irregular precipices common to this formation, are scattered over this range of hills, and extend over all the plains which environ them. The most lofty hills are those which present the most massive façades of tabular basalt.* The sides sometimes exhibit a step-like appearance, and, in many instances, are overhung by pillars, curved, inclined, and perpendicular: these produce a singular effect, not devoid of grandeur. The lower *stratum* of all these hills, is invariably limestone mixed with a reddish clay. Hills of the same are found bordering upon, and in some cases joining the basaltic ones. Some of these are strewed over with a covering of basalt stones of various sizes and forms, from three to eighteen inches in circumference, but still shewing the colour and structure of the soil on which they are spread.† It is impossible, from the appearance and

* Dr. Oudney describes the hills as from 400 to 600 feet high, the tops in general tabular, but a few are irregular, and two or three have conical peaks; the sides of all are covered with much *debris*. Captain Lyon says, the chain rises to an elevation of about 1500 feet.

† The colour of the hills gives a very peculiar character to the valley. The tops are of a shining black, as if covered with black lead,

situation of the basalt, as well as from a conviction of the tremendous force by which it must have been projected, not to believe that some great convulsion of nature must have caused its bursting from below in an ignited state, and also one of comparative fusion: hence, the various particles of earth and small pebbles, which are observable in the masses of basalt. Other hills of limestone are indiscriminately found without the slightest particle of basalt on them, although in the immediate vicinity of what could easily be imagined the ancient crater of a volcano. Some of these limestone hills have been cut through, either by the falling of masses of rock from the higher hills, or by violent water-courses; and a section of them reveals nothing but pure limestone mixed with clay."*

Major Rennell remarks, that the Black Harutsh was evidently known to the Romans, who crossed it in their expeditions to Fezzan, as appears from a passage in Pliny, who says: "From *Cydamus* (Gadamis), there extends a mountain a long way to the east, called by the Romans, *Mons Ater*, and which appears as if it were burned or scorched by the rays of the sun." Beyond those mountains, he adds, are deserts and the towns of the *Garamantes*, which were conquered by the Romans under Balbus.† Fezzan, Cap-

that often extends some way down the sides, which are of a light brown mixed with a dirty yellow: this is often observable in patches in the black. The lower *strata* are limestone of a yellowish colour, almost entirely formed of marine remains. This, although hard, is easily acted on by the air; and the exposed surface, mouldering away, leaves cavities in the rock: this, undermining the superincumbent ones, gives rise to the quantity of detached fragments. There are several thin *strata* of earthy gypsum; above that, limestone with a fine, fibrous-looking external surface, something like wood; this has the jingling sound of burned lime: above is the shining basalt, of a fine texture, mixed with amygdaloid."—Oudney in Denham, vol. ii. p. 38. * Denham, vol. ii. pp. 36—38.

† Pliny, lib. v. c. 5.—Horneman's Journal, p. 151. The polish or

tain Lyon remarks, may be said to stand in the Desert, from which it is not distinguished in point of fertility. "Fine yellow sand and a species of gravel cover the whole surface of the plains, except where the Soudah and Harutsh extend. It is only in the immediate vicinity of the towns that palms are cultivated, and a little corn and a few esculents raised with much difficulty and labour." * From Bonjem, in lat. 30° 35′, to Tegerry in lat. 24° 4′, there are only three springs throughout this immense tract: these are near Naffhan. Water, however, is found in many places, at ten or twenty feet below the surface.

We now return to Captain Lyon, whom we left at the gates of Mourzouk.

MOURZOUK.

THE entry into the capital of Sultan Mukni, was attended with the usual ceremonial. On drawing near to the palm-groves and gardens which encompass the city, a large body of horse and foot was seen approaching with three silk flags. When the horsemen had advanced within five hundred yards of the party, they set off at full speed, and, on coming up, threw themselves from their horses, and ran to kiss the Sultan's hand. On drawing nearer to the town, the cavalcade was met by the dancers, drummers, and pipers. Two men bearing fans of ostrich-feathers, stationed themselves one on

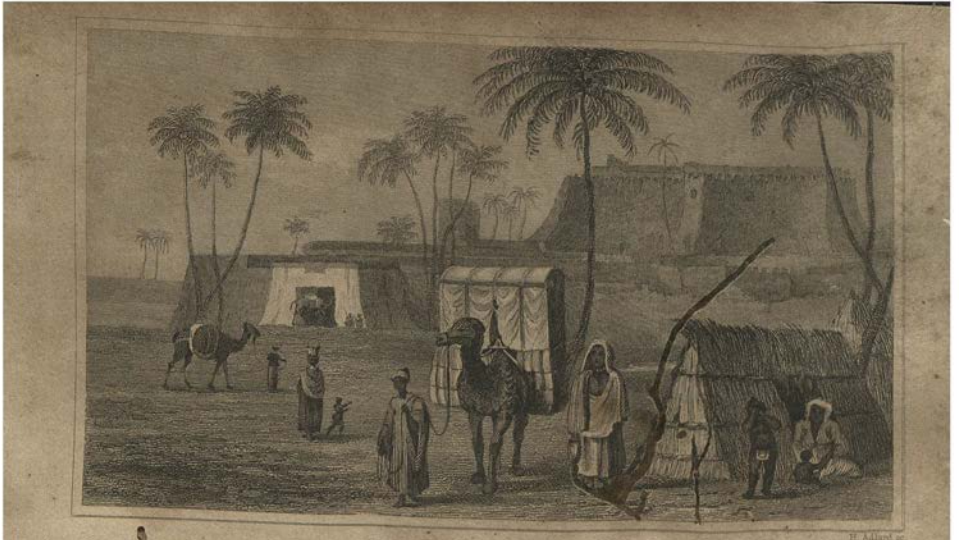
gloss upon the surface of the geological specimens brought from these mountains, Professor Buckland is inclined to attribute to the action of the atmosphere under a burning sun. See, for further remarks on the geology of Fezzan, Lyon, pp. 361—369.

* Lyon, pp. 271. "The plains of the Desert are composed of red sand and sand-stone, containing gypsum and rock salt, and associated with beds of dolomite and carbonate of lime."—Ib. 368. *Trona* (soda), alum, saltpetre, and sulphur are also found in this country.

each side of the Sultan, beating off the flies. Thus, preceded by the led horses and silk flags, they made their entry, the horsemen continuing to skirmish till they reached the gate. The soldiers then raced up a very broad street, shouting and firing, while the women uttered their shrill cry: and on passing a large open space, a salute was fired from two six-pounders. The scene was altogether highly interesting. Of the town and its inhabitants, we have the following description:

"Mourzouk is a walled town,* containing about 2500 inhabitants, who are blacks, and who do not, like the Arabs, change their residence. The walls are of mud, having round buttresses with loop-holes for musketry, rudely built, but sufficiently strong to guard against attack: they are about fifteen feet in height, and at the bottom, eight feet in thickness, tapering as all walls in this country do, towards the top. The town has seven gates, four of which are built up in order to prevent the people escaping when they are required to pay their duties. A man is appointed by the Sultan to attend each of these gates, day and night, lest any slaves or merchandise should be smuggled into the town. The people, in building the walls and houses, fabricate a good substitute for stones, (which are not to be found in these parts,) by forming clay into balls, which they dry in the sun, and use with

* "The walls are well-built, at least twenty feet high, and the gates sufficiently wide to admit, with care, a loaded camel. You pass through the *fasg* (slave market), a wide street with houses on each side, 300 yards in length. It leads into an open space, in the centre of which the castle stands, surrounded with a second wall." (See plate.) "In the inside of this inner wall, in the castle yard, are a few houses, originally built for the Mamelukes and particular followers of the late Sultan, when they were subject to the occasional attacks of the Arabs."—Denham, vol. i. p. 20. In one of these, Mr. Ritchie and Captain Lyon, and subsequently Major Denham, were quartered. Mourzouk stands in lat. 25° 54′ N., long. 15° 52′ E. (Lyon.)



H. Adlard sc.

CASTLE OF MOREQUE.

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mud as mortar: the walls are thus made very strong, and, as rain is unknown, durable also. The houses, with very few exceptions, are of one story, and those of the poorer sort receive all their light from the doors. These are so low, as to require stooping nearly double, to enter them; but the large houses have a capacious outer door, which is sufficiently well contrived, considering the bad quality of the wood that composes them. Two planks of four or five inches in breadth (for the size and manner of cutting a tree will not afford more) have a square hole punched through them at the top and bottom, by which they are firmly wedged together with thick palm sticks; wet thongs of camel's hide are then tied tightly over them, which, on drying, draw the planks more strongly and securely together. There are no hinges to the doors; but they turn on a pivot, formed on the last plank near the wall, which is always the largest on that account. The locks and keys are very large and heavy, and of curious construction. The houses are generally built in little, narrow streets; but there are many open spaces, entirely void of buildings, and covered with sand, on which the camels of the traders remain. Many palms grow in the town, and some houses have small square inclosures, in which are cultivated a few red peppers and onions. The street of entrance is a broad space of at least a hundred yards, leading to the wall that surrounds the castle, and is extremely pretty. Here, the horsemen have full scope to display their abilities when they skirmish before the Sultan. The castle itself is an immense mud building, rising to the height of eighty or ninety feet, with little battlements on the walls (a fancy of the present Sultan's), and, at a distance, really looks warlike. Like all the other buildings, it has no pretensions

to regularity. The lower walls are fifty or sixty feet in thickness; the upper taper off to about four or five feet. In consequence of the immense mass of wall, the apartments are very small and few in number. The rooms occupied by the Sultan are of the best quality, (that is to say, comparatively,) for the walls are tolerably smooth and white-washed, and have ornamental daubs of red paint in blotches by way of effect. His couch is spread on the ground, and his visiters squat down on the sandy floor, at a respectful distance; we, however, were always honoured by having a corner of the carpet offered to us. The best and most airy part of the castle is occupied by the women, who have small rooms round a large court, in which they take exercise, grind corn, cook, and perform other domestic offices. The number called *Kibere* (great ladies), seldom exceeds six. This dignified title is generally given to the mothers of the Sultan's children, or to those who, having once been great favourites, are appointed governesses to the rest. There are, altogether, about fifty young women, all black and very comely; and from what stolen glances we could obtain, they appeared extremely well dressed. They are guarded by five eunuchs, who keep up their authority by occasionally beating them. The Sultan has three sons and two daughters, who live with him in this cage, the doors of which are locked at night, and the keys brought to him, so that he remains free from any fear of attack. The castle is entered by a long, winding passage in the wall, quite dark and very steep. At the door is a large shed, looking on a square space capable of containing three or four hundred men closely huddled together. Under this shed is a great chair of state (once finely gilt and ornamented),

with a patchwork quilt thrown over it; and behind it are the remains of two large looking-glasses. In this chair, the Sultan receives homage every Friday, before he ascends the castle after returning from the mosque. This place is the *Mejlees*, and was the scene of all the cruelties practised by Mukni, when he first took possession of the country."

"Our habitation was a very good one; and, as all the large houses are built on nearly the same plan, I may, by describing this, give an idea of all the rest. A large door, sufficiently high to admit a camel, opened into a broad passage, or *skeefa*; on one side of which was a tolerable stable for five horses; and close to it, a small room for the slaves whose duty it might be to attend the house. A door opposite to that of the stable, opened into the *kowdi*, a large square room; the roof of which, at the height of 18 feet, was supported by four palm-trees as pillars. In the centre of the roofing was a large open space, about 12 feet by 9: from this, the house and rooms receive light, not to mention, dust, and excessive heat in the afternoon. At the end of the room facing the door, a large seat of mud was raised, about 18 inches high, and 12 feet in length. Heaps of this description, though higher, are found at the doors of most houses, and are covered with loungers in the cool of the morning and evening. Our large room was 50 feet by 39. From the sides, doors opened into smaller ones, which might be used as sleeping or store-rooms, but were generally preferred for their coolness. Their only light was received from the door. Ascending a few steps, there was a kind of gallery over the side rooms, and in it were two small apartments, but so very hot as to be almost useless. From the large room was a passage leading to a yard, having also small houses attached to it in the same

manner, and a well of comparatively good water. The floors were of sand, and the walls of mud roughly plastered, and shewing every where the marks of the only trowel used in the country,—the fingers of the right hand. There are no windows to any of the houses; but some rooms have a small hole in the ceiling, or high up in the wall."

"Near our house was the principal mosque, to which the Sultan and ourselves went every Friday as a matter of course; and every other day, we found it necessary to appear there once or twice. It is a low building, having a shed projecting over the door, which, being raised on a platform, is entered by a few steps. A small turret, intended to be square and perpendicular, is erected for the *Moüddien*, to call to prayers. One of the great lounges is on the seats in front of the mosque; and every morning and evening, they are full of idle people, who converse on the state of the markets and on their own private affairs, or, in a fearful whisper, canvass the Sultan's conduct. .....In Mourzouk, there are sixteen mosques, which are covered in, but some of them are very small. Each has an *imaum*, but the *Kadi* is their head, of which dignity he seems not a little proud." *

"I had many opportunities of observing the *Fighi* and their scholars, sitting on the sand. The children are taught their letters by having them written on a flat board, of a hard wood brought from Bornou and Soudan, and repeating them after their master. When quite perfect in the alphabet, they are allowed to trace over the letters already made; they then

* "This man had never been beyond the boundaries of Fezzan, and could form no idea of any thing superior to mud-houses and palms: he always fancied us great romancers when we told him of our country, and described it as being in the midst of the sea."

learn to copy sentences, and to write small words dictated to them. The master often repeats verses from the Koran, in a loud voice, which the boys learn by saying them after him; and when they begin to read a little, he sings aloud, and all the scholars follow him from their books as fast as they can. Practice at length renders them perfect; and in three or four years, their education is considered complete.* Thus it is, that many who can read the Koran with great rapidity, cannot peruse a line of any other book. Arithmetic is wholly out of the question. On breaking up for the day, the master and all the scholars recite a prayer. The school-hours are by no means regular, being only when the *Fighi* has nothing else to do. Mornings early, or late in the evenings, are the general times for study. The punishments are, beating with a stick on the hands or feet, and whipping, which is not unfrequently practised. Their pens are reeds; their rubber, sand. While learning their tasks, (and, perhaps, each boy has a different one,) they all read aloud; so that the harmony of even a dozen boys may be easily imagined.

"In the time of the native Sultans, it was the custom, on a fixed day, annually, for the boys who had completed their education to assemble on horseback, in as fine clothes as their friends could procure for them, on the sands to the westward of the town. On an eminence stood the *Fighi*, bearing in his hand a little flag rolled on a staff: the boys were stationed at some

* "For children who learn by the month, the general pay is about two quarts of corn, and by the year, one dollar. When the boy is considered to have finished his studies, the parents, if they can afford it, present the master with some clothes or a few dollars: if poor, they give him something to eat, and the usual salutation of *Alla iebarek*, God prosper you."

distance, and, on his unfurling the flag and planting it in the ground, all started at full speed. He who first arrived and seized it, was presented by the Sultan with a fine suit of clothes and some money, and rode round the town at the head of the others. These races have ceased since the arrival of Mukni, and parents complain that their sons have now no inducement to study.

"All the houses are infested with multitudes of small ants, which destroyed all the animals we preserved, and even penetrated into our boxes; their bite was very painful, and they were fond of coming into our blankets. One singularity I must remark of Fezzan, which is, that fleas are unknown there, and those of the inhabitants who have not been on the sea coast, cannot imagine what they are like. Bugs are very numerous; and it is extraordinary, that they are called by the same name as with us. There is a species of them which is found in the sands where *kafflés* are in the habit of stopping; they bite very sharply, and fix in numbers round the coronet of a horse: the animals thus tormented, often become so outrageous as to break their tethers."

"There are several pools of stagnant salt-water in the town, which, I conceive, in a great measure, promote the advance of the summer fevers and agues. The burying-places are outside the walls, and are of considerable extent. In lieu of stones, small mud embankments are formed round the graves, which are ornamented with shreds of cloth tied to small sticks, with broken pots, and sometimes ostrich-eggs. One of the burying-places is for slaves, who are laid very little below the surface; and in some parts, the sand has been so carried away by the wind, as to expose their

skeletons to view. Owing to the want of wood, no coffins are used; the bodies are merely wrapped in a mat, or linen cloth, and covered with palm-branches, over which the earth is thrown. When the branches decay, the earth falls in; and the graves are easily known by being concave, instead of convex. The place where the former Sultâns are buried, is a plain near the town; their graves are only distinguished from those of other people by having a larger proportion of broken pots scattered about them. It is a custom for the relations of the deceased to visit, and occasionally to recite a prayer over the grave, or to repeat a verse of the Koran. Children never pass within sight of the tombs of their parents, without stopping to pay this grateful tribute of respect to their memory. Animals are never buried, but thrown on mounds outside the walls, and there left. The excessive heat soon dries up all their moisture, and prevents their becoming offensive; and the hair remains on them, so that they appear like preserved skins."

"The men of Mourzouk, of the better sort, dress nearly like the people of Tripoli. The lower orders wear a large shirt of white or blue cotton, with long, loose sleeves, trowsers of the same, and sandals of camel's hide: the shirts being long, many wear no other covering. When leaving their houses, and walking to the market or gardens, a *jereed* or *aba* is thrown round them, and a red cap, or a neatly quilted cotton white one, completes the dress. On Fridays, they perhaps add a turban, and appear in yellow slippers. In the gardens, men and women wear large, broad-brimmed straw hats, to defend their eyes from the sun, and sandals made from the leaves and fibres of the palm-tree. Very young children go entirely naked; those who are older, have a shirt: many are

quite bare-headed, and, in that state, exposed all day to the sun and flies. The men have but little beard, which they keep closely clipped. The dress of the women here, differs materially from that of the Moorish females, and their appearance and smell are far from agreeable: they plait their hair in thick bobbins, which hang over their foreheads, nearly as low down as the eye-brows, and are there joined at the bottom as far round to each side as the temples. The hair is so profusely covered with oil, that it drops down over the face and clothes. This is dried up, by sprinkling it with plenty of a preparation made of a plant resembling wild lavender, cloves, and one or two more species, pounded into powder, and called *atria*: it forms a brown, dirty-looking paste, and combined with perspiration and the flying sand, becomes, in a few days, far from savoury. The back hair is less disgusting, as it is plaited into a *long* tress on each side, and is brought to hang over the shoulders: from these tresses, ornaments of silver or of coral are suspended. Black wool is frequently worked in with these back locks, to make them appear longer. In the centre of the forehead, an ornament of coral or beads is placed, hanging down to the depth of an inch or two. A woollen handkerchief is fastened on the back of the head; it falls over behind, and is tied by a leather strap under the chin. Each ear is perforated for as many rings as the woman possesses, some wearing even six on one side; the largest, which is about five inches in diameter, hanging lowest, supported by a string from the head. Round the neck, a tight, flat collar of beads, arranged in fancy patterns, is worn with coral necklaces, and sometimes, a broad gold plate immediately in front. A large blue shirt is generally worn, the collar and

breast ornamented with needle-work. The women also wear white shirts, and striped silk ones called *shāmi*,* which are brought from Egypt: a *jereed* and red slippers complete their dress. They generally have their wrappers of a darker colour than those of the men. Some of the better class of women wear trowsers, not fuller in the leg than those worn in Europe; they are very prettily embroidered with silk at the bottom of the leg, and form a handsome contrast to the black skin of the wearer. Carnelians or agates, roughly shaped in the form of hearts, are much worn as necklaces; and they have a variety of rings for the thumbs and fingers. A band of silk cord hanging round the body from one shoulder, is generally filled with pendent leather or cloth bags, containing charms. Round the wrists and above the elbows, armlets of silver, gold, glass, horn, or ivory, are worn, according to the ability of the wearer to purchase them; and on the ankles, they have silver, brass, copper, or iron shackles. I have seen a pair of silver ones, which weighed 128 ounces; but these ponderous ornaments produce a callous lump on the leg, and entirely deform the ankle. The poorest people have only the *jereed* and sandals. Both men and women have a singular custom of stuffing their nostrils with a twisted leaf of onions or clover, which has a very disgusting appearance. The men, not using oil, are much cleaner than the women; but the whole race of them, high and low, apparently clean or otherwise, are stocked with vermin, and they make no secret of it."†

* Probably brought from Sham (Damascus).

† "I have frequently observed the Sultan, when detecting an interloper, moisten his thumb to prevent its escape, and then demolish it with great composure and dignity. Some of the neighbours

"The natives have a variety of dances, of which two or three are peculiar to the country. The parties assemble on the sands, in the dusk of the evening, when a number of young men and women range themselves side by side, and dance to the sound of drums, to which they keep very good time. The men have a rude kind of iron cymbal in each hand, which opens and shuts: this they beat in the manner of castanets; both sexes singing at the same time in chorus. The movements consist in stepping forward the whole line at once, at a particular turn of the tune, as if to catch something with their two hands, which they hold out; they balance themselves a short time on the advanced foot, and then step back, turning half round, first to one side, and then to the other. The whole line then moves slowly, in a circle round the musicians, who form the centre, and who all join in the dance. There is nothing improper or immodest in this exhibition; but, on the contrary, from its slowness and the regularity of its movements, it is extremely pleasing and elegant. Another dance is performed by women only, who form a circle round the drummers, and occasionally sing a lively chorus: one advances, and, with her arms extended, foots it to and from the drummers, two or three times, until a change of tune, when she runs quickly backwards, and falls flat down. The women behind are ready to receive her, and by a jerk of their arms, throw her again upright; on which she once more turns round, and resumes her place, leaving the one next in succession to her to go through the same movements, all

whom we visited, while reposing on their carpets, would send for a slave to hunt for these tormentors on their shirts; and it is a great recommendation to a female slave on sale, to say that she is well skilled in this art, and in that of shampooing."

of which are performed in the most just time; the whole party occasionally enlivening the music, by their shrill and extraordinary cry of joy. The dancing in the houses is not so pleasing as that in public; and as for decency, it is quite out of the question. The male slaves have many dances, in which great activity and exertion are requisite. One consists in dancing in a circle, each man armed with a stick; they all move, first half and then quite round, striking, as they turn, the sticks of those on each side of them, and then jumping off the ground as high as they can. Another is performed by boys, and they have no drum, but keep chorus, by singing in a particular manner, '*La illa il Alla.*' (There is no God but God.)

"The Sultan had frequently requested Mr. Ritchie to visit his children and some of his negresses, when they were indisposed, and he had, in consequence, frequently attended them; but now being himself confined by illness, I was allowed to prescribe for them, and had, therefore, frequent opportunities of observing the interior of his family, which would not otherwise have been afforded me. I was much struck with the appearance of his daughters, one of three, the other of one year and a half old, who were dressed in the highest style of barbarian magnificence, and were absolutely laden with gold. From their necks were suspended large ornaments of the manufacture of Timbuctoo; and they had massive gold armlets and anklets of two inches in breadth and half an inch in thickness, which, from their immense weight, had produced callous rings round the legs and arms of the poor infants. They wore silk shirts, composed of ribbons sewed together in stripes of various colours,

which hung down over silk trowsers. An embroidered waistcoat and cap completed this overwhelming costume. Their nails, the tips of their fingers, the palms of their hands, and the soles of their feet, were dyed dark brown with henna. I had viewed with amazement and pity the dress of these poor little girls, borne down as they were by finery; but that of the youngest boy, a stupid-looking child of four years old, was even more preposterous than that of his sisters. In addition to the ornaments worn by them, he was loaded with a number of charms, inclosed in gold cases, slung round his body; while in his cap were numerous jewels, heavily set in gold, in the form of open hands, to keep off the *evil eye*. These talismans were sewn on the front of his cap, which they entirely covered. His clothes were highly embroidered, and consisted of three waistcoats, a shirt of white silk, (the women only wearing coloured ones,) and loose cloth, silk, or muslin trowsers.

"The costume of the Sultan's court, or hangers on, is strictly Tripoline, and as fine as lace or presents of cast-off clothes can make them. It is the custom with Mukni, in imitation of the Bashaw, to bestow occasionally on his principal people some article of dress. These presents are made with much affected dignity, by throwing the garment to the person intended to be honoured, and saying, 'Wear that;' the dress is immediately put on in his presence, and the receiver kneels and kisses his hand in token of gratitude. I once saw the old Kadi, who is very corpulent, receive as a gift, a kaftan, which was so small for him, that, when he had squeezed himself into it, he was unable to move his arms, and was in that condition obliged to walk home.

"Each of the Sultan's sons has a large troop of slaves, who attend him wherever he goes; they are generally about the same age as their master, and are his playmates, though they are obliged to receive from him many hearty cuffs without daring to complain. The suite of the youngest boy in particular forms a very amusing groupe, few of them exceeding five years of age. One bears his master's *bornouse*, another holds one shoe, walking next to the boy who carries its fellow. Some are in fine cast-off clothes with tarnished embroidery, while others are quite, or nearly naked, without even a cap on their heads; and the procession is closed by a boy tottering under the weight of his master's state gun, which is never allowed to be fired off.

"In Mourzouk, the luxuries of life are very limited, the people subsisting principally on dates. Many do not, for months together, taste corn: when obtained, they make it into a paste called *aseeda*, which is a softer kind of *bazeen*. Fowls have now almost disappeared in the country, owing to the Sultan's having appropriated all he could find for the consumption of his own family. The sheep and goats are driven from the mountains near Benioleed, a distance of 400 miles: they pass over one desert which, at their rate of travelling, occupies five days, without food or water. Numbers, therefore, die, which, of course, raises the price of the survivors. They are valued at three or four dollars each, when they arrive, quite skeletons; and are as high as ten or twelve, when fatted. Bread is badly made, and is baked in ovens formed of clay in holes in the earth, and heated by burning-wood: the loaves, or rather flat cakes, are stuck into the side, and are thus baked by the heat which rises from

the embers. *Cuscussou*, *dweeda*, and *mogatla*, are the best food they have. Butter is brought in goats' skins from the Syrtis, and is very dear.....Tobacco is very generally chewed by the women, as well as by the men: they use with it the *trona* (soda). Smoking is the amusement of a great man, rather than of the lower class, the mild tobacco being very dear, and pipes not easily procured."

"The revenues of the Sultan of Fezzan arise from slaves, merchandize, and dates. For every slave, great or small, he receives, on their entering his kingdom, two Spanish dollars; (in some years, the number of slaves amounts to 4000;) for a camel's load of oil or butter, seven dollars; for a load of beads, copper, or hardware, four dollars; and of clothing, three dollars. All Arabs who buy dates, pay a dollar duty on each load, (equal, at times, to the price of the article,) before they are allowed to remove it. Above 3000 loads are sold to them annually. Date-trees, except those of the Kadi and Mamlukes, are taxed at the rate of one dollar for every 200: by this duty, in the neighbourhood of Mourzouk, or, more properly, in the few immediately neighbouring villages, the Sultan receives yearly 10,000 dollars. Of all sheep or goats, he is entitled to a fifth. On the sale of every slave, he has, in addition to the head-money, a dollar and a half, which, at the rate of 4000, gives another 6000 dollars.* The trees which are his pri-

* The captured slaves are sold by auction, at which the Sultan's brokers attend, bidding high only for the finest. The owner bids against them until he has an offer equal to what he considers as the value of the slave; he has then three-fourths of the money paid to him, while one-fourth is paid by the purchaser to the Sultan. Should the owner not wish to part with his slaves, he buys them in; and the sum which he last names, is considered as the price, from which he has to pay the Sultan's share.

vate property, produce about 6000 camel-loads of dates, each load 400 lbs. weight, and which may be estimated at 18,000 dollars. Every garden pays a tenth of the corn produced.* Presents of slaves are frequently made, and fines levied. Each town pays a certain sum, which is small; but, as the towns are numerous, it may be averaged to produce 4000 dollars. Add to this, his annual excursions for slaves, sometimes bringing 1000 or 1500, of which one-fourth are his, as well as the same proportion of camels. He alone can sell horses; which he buys for five or six dollars, when half-starved, from the Arabs, who come to trade, and cannot maintain them; and makes a great profit by obtaining slaves in exchange for them. All his people are fed by the public, and he has no money to pay, except to the Bashaw, which, until the recent quarrel, was 15,000 dollars *per annum*. There are various other ways in which he extorts money. If a man dies childless, the Sultan inherits great part of his property; and if he thinks it necessary to kill a man, he becomes his entire heir."

"In Mourzouk, about a tenth part of the population are slaves, though many have been brought away from their countries so young as hardly to be considered in that light. With respect to the household slaves, little or no difference is to be perceived between them and freemen, and they are often entrusted with the affairs of their master. These domestic slaves are rarely sold; and on the death of any of the family to which they belong, one or more of them receive their liberty; when, being accustomed

* The gardens are very small, and are watered with great labour from brackish wells: rain is unknown, and dews never fall. In these alone corn is raised, as well as other esculents. Pomegranate-trees and fig-trees are sometimes planted in the water-channels.

to the country, and not having any recollection of their own, they marry, settle, and are consequently considered as naturalized. It was the custom, when the people were more opulent, to liberate a male or female on the feast of *Bairam*, after the fast of *Rhamadan*. This practice is not entirely obsolete, but nearly so.....In Mourzouk, there are some white families, who are called Mamlouks, being descended from renegades whom the Bashaw had presented to the former Sultan. These families and their descendants are considered noble, and, however poor and low their situation may be, are not a little vain of their title."

"The general appearance of the men of Fezzan is plain, and their complexion black; the women are of the same colour, and ugly in the extreme. Neither sex are remarkable for figure, height, strength, vigour, or activity. They have a very peculiar cast of countenance, which distinguishes them from other blacks; their cheek-bones are higher and more prominent, their faces flatter, and their noses less depressed, and more peaked at the tip, than those of the negroes. Their eyes are generally small, and their mouths of an immense width; but their teeth are frequently good: their hair is woolly, though not completely frizzled. They are a cheerful people, fond of dancing and music, and obliging to each other. The men almost all read and write a little; but, in every thing else, they are very dull and heavy; their affections are cold and selfish, and a kind of general indifference to the common incidents of life, marks all their actions. They are neither prone to sudden anger, nor at all revengeful. In Mourzouk, the men drink a great quantity of *lackbi*,*

* Horneman gives the same character to the Fezzaners generally. "Their beverage is the fresh juice of the date-tree, called *lugibi*,

d are very good-humoured drunkards. The Arabs ractise hospitality generally; but among the Fez-anners, that virtue does not exist: they are, how-e:, very attentive and obsequious to those in whose power they are, or who can repay them tenfold for t'eir pretended disinterestedness. Their religion enjoins, that, should a stranger enter while they are at their meals, he must be invited to partake; but they generally contrive to evade this injunction by eating with closed doors. The lower classes are, from necessity, very industrious, women as well as men; they draw water, work in the gardens, drive the asses, make mats, baskets, &c., in addition to their other domestic duties. People of the better class, or, more properly, those who can afford to procure slaves to work for them, are, on the contrary, very idle and lethargic; they do nothing but lounge or loll about, inquire what their neighbours have had for dinner, gossip about slaves, dates, &c.; or boast of some cunning cheat which they have practised on a Tibboo, or Tuarick, who, though very knowing fellows, are, comparatively with the Fezzanners, fair in their dealings. Their moral character is on a par with that of the Tripolines; though, if any thing, they are rather less insincere. Falsehood is not considered as odious, unless detected; and when employed in trading, they affirm, that it is allowed by the Koran for the good of merchants. However this may be, I must say, that I never could find any one able to point out the passage authorising these commercial falsehoods.

"The lower classes work neatly in leather; they

or a drink called *busa*, which is prepared from the dates, and is very intoxicating. When friends assemble in the evening, the ordinary amusement is mere drinking; but sometimes a *kadanka* (singing-girl) is sent for."—Horneman, p. 72.

weave a few coarse barracans, and make iron work in a solid, though clumsy manner. One or two work in gold and silver with much skill, considering the badness of their tools; and every man is capable of acting as a carpenter or mason. The wood being that of the date-tree, and the houses being built of mud, very little elegance or skill is necessary. Much deference is paid to the artists in leather or metals, who are called (*par excellence*) *Sta*, or master; as 'leather-master,'—'iron-master,' &c.

"From the constant communication with Bornou and Soudan, the languages of both these countries are generally spoken, and many of their words are introduced into the Arabic. The family slaves, and their children by their masters, constantly speak the language of the country whence they originally come. Their writing is in the Mogrebyn character, which is used, I believe, universally in Western Africa, and differs much from that of the East. The pronunciation also is very different, the Kāf being pronounced as a G, and only marked with one nunnation, and F is pointed below. They have no idea of arithmetic, but reckon every thing by dots on the sand, ten in a line: many can hardly tell how much two and two amount to. They expressed great surprise at our being able to add numbers together without fingering. Though very fond of poetry, they are incapable of composing it. The Arabs, however, invent a few little songs, which the natives have much pleasure in learning; and the women sing some of the Negro airs very prettily while grinding their corn.*

* The songs of the *kadankas*, (who answer to the Egyptian *almehs*,) Horneman says, is Soudanic. "Their musical instrument is called *rhababe*" (Captain Lyon calls it *erbab*): "it is an

" The lower classes and the slaves, who, in point of colour and appearance, are the same, labour together. The freeman, however, has only one inducement to work, which is hunger; he has no notion of laying by any thing for the advantage of his family, or as a reserve for himself in old age; but, if by any chance he obtains money, he remains idle until it is expended, and then returns unwillingly to work. The females here are allowed greater liberty than those of Tripoli, and are more kindly treated. Though so much better used than those of Barbary, their life is still a state of slavery. A man never ventures to speak of his women; is reproached if he spends much time in their company; never eats with them, but is waited upon at his meals, and fanned by them while he sleeps; yet, these poor beings, never having known the sweets of liberty, are, in spite of their humiliation, comparatively happy.

" The authority of parents over children is very great; some fathers of the better class do not allow their sons even to eat or to sit down in their presence, until they become men: the poorer orders are less strict.

" There are no written records of events among

excavated hemisphere, made from a shell of the gourd kind, and covered with leather; to this a long handle is fixed, on which is stretched a string of horse-hairs longitudinally closed and compact as one cord, about the thickness of a quill. This is played upon with a bow." Captain Lyon says, the women " really produced a very pleasing, though a wild melody: their songs were pretty and plaintive, and generally in the Soudan language, which is very musical." What is rather singular, he heard the same song, sung by the same woman, that Horneman mentions; and she recollected having seen that Traveller at the castle. The state of morals seems to have been not less depraved in his time; of which the frightful prevalence of disease in loathsome various forms, afforded an unequivocal indication.

the Fezzanners, and their traditions are so disfigured and so strangely mingled with religious and superstitious falsehoods, that no confidence can be placed in them. Yet, the natives themselves look with particular respect on a man capable of talking of the people of the olden time. Several scriptural traditions are selected and believed. The Psalms of David, the Pentateuch, the books of Solomon, and many extracts from the inspired writers, are universally known and most reverentially considered. The New Testament translated into Arabic, which we took with us, was eagerly read, and no exception was made to it, but that of our Saviour being designated as the Son of God. St. Paul (or Baulus) bears all the blame of Mohammed's name not being inserted in it; as they believe that his coming was foretold by Christ, but that Paul erased it; he is, therefore, called a *kaffir*, and his name is not used with much reverence."*

A pleasing account is given by Major Denham of his interview with a fair Fezzanner of Zeghren, which it would be, perhaps, deemed unpardonable to omit as a favourable specimen of female manners, in this part of Northern Africa.†

"Abdi Zeleel had before taken me to his house, and presented me to his mother and sister; and he now insisted on my taking up my quarters there altogether. Almost the first person that presented herself was my friend the merchant's sister, I had almost said the *fair* Omul Henna. She had a wooden bowl of *haleb* (fresh milk) in her hand, the greatest rarity she could offer; and holding out the milk with

* Lyon, pp. 97—9; 96; 169—199; 99, 100; 169—177; 186—9; 282—8.

† The inhabitants of Zeghren, however, are termed "white people," by Captain Lyon, and are above the line at which the black population commences; *viz.*, in lat. 27°.

some confusion towards me with both her hands, the hood which should have concealed her beautiful features, had fallen back. As my taking the milk from her would have prevented the amicable salutation we both seemed prepared for, and which consisted of four or five gentle pressures of the hand, with as many *aish harleks* and *tiebs* and *ham dulillahs*, she placed the bowl upon the ground, while the ceremonies of greeting (which take a much longer time in an African village than in an English drawing-room) were, by mutual consent, most cordially performed. I really could not help looking at her with astonishment, and I heartily wish that I had the power of conveying an idea of her portrait. It was the *Jemmā* (Friday), the Sabbath, and she was covered (for I cannot call it dressed) with only a blue linen barracan, which passed under one arm, and was fastened on the top of the opposite shoulder with a silver pin; the remaining part thrown round the body behind, and brought over her head as a sort of hood, which, as I remarked, had fallen off, and my having taken her hand when she set down the milk, had prevented its being replaced. This accident displayed her jet-black hair in numberless plaits all round her expressive face and her neck, and her large sparkling eyes and little mouth, filled with the whitest teeth imaginable. She had various figures burnt on her chin with gunpowder; her complexion was a deep brown; and round her neck were eight or ten necklaces of coral and different coloured beads. So interesting a person I had not seen in the country; and on my remaining some moments with my eyes fixed on her, she recommenced the salutation, 'How is your health,' &c., and smiling, asked, with great naiveté, 'whether I had not learned, during the last two months, a little more Arabic?' I assured her, I

had. Looking round to see if any body heard her, and having brought the hood over her face, she said: 'I first heard of your coming last night, and desired the slave to mention it to my brother. I have always looked for your coming, and at night, because at night I have sometimes seen you. You were the first man whose hand I ever touched; but they all said it did not signify with you, an *Insara* (Christian). God turn your heart! But my brother says, you will never become Moslem; will not you, to please Abdi Zeleel's sister? My mother says, God would have never allowed you to come, but for your conversion.' By this time again the hood had fallen back, and I again had taken her hand, when the unaffected appearance of Abdi Zeleel, accompanied by the governor of the town, who came to visit me, was a most unwelcome interruption. Omul Henna quickly escaped; she had, however, overstepped the line, and I saw her no more."

On his return from the Interior, Major Denham had another interview with this attractive damsel.

"Omul Henna, with whom I was so much smitten on my first visit to this place, was now, after a disappointment by the death of her betrothed, with whom she had read the *fatah* just before my last visit,—a wife of only three days old. The best dish, however, out of twenty which the town furnished, came from her: it was brought separately, inclosed in a new basket of date-leaves, which I was desired to keep; and her old slave who brought it, inquired whether I did not mean to go to her father's house, and *salaam* her mother. I replied, 'certainly;' and just after dark, the same slave came to accompany me. We found the old lady sitting over a handful of fire, with eyes still more sore, and person still more neglected, than when I last saw her. She, however, hugged me

most cordially, for there was no body present but ourselves. The fire was blown up, and a bright flame produced, over which we sat down, while she kept saying, or rather singing, ' *Ash harlek?* *Ash ya barick-che-fennick.* (How are you? How do you find yourself? How is it with you?) in the *patois* of the country; first saying something in *Ertana*, which I did not understand, to the old slave. I was just regretting that I should go away without seeing Omul Henna, while a sort of smile rested on the pallid features of my hostess, when in rushed the subject of our conversation. I scarcely knew her at first, by the dim light of the palm-wood fire; she, however, threw off her mantle, and kissing my shoulder, (an Arab mode of salutation,) shook my hand, while large tears rolled down her fine features. She said, ' she was determined to see me, although her father had refused.' The mother, it seems, had determined on gratifying her.

" Omul Henna was now seventeen: she was handsomer than any thing I had seen in Fezzan, and had on all her wedding ornaments. Indeed, I should have been a good deal agitated at her apparent great regard, had she not almost instantly exclaimed, ' Well! you must make haste; Give me what you have brought me! You know I am a woman now, and you must give me something a great deal richer than you did before: besides, I am Sidi Gunana's son's wife, who is a great man; and when he asks me what the Christian gave me, let me be able to shew him something very handsome.' ' What,' said I, ' does Sidi Gunana know then of your coming?' ' To be sure,' said Omul Henna, ' and sent me. His father is a Maraboot, and told him, you English were people with great hearts and plenty of money, so I might come.' ' Well then,

said I, 'if that is the case, you can be in no hurry.' She did not think so; and my little present was no sooner given, than she hurried away, saying she would return directly, but not keeping her word. Well done, simplicity! thought I: well done, unsophisticated nature! No town-bred coquette could have played her part better."*

Captain Lyon had not been more than ten days at Mourzouk, before he was attacked with severe dysentery, which confined him to his bed during twenty-two days, and reduced him to the last extremity. His unadorned narrative conveys an affecting account of the sufferings to which the party were exposed, from the insalubrity of the climate, the inadequate arrangements which had been made for their comfort, or even subsistence, and the sordid and treacherous conduct of the Sultan. "Our little party," he says, "was at this time miserably poor, for we had money only sufficient for the purchase of corn to keep us alive, and never tasted meat, unless fortunate enough to kill a pigeon in the gardens. My illness was the first break up in our little community; and from that time, it rarely happened that one or two of us were not confined to our beds. The extreme saltness of the water, the poor quality of our food, together with the excessive heat and dryness of the climate, long retarded my recovery; and when it did take place, it was looked on as a miracle by those who had seen me in my worst state, and who thought it impossible for me to survive. I was no sooner convalescent, than Mr. Ritchie fell ill, and was confined to his bed with an attack of bilious fever, accompanied with delirium, and great pain in his back and kidneys, for which he re-

* Denham, vol. i. pp. 41—3; ii. 136—138.

quired frequent cupping. When a little recovered, he got up for two days; but his disorder soon returned with redoubled and alarming violence. He rejected every thing but water; and excepting about three hours in the afternoon, remained either constantly asleep or in a delirious state. Even had he been capable of taking food, we had not the power of purchasing any which could nourish or refresh him. Our money was now all expended; and the Sultan's treacherous plans to distress us, which daily became too apparent, were so well arranged, that we could not find any one to buy our goods. For six entire weeks, we were without animal food, subsisting on a very scanty portion of corn and dates. Our horses were mere skeletons; added to which, Belford became totally deaf, and so emaciated as to be unable to walk. My situation was now such as to create the most gloomy apprehensions. My naturally sanguine mind, however, and, above all, my firm reliance on that Power which had so mercifully protected me on so many trying occasions, prevented my giving way to despondency; and, Belford beginning soon to rally a little, we united, and took turns in nursing and attending on our poor companion. At this time, having no servant, we performed for Mr. Ritchie, and for ourselves, the most menial offices."*

Rhamadan (the Mohammedan lent) was announced on the 22d of June. The strictest fast was immediately commenced, lasting from before day (about 3 A.M.)

* "Two young men, brothers, whom we had treated with great kindness, and whom we had engaged to attend on us, so far from commiserating our forlorn condition, forsook us in our distress, and even carried off our little store of rice and *cuscussou*; laughing at our complaints, and well knowing that our poverty prevented the redress which we should otherwise have sought and obtained."—Lyon, pp. 100, 1.

till sunset (7 P.M.). In order to support their assumed character as Moslems, they were now obliged, during the sixteen hours, to eat only by stealth, their friend Mukni having surrounded them with spies. Mr. Ritchie only, being confined to his bed by illness, was privileged to take food or drink. The excessive heat which now raged, added to their sufferings. During the month of June, the thermometer, at five o'clock A.M., stood at from 86° to 93°; but at two o'clock P.M., it rose to 117°, 122°, 124°, and at length (on the 19th and 20th) to 131° and 133° of Fahrenheit. In the early part of July, the heat somewhat abated, the thermometer, at two P.M., ranging between 110° and 117°. Towards the close of the month, it again rose to 125°; in August, to 130° and 133°; in September, it ranged between 119° and 133°, with little difference in the temperature of the mornings; and in October, the average was about 110°. The *minimum*, in December, was 51° at five A.M. and 77° in the afternoon.*

The close of Rhamadan, on the 23d of July, was attended, in the city, with the most extravagant demonstrations of rejoicing. "Every body was in motion, screaming, dancing, firing guns, eating and drinking." Poor Mr. Ritchie, after having been confined to his bed for fifty-eight days, was now able to sit up a little, and by the 20th of August, had tolerably recovered. About the same time, Belford was again attacked with giddiness and deafness, and fell

* Major Denham arrived at Mourzouk in April. The heat was even then intense. "The thermometer stood at 97° in the coolest spot in the house, during the middle of the day; and the nights were scarcely less oppressive. The flies were in such myriads, that darkness was the only refuge from their annoyance. All poor Mr. Ritchie's sufferings and disappointments were brought to our recollection."—Denham, vol. i. p. 22.

into a very weak state. Their rate of living was now reduced to a quart of corn *per diem*, with occasionally a few dates, divided among four persons. No one would purchase their merchandise, owing, as it became apparent, to Mukni's treacherous orders. Mr. Ritchie, for reasons not explained, did not think it right to draw for money on the Treasury; and they were reduced to the last extremity, when the Sultan graciously condescended to advance them eight dollars; and at this time a neighbour repaid them ten dollars which they had lent soon after their arrival. They were now able to treat themselves with a little meat. About the 20th of September, Mr. Ritchie, who had never recovered his spirits, but had latterly shunned the society even of his companions, again relapsed, and was confined to his bed; and Belford, though better in health, was entirely deaf. Their condition became every day more destitute. They had hired a woman to cook for them at a dollar a month: she was required only to come once a day, to bake their bread or make their *cuscussou*; and it often happened, that when she had stolen half the allowance to which they had restricted themselves, they were obliged to fast till the morrow. They were saved, when on the very brink of starvation, by a supply of seven dollars, the munificent reward conferred upon Belford by the Sultan, for constructing a rude kind of carriage for him. Soon afterwards, they sold a horse for seventy dollars. This seasonable supply was carefully economized; but it had become much reduced when Captain Lyon and Belford both fell ill again. The former rose from his bed, after being confined to it a week, "a skeleton." Under this exigency, they met with a remarkable instance of disinterested friendship on the part of a native, Yusuf el Lizari, who, as well as his brother, had previously

shewn them much kindness. "One night," says Captain Lyon, "as we were all sitting pensively on our mat, our friend Yusuf came in, and addressing Mr. Ritchie, said:—'Yusuf, you and Said are my friends. Mukni has hopes you may die, that he may secure to himself all your goods. You seem very melancholy: do you want money?' Mr. Ritchie having acknowledged that he did, Yusuf rejoined: 'I have none myself, but I will borrow some for you.' Twenty dollars being the sum named, our kind friend went out, and soon returned with thirty; an act of generosity so unlooked for, that we were incapable of thanking him as he deserved. This seasonable supply enabled us to buy good food, and to make some amends for our late privations. Our health soon improved, and Mr. Ritchie's spirits began to brighten."

But this interval of hope was soon darkened. On the 8th of November, poor Ritchie was again attacked by illness, and after lying for three or four days in a state of torpor, without taking any nourishment, he became again delirous, and on the 20th, expired. The two survivors of this ill-fated party were themselves reduced to the lowest state of debility; and the only prospect before them, was that of probably following, in a few days, their lamented companion. "And now, for the first time in all our distresses," says Capt. Lyon, "my hopes did indeed fail me." Belford, as well as he was able, hastened to form a rough coffin out of their chests; while the washers of the dead came to perform their melancholy office. The Protestant burial service was read over the body in secret during the night; and on the next day, the remains were committed to the grave.* Within an hour after the

* At the grave, it was deemed necessary to keep up the farce of Mohammedism, by publicly reciting the first chapter of the Koran,

funeral, a courier arrived from Tripoli, announcing that a further allowance of £1000 had been made by the British Government towards the expenses of the mission. Had this welcome intelligence reached them a little sooner, many of their distresses would have been prevented. The efforts and mental exertions which the survivors of the party had undergone, proved, however, too much for their strength; and for ten days, both were again confined to their beds. During this time, they were most humanely attended by Yusuf and Haji Mahmoud, and by a little girl who was their principal nurse. At length, Captain Lyon sufficiently recovered his health, to undertake, during the months of December and January, two excursions to the east and south of Mourzouk, preparatory to his returning to England. The results of his persevering labours will be adverted to hereafter. On the 9th of February, he finally left Mourzouk; and on the 25th of March, exactly one year from the day on which the party left Tripoli, the Captain and his surviving companion re-entered that capital.

Major Denham and his companions entered Mourzouk, as already mentioned, on the 7th of April, 1822, on their way to their ultimate destination, Bornou. On obtaining an interview with Sultan Mukni, it appeared, however, that he had not the means of forwarding them on their expedition; and he shortly afterwards set off in person for Tripoli, to strengthen his own interest with the Bashaw, leaving scarcely a dol-

" which the most serious Christian would consider as a beautiful and applicable form on such an occasion." Without adverting to the questionable morality of the deception practised, for which the plea of necessity is urged by the Author, one cannot but feel deep regret that British Christians should have been reduced to the humiliation of assuming a disguise too thin to preclude suspicion, and one of very doubtful policy,

lar or a dollar's worth behind him in Fezzan. It now became necessary for one of the party to return to Tripoli, in order to come to a better understanding with the Bashaw. Major Denham accordingly set off on the 20th of May, and after a most dreary journey of twenty days, reached the coast on the 12th of June. The result of his spirited remonstrance, enforced by his promptitude in actually setting sail for England, had the desired effect of obtaining the instant appointment of an escort to convey the Travellers to Bornou. On the 17th of September, Major Denham had again entered the Terhoona mountains on his second journey into the Interior; and on the 30th of October, he made his entry into Mourzouk with all suitable parade. He felt some disappointment and misgiving, when none of his friends came out to meet him; but he was ill prepared to see them so much reduced by illness as he found them. Clapperton had not quitted his bed for the last fifteen days, and Dr. Oudney was suffering from inflammation on his chest. To account physically for the insalubrity of the place, he says, would be difficult. Both Arabs and Tripolines, however, concurred unanimously as to the fact; and "among the inhabitants themselves, anything like a healthy-looking person was a rarity." Nearly a month elapsed before the requisite arrangements could made for the journey to Bornou. Before, however, we take a final leave of Fezzan, we must collect some further information respecting the general state and topography of the country.

The only towns of any consideration in Fezzan, besides Mourzouk, are Sockna, Hoon, Wadan, and Sebha to the north, which have already been described; Zuela, towards the eastern frontier, on the road to Egypt; Germa, to the west; and Garione, on the

road to Bornou. The kingdom is computed to contain, Horneman says, a hundred and one towns and villages; but this seemingly definite number is probably no more than an indefinite mode of expression. The greatest length of the cultivated part, he makes to be 300 miles from N. to S.; its greatest width, 200 miles; but the Black Harutch to the east, and other deserts to the south and west, are, he says, reckoned within its territory. To the south and south-east, is the country of the Tibboos; to the south-west, that of the nomadic Tuaricks; and to the north-west, the borderers are Arabs. According to Captain Lyon, its extreme length is six degrees and a half of latitude, or about 450 miles.

The government of this kingdom was formerly hereditary in a family of Shereefs, originally from the neighbourhood of Fez, who, about 500 years ago, took possession of the country;* but the intrigues of Mukni have succeeded in destroying them all. The present Sultan, who is in fact only a viceroy depen-

* The reigning Sultan, when Horneman was at Mourzouk, styled himself Sultan Muhammed Ben Sultan Mansar. This title was engraved on a large seal, which he used in all acts of authority or correspondence within his realm; but, when writing to the Bashaw of Tripoli, he used a smaller seal, on which the title of Sheik only was engraved. The annual tribute was at that time only 4000 dollars; (it had formerly been 6000;) and an officer came from Tripoli to receive it, in gold, senna, or slaves. The Sultana, "according to the rules of the empire," was always of the family of the *shereefs* of Wadan or Zuila. The crown, though hereditary, did not descend in all cases in the direct line, but devolved upon the eldest prince of the family, whether son or nephew; a custom which often gave rise to disputes and bloodshed.—Horneman, pp. 65, 6. The title of Sultan is retained by the present ruler, though a dependent viceroy; and it is curious to observe, how, in this instance, the order and meaning of the respective titles of king and governor are reversed; the Bashaw being the real sultan, and the Sultan a mere bashaw. The titles of rajah and nabob (*naib*, deputy) have undergone a similar transmutation in India.

dent upon the Bashâw of Tripoli, is absolute in his hired government, and rules with a rod of iron his miserably oppressed subjects. All weighty matters, such as wars of consequence, are ostensibly submitted to the Bashaw; but Mukni always acts before he can have received instructions from Tripoli. His military force, if he presses the Arabs into his service, may amount, on an emergency, to 5000 men. No Fezzanners are allowed to go on military excursions, being deemed too pusillanimous to be trusted; but they pay for their exemption from bearing arms, by being obliged to maintain those on service. The population of Fezzan must be very inconsiderable. Horneman, on a loose estimate, supposes it may amount to between 70 and 75,000 souls: all are professedly Mohammedans. Of the Tuaricks, who inhabit the country to the south-west, and are in some parts mixed with the Fezzanners, Captain Lyon's volume contains some most interesting notices, which we shall incorporate with the account furnished by the late Dr. Oudney, of an excursion to the westward of Mourzouk.

FROM MOURZOUK TO GERMA AND GHRAAT.

EARLY on the 8th of June, 1822, Dr. Oudney and his companion Clapperton, with their attendants, left Mourzouk, with the intention of exploring the country towards the western frontier. About mid-day, after an exhausting journey over the sandy plain, they halted till sun-set at a straggling village of huts, called *El Hummum*, and then proceeded to *Tessouwa*, an inconsiderable town about twenty miles W. of Mourzouk. Here are remains of an old Arab mud fort. The palms are not numerous, and the inhabitants, Captain Lyon says, amount to about 300. Dr.

Oudney states, that the greater number are Tuaricks, whose warlike appearance and striking costume are altogether different from the Fezzanners. The next day, proceeding over an extensive high plain, they reached, at the end of fourteen miles, a long range of hills running nearly E. and W., which they entered by a pass running N., with numerous recesses evidently leading to more extensive *wadys*. The hills are about 100 yards, apart, generally table-topped, with a peak here and there; their structure is sandstone finely stratified, with beds of blue and white pipe-clay and alum-slate. This pass led to another, the finest, and the only part approaching to the sublime, they had seen in Fezzan. It is rugged and narrow, the high rocks in some places overhanging. In the path were several trunks of petrified acacia-trees, some with branches: they appeared to have been precipitated from the top. Near the end of the pass, the *Wady Ghrurbi* (*Gharbi*) opens with groves of date-palms and high sand hills; the change is sudden and striking. The hills which border this *wady*, are composed of thick beds of blue clay, alternating with sandstone, beds of alum-slate, and thick *strata* of porphyritic clay-stone; all the tops being of finely stratified sand-stone. Moving up the valley for about four miles, and passing two villages, they halted at a small town called Kharaik, situated amid some fine groves of palm-trees, with cultivated patches and wells of good water.* The number of date-trees in the eastern and

*Among the very few plants here, Dr. Oudney noticed a species of *asclepias* with milky juice; the *agoul*, a species of ulex, with a fine red papilionaceous flower; a species of sweet-smelling rue; and two other plants in fruit, one like a veronica, the other undescribed. He also mentions a new species of ant, its colour a light, shining brown, speckled with silvery white, with a strong pair of nippers.

western divisions of the valley, is said to be 340,000 : the former, *Wady Shirghi* (*Sharki*), extends, according to Major Denham, from near Sebha to within a few miles of Thirtiba (Kertibi) ; the latter (*Wady Ghrurbi*), from the termination of the other to Oubari.* Rain has sometimes been known to fall in this valley ; but five, eight, and even nine years have often intervened between the rains. The people are very poor ; the shiekh of the town was a good-natured Tibbôo.

On leaving Kharaik, the party proceeded along the *wady*, which improved as they advanced ; and after passing several villages, reached Germa, a larger town than any in the valley ; it is walled and surrounded with a ditch which was nearly dry, and covered with a thick crust of the muriate of soda. By the name of this place, we are reminded, that we have not yet passed the limits of the Roman world and the ancient geography. " We had many accounts of inscriptions here," says Dr. Oudney, " which the people could not read." They proved to be Tuarick ; but, although they were so far disappointed, the sheikh, a Fezzanner, led them to a building which proved to be a Roman structure. It is about twelve feet high and eight broad ; is constructed of sand-stone well finished ; and its interior, which is solid, is of small stones cemented with mortar. The Writer was unable to determine

* Brak, the largest town in *Wady Shirghi*, is two-thirds of a day's journey from Sebha, and ten days from Gharian. Captain Lyon enumerates fifteen other villages in this *wady*, of which the eastern-most is Ashkiddi, and the westernmost, Iddry, which is two days from Brak, and eight days from Ghadamis. Kharaig and nine others are in a *wady* running parallel, and reckoned as within the same district, called *El-Agaal* ; probably, *Agoul*, from the plant of that name. *Wady Ghrurbi* begins at Iddri, (not at Kertibi, written by Major Denham *Thirtiba*,) and contains eight other villages, of which the last is Oubari, seven days from Ghraat.—Lyon, p. 300. The inhabitants of these *wadys* are for the most part Arabs.

whether it is a tomb or an altar. It stands about three miles from the modern town, and a quarter of a mile from the foot of the mountain. "As we went along," continues Dr. O., "we passed by, and saw to the westward, the remains of ancient Germa. It appeared to occupy a space more extensive than the present town. We were not able to learn from the old shiekh, whether any old coins were ever found, or any building similar to this in the vicinity. Was this the track merely of the Romans into the Interior, or did they come into the valley for dates?"

And this is all the information that is given us respecting the ancient capital of Fezzan, which once gave its name to the nation of the Garamantes! At least, unless there are two places of the same name, this must be the ancient *Garama*, described by Pliny as a fine city, the capital of Phazania.* The inhabitants of the modern town are very poor, and the number of houses in ruin had a melancholy appearance. The ague is very prevalent in the *wady*.

From Germa, our Travellers proceeded for four miles through groves of date-trees; then crossed a tract of loose sand; and at the end of about seven hours, entered the date-groves of Oubari. The trees here looked like paltry shrubs: their estimated number is 7000. From this place, there are two roads to Ghraat; the upper one, by the hills, and the lower,

* Its situation very ill corresponds to that of the Jerma of Beaufoy, which he places to the *southward* of Zuila, and at nearly the same distance from Mourzouk; describing it as "distinguished by numerous and majestic ruins, that exhibit to the ignorant inhabitants of its clay-built cottages, inscriptions of which they know not the meaning, and vestiges of greatness to which they are perfectly indifferent." On the other hand, Horneman places Yerma to the W. of Mourzouk; and Edrisi, who mentions Germa, is silent respecting any ruins there.—See Horneman's Journal, pp. 62, 154. Rennell's Herodotus, pp. 616, 620.

which is over a sandy plain with no water for five days. It was resolved to take the former; but the illness of their Tuarick guide rendering it expedient to defer their journey in that direction, our Travellers determined to improve the interval by visiting *Wady Shiati*, a district to the N. W., and in the parallel of Sebha.

"They started for this place on the 28th of June, and travelled by moonlight over a sandy soil with numerous tufts of grass and mounds clothed with shrubs. The surface was in many places covered with a saline incrustation. The mounds are said to have been formed by water, as the *wady*, in times of great rain, is liable to be flooded. In former times, their old guide told them, a large quantity of rain used to fall. The next day they entered the sand hills which bound Wady Ghrurbi: they are from 200 to 300 feet high, often with nearly precipitous sides. Beyond these, they passed over a succession of valleys and hills, all of sand, the continual ascent and descent of which was very fatiguing; and on the 6th day from Oubari, reached Wady Shiati. The town of that name is built upon the sides of an insulated hill about 300 feet high. The houses are of mud, and "appear as if one was pulled on another." The lanes between them are narrow, and, in a few instances, are excavated through the rock, the ascent of which is in some places steep. From the summit is obtained a fine view of the *wady* running nearly E. and W. In the former direction, it is well inhabited as far as *Om ul Abeed*,* where the range of hills terminates, which forms the northern boundary of the *wady*, and which is said to extend N.W. as far as Ghadamis. Shiati is the westernmost

* This must be the *El Abiad* of Lyon, situated in *Wady El Agaal*, one day from Sebha, and two long days E. N. E. of Ghraat.

town, and between it and Ghadamis, there are no inhabitants. Although its ruinous state little entitles it to the appellation, it is called the new town; but the ancient inhabitants lived in excavations, the remains of which are very distinct. "We saw," says Dr. Oudney, "numerous recesses, but thought they were produced by the present race in digging for pipe-clay, and the mouldering away of the soft rock.* When we had finished our visit, we were told, that the former people lived in these holes. At the bottom of the hill, we entered several, not much decayed by time. Most of them are oblong spaces, about ten or twelve feet long and seven feet high. The entrances of all these had mouldered away very much. At a hundred yards, however, from the base of the hill, and now used as a burying ground, there is a subterranean house of large dimensions, probably the residence of the great personage. The entrance was more than half filled up with sand and stones that had been thrown in. Clapperton and I entered, and found three extensive galleries, which communicated only by small openings, in passing through which, we had to stoop considerably; but the galleries were nearly seven feet in height, and about 150 feet in length: each had several small recesses like sleeping-rooms. The whole had neatness about it, and shewed taste in the excavators. There are no traces of similar abodes in Fezzan. The present race are entirely ignorant of the ancient occupiers. The people are so superstitious, that scarcely one of the town had ever entered it."†

* In the salt plain below, there are a number of small conical hills, insulated, and of the same composition as that on which the town is built. The base is pipe-clay, incumbent on which is a fine-grained yellow sandstone, and on the top is a conglomerate, the principal ingredient in which is iron-stone.

† Denham, vol. i. p. 88.

Of Ghadamis, a town so frequently adverted to, and of no small importance in African geography, Captain Lyon has furnished the following account. It is situated in the Desert, fifteen days S.W. of Tripoli, eight days from Iddri in Wady Shirghi, and twenty short days N.W. of Ghraat. "It is there that merchants going to Timbuctoo or to Tuat, assemble before starting for their long journey. This place was once independent; but, a few years since, it was taken by the son of the Bashaw of Tripoli, and has ever since remained tributary. The natives are constantly trading to Timbuctoo; and there are few of them who do not speak the language of that country and of the Tuarick also. It is a singular fact, that two tribes (Beni Waleed and Beni Wazeed) live in Ghadamis without having any communication with each other. A large, circular wall is divided in the middle by another broad one, which separates the two towns. It has a gate through the centre, which is shut during any disturbance. The inhabitants of the two towns were (formerly) always at war with each other, and have even now, occasionally, very dangerous quarrels. Outside the towns are the gardens and date-groves. The streets are all covered in, and are so dark in consequence, that, at sunset, a person is unable to find his way without a lamp. The houses are good, formed of mud, but of only one story. The natives are Arabs. Those who reside in the two towns seldom see each other, and are as perfect strangers mutually as if living many miles apart. No intermarriages or civilities exist between them; and a chance visiter from one town seldom escapes insult from the people of the other. In Benewazeed, is a spring sufficiently large to supply both these places, as well as their gardens. There are five chan-

nels from it, by which the water is distributed in equal shares, at a certain allowance, in proportion to the houses or the gardens to be watered: when the allowance for one place is poured into its proper channel, it is then dammed up, and another is supplied. There are people regularly appointed from each town to attend the distribution. The water is said to be rather warm and quite fresh, and runs in a channel communicating with the mosque through which it passes. There are many small rooms, into which those who wish to bathe in performing their ablutions may retire. The minaret of this mosque is very high, and may be seen at the distance of a day's journey. Each town has a shiekh; and the two are under the command of a *kaid*, appointed by the Bashaw. There are no manufactories, but it is well supplied by the constant concourse of traders who pass through it. Many ostriches are caught in the neighbouring desert, and the feathers form an article of commerce with Tripoli. In the southern half of the walls is a tribe of Arabs living by themselves, called Oulad (Welled) Belail." *

This description was given to Captain Lyon by a person who had often traded there; and it accords, in part, with the account of Gadamis given by Abulfeda, who speaks of it as an illustrious city, containing the ruins of some admirable Roman structures, with a fertile territory, watered by running streams; and he adds, that the waters are distributed in certain proportions to the cultivators of the soil, as mentioned by Captain Lyon. In his time, it was celebrated for the preparing of skins, probably those of sheep or goats. †

* Lyon, pp. 161—163.

† Rennell's Herod., pp. 623, 4. Horneman, p. 156. The learned

Dr. Oudney and his companion returned to Oubari by way of *Wady Trona*, in which is a small lake about half a mile long, and 200 yards in width, from which impure soda is obtained. Its marshy borders were covered on almost every side by grass and a tall *juncus*. It was now of inconsiderable depth, owing to the evaporation of the water, many places being dry, which are covered during the winter and spring. The *trona* crystallizes at the bottom of the lake, when the water is sufficiently saturated; but, when the water is in greater quantity, the people say, "it eats the *trona*;" and in spring, when the lake is at its height, it disappears entirely. The quantity annually carried away amounts to between four and five hundred camel-loads, each about four hundred weight; the price here of each load is two dollars. The surface of the water was now covered in many places with large, thin sheets of salt, giving it the appearance of a lake partially frozen over: film after film forms, till the whole becomes from two to three inches thick. On the recently uncovered surface of the banks, a black substance, something like mineral tar, was seen oozing out. The water in the valley is good, and free from saline impregnation.*

In this and some adjacent lakes is found, in the

Author of the Geographical Illustrations of Mr. Horneman's route, places Gadamis, by a calculation somewhat doubtful, in latitude 30° 29′ 30″, longitude 11° E. It is unquestionably the *Cydamus* or *Kydamus* of Pliny; one of the principal conquests of Balbus.

* The whole care of the *trona*-works devolved upon an old Fezzanner, an "unassuming, sensible man," very ready to give all the information he possessed, who resides here the whole year, visiting Mourzouk only on business. He had farmed the works for nine years. When asked if he did not feel his residence solitary, he answered, that he was now an old man, and gained a comfortable livelihood by it, which he could not elsewhere.

spring, a singular species of worm, called *dood*, which, by the epicures of Fezzan, is deemed a delicacy. They are so small as to be almost invisible to the naked eye, but are surrounded with a large quantity of gelatinous matter; they are of a reddish-brown colour, have a strong slimy smell, and are said to resemble, in taste, very bad *caviare*. Seen through a microscope, the head appears small and depressed; the eyes, two large black spots, supported on peduncles; the body has a row of rays on each side, resembling fins, but they have a continual motion like the tail of a fish. They are caught in a long hand-net; sometimes several pints are taken at once. It is almost impossible to preserve them alive for even a few hours after they have been taken out of the lake. An animal that evidently preys upon them, is found in considerable numbers. It is about an inch long, annulose, with six feet on each side, and two small corniform processes at the tail. The other lakes containing these worms, are two days' journey distant, situated in valleys almost inaccessible from the height of the surrounding sand-hills, and frequented only by the *dowedee* (fishermen) in the season. The insects are placed in the sun's rays for a few hours to dry, and, in that state, sell at a high rate in different parts of Fezzan.* Whether these *animalculæ* are in their ultimate state of development, may reasonably be questioned.

On the 16th of July, our Travellers resumed their journey from Oubari for Ghraat. Their route was over a wide, level valley of gravelly soil, with patches of calcareous crust, abounding with scattered *talh-*

* They are pounded with a little salt in a mortar, till they form a black paste, which is made into balls, and then dried in the sun. The poor people eat them as sauce to their messes of *aseeda*.

trees; (now in flower and with large drops of gum-arabic oozing from the branches;) and bounded southward by a low range of hills (sandstone and claystone), the tops of which are almost as level as the valley. These hills, running first in a southerly direction, afterwards bend eastward, passing into the Tibboo country, and stretching down to near Bornou. It is along these hills that the Tuaricks make their *ghrazzies* (inroads) into the territory of the Tibboos, with whom they are almost always at war; stealing camels, slaves, &c., but, with a nice distinction, never making prisoners, and killing only those who resist. About noon on the sixth day, our Travellers entered, by a small, narrow pass over hills of aluminous slate, the boundaries of the Tuarick country; and in the evening, arrived at Ludinat, the first village. Here, on a small eminence, is an old ruinous castle, foolishly thought by the people to be of Jewish origin, although, from its structure, it is evidently Arabian. A large spring issues from the middle, pouring out water sufficient to irrigate a large space of ground; but the Tuaricks are not cultivators. The next day, they passed near several springs, and afterwards entered a narrow pass between lofty, rugged hills of blackened sandstone and slate,* which opened into a plain, bounded by a range of singularly picturesque and fantastic appearance, which the native superstition has invested with ideal horrors. The sandstone rocks assume continually the semblance of ruinous castles and cathedrals. On one that is loftier than the rest, is bestowed the name of *Gassur Janoun* (Devil's

* The external surface of the sandstone has acquired (from the action of the sun) a shining black, like basalt; which is streaked, in many parts, with a shining white aluminous slate, that separates into minute flakes like snow.

Castle); another is Janoun's House; and a third is called the Chest, a large treasure being supposed to have been deposited beneath it by ancient people of gigantic stature. Branches of this range are said to spread westward as far as Tuat, and south-eastward to the mountains of Fezzan. At length, at sunset, on the 26th (the [illegible]th day), the party reached Ghraat.*

"This town is surrounded with walls, in good repair, formed of sand and whitish clay, that gives a clean and lively appearance to the whole. There is only one gate, opening to the east: formerly, there were more, that are now blocked up. The houses are built of the same substance as the walls, and the external form and internal arrangement are the same as those of Mourzouk. The town appears to be about the size of Oubari, and, perhaps, contains 1000 inhabitants. The burying-ground is outside the town: it is divided into two departments, one for those arrived at maturity, the other for children,—a distinction not observable in Fezzan.....The houses are neat and clean, and the mosque is finer than any thing of the kind in Fezzan. All is neat and simple. It is built at the foot of a low hill, on the summit of which the former town stood: it was, we are told, destroyed, with the greater part of the inhabitants, by the giving way of the portion of the hill on which it was erected. The hills, composed as they are about here, are very apt to fall down in large masses. Indeed, none of the hills appear of their original height. It was not long since a large portion of a neighbouring mountain gave way, and the noise of its fall was heard at a great distance.....Some small spots here are really beautiful,

* Captain Lyon makes Ghraat only seven days W. by S. from Oubari; ten days from Mourzouk; five from Gamat; twenty from Tuat; and fifteen long stages (twenty short days) from Ghadamis.

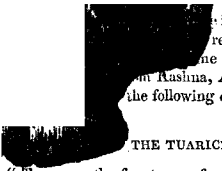
from the diversity of scenery in a small compass. Here and there, patches of grass and beds of water-melons; in the edge of the water-channels, fine palms loaded with ripe fruit, small squares of *gafouly*, and *cassoub*, and beautiful vines clinging to the trees; in the breaks, the town and black[illegible]ted, low-hills. We observed platforms, of palm-l[illegible] raised about five feet from the ground, for the pur[illegible]f sleeping and defending the persons from scorpions, which are very common. The water is contained in a large reservoir, surrounded with palm-trees. There is not that bubbling up that we saw in the springs of Shiati and Ludinat, but apparently an oozing from a large surface, as in those of Traghan. The water is clear, well-tasted, and in abundance: a large extent of soil is supplied with it, through channels cut in the ground; and all the town is supplied from this place.

"In our walk, we fell in with a number of women, who had come out to see us. All were free and lively, and not at all deterred by the presence of the men. Several had fine features, but only one or two could be called beautiful. Many of the natives came out of their houses as we passed along, and cordially welcomed us to their town. It was done in such a manner that we could not but feel pleased and highly flattered. In the evening, we heard a numerous band of women singing at a distance, which was continued till near midnight. The women were principally those of the country. This custom is very common among the people, and is one of the principal amusements in the mountain recesses.....The males never sing: it is considered as an amusement fit only for females." *

For a fuller account of this remarkable people, we

* Denham, vol. i. pp. 108—110.

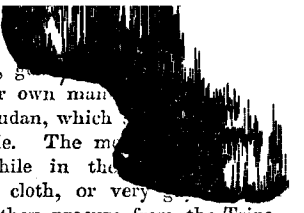
TUARICKS OF GHRAAT.
TUARICK OF AGHADES.



information furnished
residence at Mourzouk,
ne with their slaves and
Rasina, Aghades, and Ghraat,
the following description.

THE TUARICKS.

"THEY are the finest race of men I ever saw; tall, straight, and handsome, with a certain air of independence and pride, which is very imposing. They are generally white; that is to say, comparatively so; the dark brown of their complexions only being occasioned by the heat of the climate. Their arms, or bodies, (where constantly covered,) are as white as those of many Europeans. Their costume is very remarkable, and they cover their faces as high as the eyes, in the manner of women on the sea-coast. Their original motive for so doing is now forgotten; but they say it must be right, as it was the fashion of their forefathers. This covering extends as high as half-way up the bridge of the nose, from which it hangs down below the chin on the breast, much in the same way (but longer) as crape or lace is hung to a lady's half-mask. This cloth is generally of blue glazed cotton; but yellow, red, white, and many other colours are worn, according to taste, or the ability of the owner to purchase them. The head is kept close clipped, so as not to interfere with the covering which is tied behind. Their red caps are generally very high; but some wear yellow or green ones, fitted close to the head: others have no caps at all, but leave their hair to grow, and plait it in long tresses. All wear turbans, which are never of any fixed colour: blue is the most common and cheap; but gaudy hues are



preferred. A large, loo
sleeves the same size
dress: it is of cotton, g
white, and is of their own man
some wear those of Soudan, which
the best that are made. The m
dress very gaudily while in th
kaftans of bright red cloth, or very
cotton striped, which they procure from the Tripoline traders. A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed and well prepared. Their trowsers are not made so full as those of the Moors, as they would be much encumbered by them in riding their *maherries;* they rather resemble those called Cossack trowsers, and are made of cotton stuff, dark blue being the most common. Their sandals are the most elegant part of their dress, being made of black leather, with scarlet thongs to brace them to the feet. The ornamental needle-work on the inside of the sole is really admirable. They all wear a whip, hanging from a belt passed over the left shoulder by the right side. Their swords are straight, and of great length, and they wield them with much ease and dexterity. From the left wrist is suspended a dagger, with the hilt towards the hand; it has a broad leather ring attached to the scabbard, and through this the hand is passed. No Tuarick is ever seen without this appendage, and a light, elegant spear, sometimes entirely of iron, inlaid with brass; others are of wood, but are also highly ornamented. These weapons are about six feet in length, and are thrown to a great distance. In making war, they have three longer and heavier spears, and a strong lance, which are fastened behind the saddle. A long

gun is also generally carried; and these people are considered sure marksmen. They are, if possible, more superstitious than the natives of Fezzan; some of them being literally covered with charms against disorders and accidents, which they wear round their arms, legs, neck, across the breast, and, in fact, wherever [illegible] can find place for them. Their spears and guns [illegible] due allowance; and in the folds of the turbans are always hidden a number of holy writings. Some wear large silver cases tied round the head, containing charms against the devil. Their language is the Breber, or original African tongue, still spoken in the mountains behind Tunis, in some parts of Morocco, and at Sockna, where it is called *Ertana*.* They are very proud of the antiquity of their language, which, some have told me, was spoken by Noah, in preference to any other. They never kiss the hand, as other Mohammedans do, not even that of the Sultan himself, but advance, and, taking the hand, shake it, and then retire, standing erect, and looking him full in the face;—a striking contrast of manners to those of the natives of Fezzan.

"No people have more aversion to washing than the Tuarick generally have. Some, after having equipped themselves in a new suit of blue, become so stained for a time as to appear of the same complexion as their garments. Even in performing their necessary purifications, which require that a man should wash in a particular way before his prayers, they avoid water, and make use of sand. Many attempts were made by us to discover the reason of their keeping themselves in such a dirty state; but, to all our inquiries, we obtained nearly

* It is the *Shelluh* or Siwayan. See page 97 of this volume.

the same answers: 'God never intended that man should injure his health if he could avoid it: water having been given to man to drink and to cook with, it does not agree with the skin of a Tuarick, who always falls sick after much washing.' * There are some, however, who do wash, and ridicule the dirty ones; but these are comparatively few. They are Moslem, and their prayers are in Arabic, a language many do not understand a syllable. Those who do pray, and there are many who do not, only repeat their belief, *viz.*, 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet,' and know very little besides of their religion.† They inhabit that immense tract of country, known in maps under the name of Sahara, or the Great Desert, and are of numerous tribes, some of whom have no settled habitations, but wander like the Arabs, and subsist by plunder. They are not cruel on these occasions, provided they meet with no resistance; but, should the party attacked attempt to defend themselves, their death is certain.‡ The Tuarick, or, more properly, tribes of them, are always at war with the Soudan States, and carry off

* This dislike of washing, which the scarcity of water might seem to excuse, and its effect on the skin, in such a climate, serve to account for, is not peculiar to the Tuaricks, any more than it appears to be universal among them. The Arabs of Barca are equally unwilling to part with the varnish of dirt with which their skin is coated. See page 186 of our first volume.

† "Some only of the Tuaricks (of Ghraat) speak the Arabic. We were the more astonished to find this, when we considered the great intercourse between them and nations that speak Arabic only."—Denham, vol. i. p. 106.

‡ Dr. Oudney gives the same account of their *comparative* humanity (see page 156); but when the object of these *grazzies* is taken into account, it is only in comparison with other slave-hunters, or with the civilized abettors of the *commando* system in South Africa, that they can be deemed entitled to this modified praise. Major Denham speaks of these southern Tuaricks as ruthless marauders.

from them incalculable numbers of slaves. They are so completely masters of their weapons, and so very courageous, that they are much dreaded, which enables them to traverse unmolested, and in very small bodies, countries full of armed people. Each tribe has some peculiarity in its dress, or manner of riding, or of making war.....

"The manner of riding among these people is very singular. They have swift tall camels, called *Maherry* (the *Herie* of travellers), with which they perform extraordinary journeys. The saddle is placed on the withers, and confined by a band underneath. It is very small and difficult to sit, which is done by balancing with the feet against the neck of the animal, and holding a tight rein to steady the head. They manage these creatures with great dexterity, fighting when mounted on them, and firing at marks while at full speed, which is a long trot; in which the maherry can continue at about nine miles an hour for many hours together. They do not much esteem horses; and never buy them but for the purpose of exchanging them for slaves in Sôudan.

"We had many visits from these extraordinary people, who came to see us as curiosities, and minutely examined every thing we would allow them to handle. The report which they had heard of our great knowledge, and of our being able to look stedfastly at the sun, (or, in other words, to take celestial observations,) brought large parties to our habitation, on whom we not unfrequently played a few tricks. Phosphorus astonished them beyond measure. Kaleidoscopes and the camera-obscura, also excited great amazement; but the compass was quite beyond their comprehension,—so much so that they were generally afraid to touch it. Our arms were more suited to

their taste, and they took much pleasure in handling them. The pistols with stop-locks were looked upon with great reverence; and a sword which I had with a pistol in the handle, was considered so valuable, that I might have purchased with it a couple of Negresses. Our having a stock of medicines was sufficient inducement for all our visiters to find themselves very ill, and to imagine, not one, but every disorder of the country. One man had bad eyes: if he succeeded in getting something to relieve them, the whole party immediately began to blink, and affect to be half blind, hoping also to get some medicine. Another had a liver complaint: the rest were then all so ill as to be unable to walk or to speak without a great many ejaculatory Oh's; and so on, until they had exhausted the whole chapter of ailments. We at first gave them medicine, but soon discovered it was a preconcerted plan to impose on us, and that when one set had obtained what they wanted, another brought forward a friend or two, who were exactly in the same miserable and suffering state as themselves, and equally disposed to deceive us. One begged a little physic to keep in store; another, some sugar just to taste, a small piece for their wives as a curiosity, and a few lumps into the bargain for their children; a little writing-paper for charms, a handful of tobacco, one of our nice knives, or a pair of scissors, or a little powder to shew when they got home, with many *et cæteras*; until, our patience being completely exhausted, we were obliged, very unceremoniously, and much to their astonishment, to push the whole party out of the house. Many amusing incidents occurred on the score of medical knowledge, which shewed the implicit confidence reposed in us."

"The shiekh of Graat is there called Sultan; his

name is Bel Gassem. He receives but a precarious revenue, and that only from the settled inhabitants, who are called Ghratia. The Tuarick shew no respect to him, and pay no duties. The Sultan has not the power of life or death; cannot alter or make laws; and is directed by an assembly of the elders of the people, who always try offences of a criminal nature, and then submit their sentence to him for his approval. He cannot even resolve on any measure of importance without first obtaining the permission of those elders. Neither in his dress, mode of living, nor habitation, is he distinguished from the common people; and he walks about, and trades by himself, without attracting any notice. The sultanship is hereditary; and not being a very desirable office, it occasions no wars for the succession." *

Dr. Oudney and his companion had pictured to themselves some magnificent personage as the sultan of such a people; and great was their astonishment at being presented to an old man dressed in a thread-bare *tobe* and trowsers, his head wrapped in an old piece of yellow, coarse cloth for a turban. "Mats had been spread in the castle, in a small ante-chamber. The old man was seated, but rose up to receive and welcome us to his city. He apologized for not waiting on us; but said he was sick, and had been very little out for some time. He had guinea-worm, and cataract was forming in his eyes. Notwithstanding the meanness of his dress, there was something pleasing and prepossessing in his countenance, and such a freeness as made us soon quite as much at home as if in our tents. We presented to him a sword, with which he was highly pleased." † Their Tuarick friend, Hateeta, expressed

* Lyon, pp. 109—116. † Denham, vol. i. p. 104.

a considerate wish that it had been a *bornouse*,—of which his sultanship stood in more evident want. Yet, the Ghratïa are reputed to be rich, "from their constant trade with Soudan, and from having no one to deprive them of their gains." Once a year, in the spring, a great fair is held here, to which dealers from all the neighbouring countries resort in great numbers. "The Ghadamsines bring swords, guns, powder, flints, lead, and iron ware; also, a few articles of clothing. The Soudan traders bring slaves, cotton cloths, skins, gold, civet, shears, daggers, water-skins, goroo-nuts, &c. The Fezzan merchants, a mixed cargo of such goods as they procure from Tripoli or Egypt. Slaves and camels, dates and corn, are always the principal articles of commerce, and in great abundance. All traders have a tribute exacted from them by the Tuarick of the country. Clothing, some powder, or any small article, franks a *kaffilé*. This 'safety money' once paid, the merchants are exempt from further demand. The Mamlouks of Mourzouk, or people sent by them, do not pay anything, it being the interest of the Tuarick to keep on terms with them." *

Mr. Horneman has also given a brief description of the Tuaricks, whom he characterizes as the most interesting nation of Africa.† They were then in possession of all the country between Fezzan, Ghadamis, the frontier of Morocco, Timbuctoo, Soudan, Bornou, and the Tibboo country. They are divided, he says, into several nations, of which the *Kolluvi* in Asben, and the *Hagara*, near to Fezzan,‡ are the chief. Asben comprises the district of Aghadez, of which the

* Lyon, p. 114.

† This Traveller supposes them to be the *Terga* of Leo Africanus.

‡ The "*Heggär*" of Lyon.

Tuaricks had acquired possession by recent conquest, with the adjacent provinces: it is said to border upon Kashna on the south, and Bornou on the east. The Kolluvians, having mixed with other nations, are of different hue: many are black, but with features not at all like the negroes. The Hagara and Matkara tribes are yellowish, like the Arabs. Near Soudan, there are tribes entirely black.* The western tribes are as white as the climate and mode of life will admit of. They are not all Mohammedans. "In the neighbourhood of Soudan and Timbuctoo, live the Tagama, who are white, and of the Pagan religion. This," adds Mr. Horneman, "must have occasioned the report to which my attention has been called by several learned men, that there are white Christians in the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo. I am convinced that the fable arises solely from the expression *Nazary* (*i.e.* Christians), which the Arabs and Mohammedans use in general for unbelievers." † The greater part

* The guide of Dr. Oudney from Oubari to Ghraat, was "a *black* Tuarick." The Tuarick women he saw at Oubari, had "a copper complexion; eyes, large, black, and rolling; nose plain; but two or three had fine ancient Egyptian-shaped noses; hair long and shedded, not plaited like the Arab women, neither did there appear to be any oil."

† Col. Keatinge was told at Morocco, that south of Tafilet, far in the Interior, there exists an independent nation, a very brave people, called by the Moors the *Sons of Lions*, who are *not* black, and whose religion is idolatry. "They live by hunting wild animals and on the milk of their camels, of which they have great numbers, not tilling the earth. They go naked, save a piece of blue cloth worn by the chiefs for distinction. They have a remarkably swift and serviceable race of horses, which, from the lankness of their bodies, compared to the Barbs, are called snake-horses."—Keatinge, vol. i. p. 344. Although this description does not altogether answer to the customs of the Tuaricks, (especially as to costume,) it is probable that the *Tagama* or some tribe of white Tuaricks may be referred to.

of the eastern Tuarick, he says, lead a wandering life. There is, for instance, a town in the Hagara territory, consisting of not more than thirty houses, where, at the time of their markets, many hundreds assemble with their leathern tents.* "They carry on a commerce between Soudan, Fezzan, and Gadamis. Their caravans give life to Mourzouk, which, without them, is a desert; for they, like the Soudanians, love company, songs, and music. A few colonies of them are found in Sockna, Augila, and Siwah: in which places, the language of the Tuarick is the only one spoken by the inhabitants." †

In an Arabic MS., of which Captain Clapperton obtained a translation, containing an account, geographical and historical, of the kingdom of Takroor, (now under the dominion of the Felatah Sultan,) there are some curious and interesting details with regard to the origin of the Tuarick, (or, as the name is there written, Tawarek,) which, in the absence of other lights, must be accepted as valuable historical information.

"Adjoining this province (Bornou) on the south side,‡ is that of Aäheer, which is spacious, and contains extensive plains. It is inhabited by the Tawarek, and by some remnants of the Sonhajá, and the Soodan. This province was formerly in the hands of

* This would seem to mean Ghraat, which is, however, a more considerable place. "The greater number of Tuaricks follow the nomade life, moving from place to place as they find pasturage. They appear to delight in solitary abodes; and the different mountain recesses in the vicinity appear to have been often the residence of this people. Their houses are of the skin of the camel, and have something of the form of the Arab."—Denham, vol. i. p. 77.

† Horneman, pp. 109—111; 119.

‡ This is clearly an error, as Bornou must be to the south of the district referred to.

the Soodan inhabitants of Ghoober (*in* Hoossa); but five tribes of the Tawarek, called Amakeetan, Tamkak, Sendal, Agdalar, and Ajdaraneen, came out of Aowjal, and took it from them; and, after having settled themselves, they agreed to nominate a prince to rule over them, in order to render justice to the weak against the powerful. They appointed a person of the family of Ansatfen: but they soon quarrelled among themselves, and dismissed him. They then nominated another, and continued upon this system; viz. whenever a prince displeased them, they dethroned him, and appointed a different one.* These Tawareks were of the remnants of the Barbar, who spread themselves over Africa at the time of its conquest.

"The Barbars are a nation, descendants of Abraham;—though it is stated, that they descended from Yafet; and others say, from Gog and Magog, whom the Two-horned Alexander immured.†.....It is also said, that they were the people who slew the prophets Zachariah and Eliah; and that, after leaving Palestine, they proceeded westward, till they arrived at Wa-leeba and Morakeba,—two towns in the Interior, west of Egypt, where the Nile does not reach, but the inhabitants drink the rain water,‡—where they fixed their residence for some time. They then divided themselves into different tribes, and proceeded west-

* The Tuaricks of the present day are characterised by the same democratic notions, although a remnant, possibly, of an hereditary monarchy, survives in the sultanry of Ghraat.

† Alluding to a Mohammedan legend, which represents the Macedonian Conqueror as immuring the two great nations so designated within two exceedingly high mountains, by an immense wall of iron and copper. He is frequently styled the Two-horned in the Koran, and is so represented in his coins, as well as Seleucus.

‡ The Translator (Mr. Salamè) says, in a note, "perhaps in the Oases." Mor-akaba may be the *Katabathmus Major*.

ward in Africa. The tribes of Zedata and Maghyala first entered the Gharb, and inhabited the mountains. These were followed by that of Lawata,* who inhabited the country of Enttablos (Tarablos, Tripoli), which is Barka. They afterwards spread themselves over the interior of the Gharb, till they reached the country of Soossa,† where the tribe of Hawazna took possession of the city of Lebda, and the tribe of Nafoosa entered the city of Ssabra,‡ and expelled the *Room* who then ruled there.

"It is again stated, that they descended from Farek, son of Yonssar, son of Ham; and that when Yonssar conquered Africa, they spread themselves over the Gharb, and first inhabited Tunis. Thence they proceeded in tribes towards the southern parts of the Gharb, which communicates with the country of Soodan, where they settled at Aowjal, Fazaran, Ghadamess, and Ghata.§ Thus, they came in five tribes from Aowjal, as before mentioned, and conquered this province (Aàheer), as before stated."

Giving an account of the population of Bornou, (the inhabitants of which are said to be the Barbar, the Felateen, the Arabs, and a great many slaves of the Barbar,) the Writer proceeds:

"These Barbars are of the remnants of those who first inhabited the country between Zanj ‖ and Abys-

* Doubtless the *Levatæ*. See p. 65 of our first volume.

† Susa in Tunis seems to be intended, or else Sosuza in the Pentapolis. See p. 248 of vol. i.

‡ Lebda is clearly Lebida; and Ssabra must be Sabrata. The *Room* or Roomi are the Romans or Christians.

§ Fezzan, Ghadamis, and Ghraat; but what is Aowjal?

‖ This must be the ancient *Zingis*. The country to the south of the sea of Bab el Mandel was anciently called *Barbaria*, otherwise Azania; both which appellations it retains in the form of Berbera and Ajan.—See D'Anville, vol. ii. p. 182.

sinia, and who were expelled from Yemen by Hemeera, subsequently to their establishment in that country by Africus.* The cause of their being brought to Yemen was, as it is related, as follows: While Africus reigned over Yemen, and the Barbars in Syria, the inhabitants of the latter country, being oppressed by the iniquities and impiety of their rulers, applied to Africus to deliver them from their hands; and at the same time, they proclaimed and acknowledged him as their legal sovereign. He marched against the Barbars, fought and destroyed them, except the children, whom he kept in Yemen as slaves and soldiers. After his death and the lapse of a long period, they rebelled against Hemeera, who then ruled Yemen. He fought and turned them out of that country; whence they emigrated to a spot near Abyssinia, (the coast of the Red Sea facing Mokha,) where they took refuge. They then went to Kanoom, and settled there, as strangers, under the government of the Tawarek, who were a tribe related to them, and called *Amakeetan*. But they soon rebelled against them, and usurped the country. Fortune having assisted them, their government flourished for some time, and their dominion extended to the very extre-

* Mr. Salamè remarks, that, on referring to the History of Yemen by Massoodi, he finds that the Writer has made a mistake in asserting that Africus reigned anterior to Hemeera; "whereas Hemeera ruled Yemen many hundred years previously to Africus; and Africus was the sovereign who removed the Barbars from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, to their present countries." Hameir (or Hamyar) the founder of the Hamyarite (or Homerite) dynasty, is said to have been contemporary with Abraham; but, as the name became a patronymic, a sovereign of that dynasty is probably intended. Afreikas, according to the *Kholaussèt ul Akhbaur*, was the son and successor of Abramah, who appears to have reigned about 1400 B.C., and who was probably of a different (Abyssinian?) dynasty.—See MOD. TRAV., Arabia, p. 24.

mity of this tract of the earth; and Wa-da-i and Baghar-mee, as well as the country of Hoossa, with those parts of the province of Bow-sher * which belong to it, were in their possession. In the course of time, however, their government became weakened, and their power destroyed." †

Mingled as this account may be with anachronisms and other errors, its coincidence with various traditions and fragments of history, entitles it to considerable attention. The conclusions which it seems to render plausible, are: That, under the common name of Barbar or Berber (shepherds), several distinct races are confounded, whence the different traditions respecting their supposed descent: That the Berbers of Mount Atlas and the Tawarek are distinct branches of the same original family, whose settlement in Africa must be referred to different eras; their language (at least their vocabulary) being also very different, ‡ yet probably related: That one great division of these Berbers, allied to the Tuaricks, emigrated from Yemen long before the Christian era, and had their first settlement in the mountainous country to the east and south of Abyssinia, whence they appear to have spread themselves westward to Begharmi and Soudan: That another tribe of supposed Berbers, said to have been descended from the children of evil genii, came from Palestine by way of the Egyptian coast and the Oases, whence they spread in different directions over Northern Africa: That the *Levatæ* of Barca, who invested Lebida in the reign of Justinian, were another tribe of the same Berber race: and that, finally,

* Bow-sher is now included in the kingdom of Zeg-zeg.

† Denham, vol. ii., Appendix, No. XII. pp. 444—449.

‡ Mr. Jackson asserts, that the Siwahan is a mixture of the Berebber and the Shelluh, which he represents to be very dissimilar.

a quite distinct tribe of the Chamitic family, first settled at Tunis (or Carthage); and thence proceeded in tribes towards the south, and established themselves at Ghadamis, Fezzan, and the country north of Soudan. We cannot help suspecting that the last tradition points to the Carthaginians. When, however, it is recollected, that authentic history records the entrance into Africa, at distant periods, of so many distinct colonies or invading armies,—Phenicians, Greeks, Persians, Jews, Romans, Vandals; while obscurer tradition has preserved the memorial of Arabian * (or Ethiopian) and Egyptian conquests; an actual mixture of races and a confusion of events in their traditional history, might naturally be expected.

With regard to the Tuaricks, an examination of their language can alone determine their true origin. Dr. Oudney describes it as harsh and guttural; but he thought it had great strength, and appeared expressive. He gives some rude characters (nineteen in number) as the Tuarick alphabet: these characters are found rudely cut in almost all places frequented by the Tuaricks, sometimes written from right to left, sometimes *vice versâ*. The power of the letters, however, is not specified, and they have certainly more the appearance (some of them at least) of numerical, than of alphabetic characters. It is remarkable, that

* Naush ul Nâeyme, an Arabian monarch of the line of Hamyar, some centuries before the Christian era, is said to have led an expedition into Mogreb (Africa), till he was stopped by drifting sands. Upon the spot, he erected a statue, with the inscription: "This monument was set up by Naush ul Nâeyme the Hamyarite, King of Yemen and Moghreb, who came thus far, and could find no passage further. Hereafter, let him who reaches this spot, avoid all fruitless research, and retire."—*Kholaussct*, in Price's Essay towards the History of Arabia.

the places where the Tuarick is spoken, are all commercial towns, forming a chain along the Libyan desert from Egypt to Mauritania. At the same time, far from being a nation of traders, they are, for the most part, predatory nomades, living in tents. The original seat of their power appears, moreover, to be east of Soudan and south of the Tibboo country, which may account for a black race of Tuaricks. That there should be black and white Tuaricks, is not more unaccountable, than that there should be in the same part of India, black and white Jews. We cannot help suspecting that they will prove to bear a close affinity to some of the Abyssinian nations, respecting whom our information is at present so exceedingly vague and defective.* Whatever be their origin, they are

* On the banks of the *Bahr el Abiad*, there is a nation of *Shillooks*, who may possibly speak the Shellu or Tuarick. The Abyssinians call their own kingdom *Agazi*, and themselves *Agazian*; a word which approaches to the Agades of the Tuaricks. In the Siwahan, *argaz* signifies a man. Other seeming coincidences might be pointed out, but no stress can be laid upon them; and these hints are suggested merely with a view to elicit further inquiry. Burckhardt tells us, that the *Kenous* of Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia, speak a language totally distinct from Arabic, though surrounded, like the Tuaricks, and mixing, like them, with Arabian tribes. In common with the Noubas and the Arabs of Berber, they are called in Egypt, Berbers. See MOD. TRAV., Egypt, vol. ii. pp. 240, 1. The *Mek* of Berber, like the Sultan of Ghraat, assumes no distinction of rank. Between the Coptic and the Siwahan and Tuarick, there may be expected to be found a similarity, at least in the vocabulary. Thus *Itfuct* and *Tefookt*, the Sun, are clearly the same as Edfoo. *Ftunest*, *Taphonest*, the Cow, is perhaps *Taphaanes*. But these words may be borrowed. All the Tuarick numerals above three, are Arabic. The variety of names under which the same language appears to be designated, is not a little singular. By the natives, it is called Ertana: by others, it has been styled Amazigh, Tamazirk, Touarick, Shelluh, Shillah, Siwayan, Showiah, Berebber, Berber; to which we may possibly add, as a dialect of the same "Libyan" tongue, Guanche.—See pp. 81 and 97 of this volume.

a nation who merit to be better known. "Were they placed in more favourable circumstances," Dr. Oudney says, "they would be a shining people."

FROM MOURZOUK TO TEGERHY.

BEFORE Captain Lyon finally left Mourzouk on his homeward route, he determined, notwithstanding severe indisposition, to visit the eastern and southern parts of Fezzan. Accordingly, having bought a very fine *maherry* (six feet and a half in height), and obtained a *teskera* from the Sultan on all the villages he might pass through, securing food for himself and his party, he set off, on the 14th of December, for Zuela, situated to the N.E. of Mourzouk, on the route to Augila. The usual place of rendezvous for *kafilas* proceeding to the Interior, is the tomb of Sidi Besheer, a Maraboot, near the small village of *Haji Haleel*, about eight miles E. by S. of Mourzouk.* Hard by are ruins of an old Arab fort, called *Gusser Hamadi*. From this place, an excellent beaten road runs S. by E. to the ruined village of Zaizow, and thence to Traghan. Several ruined villages, each having its fort, were noticed on the route. Traghan was formerly as considerable a place as Mourzouk; and was, about sixty years ago, the residence of a sultan, who governed the eastern part of Fezzan. It stands in lat. 25° 55′, in a flat, desert plain; its gardens and date-groves being at a short distance. It contains four mosques with small mud minarets. The houses are (many of them) large, but are now, for the most part, in ruins; and the population does not exceed 500 or 600 souls. The ruins of the castle shew it to

* The *Sidibischir* of Horneman, three hours from Mourzouk, and eight hours from Tragen (Traghan).

have been a place of some importance as an Arab fortress. The Maraboot who is the shiekh of the town, asserted, that it had been built prior to Mourzouk; in which case, Captain Lyon says, it must be nearly 600 years old. It is built of a reddish clay, while the walls and houses of the town are of a light green, the actual colour of the earth and clay round the town. In the gardens, there are some springs which are the pride of Fezzan, being almost the only ones in the country. Several of the natives left their work to follow Captain Lyon, in order to witness his surprise and admiration at the sight of them. He found "four ponds, each from thirty to forty feet in diameter, covered with a green crust, and containing innumerable frogs." Insignificant as they are, however, their value is not over-estimated; and our Traveller drank heartily of the water, which is good, though not, even here, perfectly fresh; and the gardens supplied from them, are as white with salt as those watered from the wells. A number of strange birds, resembling thrushes, but with longer tails, were fluttering about the date-groves. Major Denham says, that at Traghan, they make carpets equal to those of Constantinople.*

Captain Lyon now struck into Horneman's route from Cairo, and proceeding in a N.E. direction to the small village of Hamera (or Hemara), reached, in another day's march, Zuela. The route lies entirely over salt plains and stony deserts, but passes several villages. On an eminence near the town, the principal people of Zuela were found waiting (they had been assembled for four or five hours) to welcome the

* Denham, vol. i. p. 113. Lyon, p. 206. From the castle, the latter Traveller observed five towns at the distance of from four to eight miles, in different bearings.

visiters. Of this place, Horneman gives the following description.

ZUELA.

"ZUILA has received the name of *Belled el Shereef*, or town of the Shereefs: in former times, it was an important place,* and its circumference appears to have been thrice the extent of what it is now. Some of the Shereef's family told me, that, some centuries past, Zuila had been the residence of the Sultans, and the general rendezvous of the caravans; and even yet, the journey to Fezzan is termed (by the caravan from Bornou) the journey to Seela.

"This little city stands on a space of about one mile in circuit. As in Augila, the houses have only a ground floor, and the rooms are lighted from the door. Near the centre of the town are the ruins of a building several stories high, and of which the walls are very thick: report says, this was formerly the palace. Without the town, near the southern wall, stands an old mosque, little destroyed by time, serving as a sample of the ancient magnificence of Zuila: it contains, in the middle, a spacious saloon encompassed by a lofty colonnade, behind which runs a broad passage with entrances to various apartments belonging to the establishment of the mosque. At some little distance further from the city, appear very ancient and lofty edifices, which are the tombs of shereefs who fell in battle at a time the country was attacked by infidels.

"The environs of Zuila are level, supplied with

* "Zuila, or Zawila, probably the *Cillaba* of Pliny....was the capital (of Fezzan) in the time of Edrisi."—Rennell in Horneman, p. 153. In his Geography of Herodotus, the learned Author says: "It must not be mistaken for Zala, which is ten days to the eastward of it." p. 620, note. This is a mistake, as there is no Zala or Zella in that direction.—Edrisi, who states that Wadan was also called Zala, must refer to the town of that name near Sockna.

water, and fertile. The groves of date-trees are of great extent; and its inhabitants appear to pay more attention to agriculture, than those of adjoining places."

Thus far, Horneman. Captain Lyon says: "The inhabitants of Zuela are nearly all white, and Shereefs; and they are particularly careful about intermarriages with other Arabs, priding themselves much on their immediate descent from Mohammed. They are certainly the most respectable, hospitable, and quiet people in Fezzan; and their whole appearance (for they are handsome and very neatly dressed) bespeaks something superior to the other whites.....The town has but few good houses in it; but, judging from the ruins, I should conceive it must once have been of much consequence, and built in a manner rather superior to the Arab towns in general. Zuela is even now called Zella by old people. The town has three very good mosques and three gates of entrance."* The latitude (according to a solar observation) was found to be 26° 11′ 48″.

"We rode out of the town," he continues, "to see the extraordinary ruins so much spoken of by the commentators on Horneman's Travels....The one most esteemed by the Shereefs, is an old mosque, about half a mile to the westward of the town. It is a large oblong building, of evidently an early date, though certainly of Arab origin. The walls are built, with a neatness now unpractised and unknown, of unbaked,

* The inhabitants boasted, that "the door of Zuela was in Egypt," which led Captain Lyon to "conclude that some town there may have so named one of its gates, and that the Arabs have taken it literally." Perhaps, Zuela itself may have been called the Gate of Egypt, as being on the road, and near the frontier towards that country. It is a short stage from Temissa, the frontier town. See p. 108 of this volume.

rough bricks and strong binding clay. At the N. W. corner is the minaret, much dilapidated, but still of a height sufficient to command an extensive view of the surrounding country. The length of the *meseed* (mosque) inside, is 135 feet, and its breadth, 90; immense dimensions for an Arab building, which has no cross walls to support the roof. It is quite open overhead, and nothing remains to give an idea of what it was once covered with. There are two niches for the imaum: one is in a partition built partly across, near one end, for that purpose; the other is in the wall, and in the form of a pulpit, and has, I suppose, been used for the purpose of addressing the people when assembled on the plain below,—a custom prevailing at Mourzouk after *Rhamadan*, at *Milood*, and other feast-days.

"From this mosque, we went to a spot half a mile E. of the town, to examine five buildings, the appearance of which was much more interesting. They are on a line with each other, and have a passage between them, of three or four feet in breadth. They are square; in diameter, about 20 feet, and their height about 30. They have dome tops, and two windows; one low and near the ground, the other high and narrow, about 10 feet above it. The rough skeleton of the building is of sun-dried bricks and clay, which have hardened to nearly the consistency of stone: over this, to about half the height of the building, are laid large flat stones of a reddish colour, unhewn, as found in the neighbouring mountains. Few of these, however, still adhere. The interior of the buildings is perfectly void, and they appear never to have had any floors or partitions. Each now contains the remains of a shereef, whose grave is ornamented with the usual complement of broken pots, shreds of cloth, and ostrich-eggs. The

people here look with much reverence on these edifices, and tell many wonderful stories of the dead now enshrined in them.....The inscriptions are on the upper part of the walls, and on the sides instead of the front, which makes it very difficult to see them. The least perfect has only one or two lines resembling the tops of letters, on a white cement of about a foot square: the other has about two feet of plaster, and some long letters are sunk in it, apparently Arabic, and much broken. The Shereefs said, that these were the only ones they recollected, and that they were written by the Christians, soon after the time of our Lord Noah.* Having fancied I could distinguish Arabic characters, I made my friends sit on the sand, while with my finger I traced them one by one. They immediately saw the resemblance, but said, that, having fancied them to be of Christian origin, they had taken it for granted, and never troubled their heads about deciphering them.

"On my return, I went to see the ruins of the Castle, which occupies a large space in the centre of the town. Its walls must once have been of great strength, as, in some places, I observed them to be above 30 feet in thickness, and built in the same manner as the houses at Tripoli. The castle had nothing to boast of, but the solidity of its materials."†

We have given these descriptions at full length, because Zuela is one of the most noted places, and, perhaps, next to Germa, the most ancient in Fezzan. But no vestiges appear to exist of any Roman structures. Mr. Beaufoy speaks of numerous cisterns and vaulted caves, supposed to be granaries, as inviting the attention of the future traveller. But had they existed, they could scarcely, we think, have eluded the

* "The Zuela people, like all other Moors, attribute strange buildings and writings to the Christians." † Lyon, pp. 213—217.

observant notice and inquiry of these two enterprising Travellers.

On the 25th of December, Captain Lyon left Zuela for Gatrone, which he reached on the fifth day. Some wretched mud villages and two or three wells, alone relieved the dreariness of the journey, which is all desert. He had turned off from the direct route to Gatrone at Traghan, from which it is only three long marches distant. This road was subsequently taken by Major Denham. The first stage lies over a singular mixture of sand and salt, extending more than twenty miles E. and W., and southward to Maefen, an assemblage of date huts with a well. Beyond this, an unbroken desert plain stretches to Gatrone; in crossing which, Major Denham says, he saw no living thing that did not belong to the *kafila*; "not a bird, nor even an insect." The sand is beautifully fine, round, and red. "It is difficult," he adds, "to give the most distant idea of the stillness and beauty of a *night scene* on a desert of this description. The distance between the resting-places is not sufficiently great for the dread of want of water to be alarmingly felt; and the track, though a sandy one, is well known to the guides. The burning heat of the day is succeeded by cool and refreshing breezes, and the sky is ever illumined by large and brilliant stars or an unclouded moon. By removing the loose and pearl-like sand to the depth of a few inches, the effects of the sun-beams of the day are not perceptible, and a most soft and refreshing couch is easily formed. The ripple of the driving sand resembles that of a slow and murmuring stream; and after escaping from the myriads of flies which, day and night, persecute you in the date-bound valley of Mourzouk, the luxury of an evening of this description is an indescribable relief. Added to the

solemn *stillness*, so peculiarly striking and impressive, there is an extraordinary echo in all deserts, arising, probably, from the closeness and solidity of a sandy soil which does not absorb the sound. The Arabs watch for a sight of the high date-trees which surround Gatrone, as sailors look for land, and after discovering these landmarks, shape their course accordingly."*

Gatrone is not unpleasingly situated: it is surrounded with sand-hills and mounds of earth covered with a small tree called *athali*. On the sand-hills are built the low palm huts of the Tibboos, who here form a separate community: the people within the walls, Capt. Lyon says, call themselves Fezzanners, although the language of Bornou is more generally spoken than the Arabic. The head man of the town is a large proprietor, and a great Maraboot. Gatrone, indeed, is stocked with Maraboots, as Zuela is peopled by Shereefs. The Tibboos mix but little with the town's-people, adhering to their ancient manners, language, and costume. Gatrone stands in lat. 24° 47′ 57″ N. On leaving this place, Captain Lyon proceeded to Tegerry, the southernmost town of Fezzan, in latitude 24° 4′. Here, the cultivation of the date-palm ceases, and the Arabic gives place to the Bornouese language. The desert comes up close to the town, which stands to the southward of its palms. The dates are very fine and plentiful. The palm of Bournou of the Tuarick, and of the Tibboo, is the *doom*. Tegerry is commanded by a respectable Arab fort, containing wells of tolerable water within the walls, and, if put in a state of repair, might make a very good defence. A range of low hills extends to the eastward; and near the town are some salt pools, which are frequented by

* Denham, vol. i. p. 115.

NEGRESS OF SOUDAN.
TIBBOO OF GATRONE.
SHOUAA WOMAN.

snipes, wild ducks, and geese. The natives are quite black, but have not the negro face; they are represented by Captain Lyon as very wretched, and little superior to savages. He here saw a woman who pretended to a skill in palmistry; the first instance of the kind he had met with. This, with the exception of a short ride into the Desert, was the furthest point which was reached by this Traveller. On the 7th of January, he set out on his homeward route, and on the 16th, reached Mourzouk. Before we lay down his most interesting volume, we must collect the copious and original notices which it contains, of the nation who possess the country to the south-east of Fezzan.

THE TIBBOOS.

THE race of people known under the name of Tibboo, occupy the immense desert tract which extends eastward of Fezzan, from the Black Harutsh on the north, to Lake Tchad. Tibesty,* from which they seem to take their name, is situated in a mountainous country abounding with springs, and producing corn, senna, and good pasturage. Captain Lyon was informed, that in Tibesty, "there is a large spring of hot water, which appears to boil as if over a fire. The soil in which this spring is situated, is composed entirely of sulphur, in many places quite pure. The water is drunk medicinally by the natives, as well as by strangers who go purposely from other countries to drink it. In taste, it is acid." The existence of such a bed of sulphur and spring water, it is added, may throw some interesting light on the idea that the

* The name of this town is written by D'Anville, Tibedou; and Rennell supposes it to be the *Tabidium* of Pliny, one of the towns conquered by the Romans under Balbus.

mountains of Tibesty are of volcanic origin. The plain of Tibesty, according to Beaufoy, is seven journeys from Temissa, on the road to Bornou; the last four leading over a hilly desert of sand, which seems to be a continuation of the White Harutsh.* Tibesty is said to be inhabited by Mohammedans, which is the religion professed by some tribes of the Tibboo. Those of Gatrone are thus described by Captain Lyon.

"As this was the evening of the feast of *Milood* (Mohammed's birth-day), the young Tibboo girls were adorned for the occasion in all their finery. These females are light and elegant in form; and their graceful costume, quite different from that of the Fezzanners, is well put on. They have aquiline noses, fine teeth, and lips formed like those of Europeans; their eyes are expressive; and their colour is of the brightest black. There is something in their walk and their erect manner of carrying themselves, which is very striking. Their feet and ancles are delicately formed, and are not loaded with a mass of brass or iron, but have merely a light anclet of polished silver or copper, sufficient to shew their jetty skin to more advantage; they wear also neat red slippers. The costume for the head is almost universally the same, the hair being plaited on each side, in such a manner as to hang down on the cheeks, like a fan, or rather in the form of a large dog's ear. A piece of leather is fastened from the front to the back of the head, in the centre; and through this are passed twenty or thirty silver rings, each linked within the other, ending behind in a flat silver plate, which is suspended from a

* Major Denham crossed a ridge of hills, on the fifth day from Tegerby, which are said to extend eastward, and to be part of the Tibesty range.

few tresses of hair; and in front, by a silver ornament composed of several rings. On each side of the head, they wear an ornament of gold and rough-cut agate, and round it, above the ears, a bandeau of coral, cowrie-shells, or agate: several light chains of silver, having round bells at the end of them, are attached to the hair, and, in dancing, produce a pleasing sound. Their necks are loaded with gaudy necklaces, and one-half of their well-formed bosoms is shewn by the arrangement of their drapery: their arms are bare to the shoulders, having, above the elbow, neat silver rings of the thickness of a goose-quill, and on the wrists, one or two broader and flatter. In the ear, they wear three or four silver rings of various sizes, the largest in circumference hanging the lowest. Their most singular ornament is a piece of red coral, through a hole in the right nostril, which really does not look unbecoming. The dress is a large shawl of blue, or blue and white cotton, of which they have a variety of patterns; fastened over the shoulders and across the bosom, and hanging in graceful folds, so as to shew the back, breast, and right arm quite bare. These dresses are very short, and exhibit the leg to the calf; but, with all this display, their general appearance offered nothing offensive or immodest.

"They tripped about all the evening, to exhibit their finery, and were proudly pointed out by their mothers, who were visiting in our neighbourhood. As our hostess had a very pretty daughter, all the young people came to call on her, which afforded them a pretence for looking at the two new Mamlukes who had just arrived. I sat on the sand, at the door, and was much gazed at, not in the Arab way, but by stealth, from behind their little shawls, and peeping through the palm-bushes. As it was the custom, on this night, for the girls to dance through the town in every

direction, I heard drums, bagpipes, and the usual accompaniment of tin pots. At midnight, I was called up to see them perform at our door. They were directed by an old woman, with a torch in one hand, and a long palm-branch in the other, and sang, in chorus, verses which she recited to them. Three men sang, and played on drums with their hands; and by their motions, regulated the dancers, who were to advance or to retreat accordingly. The tallest girls were placed in the centre, while the younger ones formed the wings, and they then danced in a circle round their governess. The lookers-on had torches of palm-leaves, and sang, occasionally, in chorus. The chief object in the dance seemed to be the waving gracefully from right to left, a light shawl, which was passed over the shoulders, the ends being in the hands. They employed their feet, only to advance or retreat occasionally; but accompanied the change of time with movements of the head from side to side. At a given signal, they all kneeled, still going through the same motions of the head, and chanting their verses. They danced so exactly in time, and were dressed so much in uniform, that it appeared like witchcraft; when, on a sudden, every torch was extinguished, and the fairies vanished, to exhibit in some other part of the town.

"The Tibboo women do not, like the Arabs, cover their faces. They retain their youthful appearance longer than the latter, are much more cleanly, better housewives, and particularly careful of their children, of whom they have a multitude. Their chief occupation seems to be basket-making; and they also form drinking-bowls out of palm-leaves, which they ornament with stripes of coloured leather, and execute with much taste and neatness. All the Fezzanners who come here to trade, return loaded with these

baskets, as presents for their families. Having said so much of the agreeable qualities of the Tibboo, I feel it but candid to acknowledge their immoderate fondness for tobacco, with a great portion of which almost every mouth is crammed. Their teeth are, nevertheless, quite white, owing to the custom which is peculiar to the Mohammedans, of cleaning them after eating, with a piece of stick.

"The Tibboo men are slender and active in their form, and have intelligent countenances. Their agility is proverbial; and they are frequently, by way of distinction, called 'the Birds.' The tribes which inhabit the southern parts of Fezzan, are, from circumstances, quiet and civilized; but those of the Interior live chiefly by plunder, are constantly making inroads on their neighbours, and are not famed for fidelity one to another. They are not disposed to cruelty, but are most impudent thieves; and their well-known character secures them the almost exclusive commerce of Waday and Baghermée; no strangers, at least very few, choosing to risk a passage through their country. They are chiefly *Kaffirs*, and live in a state of nature, being clad with the skins of beasts, and inhabiting holes in rocks, or wretched grass-huts. Their camels or maherries enable them to perform extraordinary journeys, from which circumstance they are constantly shifting their abode. Mukni has several times desolated different parts of the country of the Tibboo of Borgoo and Kawar; and these people now revenge themselves on whatever luckless whites may fall into their power. Their arms in the Interior are three light spears and a lance, a dagger and sword, and missile weapons called *shangar*, which do much execution. The Tibboo men of Gatrone are armed

nearly in the same way; but their weapons are better finished, and they sometimes add a pistol to the list.

"The wild tribes live chiefly on *doom* dates and the flesh of their flocks: they have but little corn, and are unacquainted with the art of making bread. The seeds of the *khandal*, or colocynth-apple, form a principal article of food among the Tibboo of Tibesty and Kawār. It is not the ordinary custom among these people, to tattoo or score the skin. Of the Tibboo slaves who are brought to Fezzan, the females meet with the readiest market, on account of their beauty: the males are generally too light for hard work, and are not brought in any considerable number.

"The Tibboo, on meeting after absence, do not shake or touch hands, as the Arabs do; but, squatting on their heels at some distance from each other, with their spears in their right hands, turn their backs, and continue for a time saying, '*La La! La La! La La!*' which is their salutation, and which signifies 'peace.' They then rise, and approaching each other, enter into conversation. The Tibboo speak very fast; and their language, which is full of liquid letters, is really very pretty, and not resembling any of the other Negro dialects.*

"The music of the Tibboo, as well as of Fezzan, consists chiefly of drums, which are made of a block of palm-tree hollowed out, and having a skin stretched at each end; beaten on one side by a stick, and on

* Horneman says: "The language of the Tibboo is spoken with extraordinary rapidity, and has many consonants, particularly the *l* and *s*." "It is singular," he remarks in another place, "that the people of Augila, in speaking of these tribes, make much the same comparison that Herodotus does, when speaking of the Ethiopian *Trogłodytæ*, hunted by the Garamantes, that their language is like the whistling of birds."

the other with the hand: this instrument is called *gongāa*. They have a kind of rude bagpipe, called *zuccra*, and smaller drums than the *gongāa*, called *dubdaba*.

"The Tibboo of Borgoo are all *Kaffirs*, but are quiet, inoffensive people, living in houses made of palm-leaf mats called *Booshi*, which are so closely woven, that the rain cannot penetrate them. I have seen huts of this description at Gatrone and Tegerry; and consider them superior to the Fezzan houses in general. Very little corn is cultivated in Borgoo, the inhabitants subsisting chiefly on dates, which grow there in immense quantities, of an inferior kind, and on the flesh of their sheep, goats, and camels; they have also a small breed of black cattle, but these are chiefly used for milking. Their dress has very little variety, and, except the skins of animals, they have only such coarse cloths as they sometimes obtain from their trading neighbours, which they wear, having a piece before and another behind, hanging down as low as the knees. Boys and girls are entirely naked, and few of the men have any other covering than a leather wrapper round the loins: all leave the head bare. Marriage, according to the accounts of the Arabs, who vilify them in order to excuse their own cruelties, is unknown among them: brothers and sisters live together, and confess it when asked. They have no knowledge of a God; they are, nevertheless, peaceable and neighbourly towards each other. One or two whom I questioned, admitted that there was a Great Spirit who made them, but laughed when I asked where he was to be found. They imagine thunder and lightning to be produced by their deceased friends, and are therefore very fearful during a storm. They eat the

blood of camels when baked over a fire; and they will also eat animals which die a natural death.

"The people of Wajunga are much allied to the Tibboo in their habits, arms, &c.; but the men have a way of plaiting their hair which is very remarkable; and in some, it resembles the curling of a ram's horn in size and shape.

"The Tibboo of Borgoo are represented as a timid race, in such dread of a gun or a horse, that the bare sight of an Arab, and particularly a mounted one, is sufficient to put a number of them to flight. They run with great swiftness, and when endeavouring to escape, use many successful and ingenious feints. For instance, if pursued on rocky ground, they will kneel suddenly in such a manner as to resemble a rock or stone, the mountains in their own country being black like themselves; if where wood is lying, they embrace the trunk of a tree; if on sandy ground, they stand on an eminence, until their pursuer is in the hollow near them; they then run to the next hollow, and change their direction, or even bury themselves, before he gets to the rising ground. They shew equal skill in eluding the vigilance of their keepers when caught. The plan adopted by the Arabs in taking these people, is described in the following manner. They rest for the night two or three hours' ride from the village which they intend to attack; and after midnight, leaving their tents and camels with a small guard, they advance so as to arrive by day-light; they then surround the place, and closing in, generally succeed in taking all the inhabitants. As those who elude the first range, have also to pass several bodies placed on the look-out, and armed with guns, their chance of escape is almost impossible. On a rising ground, at a conve-

nient distance, is placed a standard, round which are stationed men prepared to receive and bind the captives as they are brought out, by those who enter the town: having bound them, the pillagers return for fresh plunder. In the course of one morning, a thousand or fifteen hundred slaves have sometimes been procured in this manner, by two or three hundred men only. When the inhabitants are all secured, the camels, flocks, and provisions come into requisition; and these dreaded Arabs march on and conquer other defenceless hordes in the same manner."*

The remarkable accuracy and fidelity of the information collected respecting these people by this intelligent Traveller, are fully established by the testimony of Major Denham, who, in his route to Kouka, passed through their territories, and had repeated opportunities of witnessing their habits and customs. The above general account of the Tibboos will, therefore, serve as an appropriate introduction to the sequel of his adventurous journey from the boundaries of Fezzan to the capital of the kingdom of Bornou.

FROM TEGERHY TO KOUKA.

Major Denham and his companions, on leaving Tegerhy, entered upon entirely new ground. Mr. Horneman, indeed, crossed the great desert, and proceeded as far south as Nyffé (in lat. 10° 40′); but no record of his journey has been preserved. On the 8th of December, 1822, they left their encampment within six miles of Tegerhy, and entered the Desert. All signs of vegetation disappeared on the

* Lyon, pp. 224—228; 232—4; 251—255.

second day, and the path was strewed with coarse opal and sandstone. A ridge of hills, called *Alowere Seghrir* (Little Alowere), bore E. by S. The Greater Alowere (*Alowere el Kebir*), a still higher ridge, lies further eastward, but was not visible. These, by the accounts of the natives, are the highest mountains in the Tibboo country, with the exception of *Ercherdat* (*Irchad-at*) *Erner*. Through passes in both these mountains, the nearest road lies to Kanem. On the fourth day, they reached a range of low, rugged conical hills, with "columnar-looking caps" of blackened sandstone, resembling the Tuarick range, and of the same geological structure.* A second pass led, on the next day, through hills of a bolder character: the highest peak may be 500 or 600 feet. They extend eastward, forming part of the Tibesty range, where they become higher and bolder. The pass led into a *wady* of loose gravel, to which succeeded plains alternately of gravel and sand. In this dreary part of the route, from sixty to ninety human skeletons were passed each day; but the numbers that lay about the wells of El Hammam, which they reached on the seventh day, were countless. The Moors ascribed the numbers to the cruelty of the Tibboo traders, in dragging their poor victims over these dreary deserts, often with insufficient provision for the toilsome journey, and exposed to a failure of water. The greater part of these sufferers had formed the spoils of Sultan Mukni the year before. Major Denham was assured, that they had left Bornou, with not above a quarter's allowance for each; and though they had to march

* See page 156. The base is a fine white sandstone mixed with lime. On this rests clay iron-stone, with *strata* of bluish clay, on which is imposed a luminous schist, capped with the black sandstone, which has the appearance of basalt.

with chains round their necks and legs, more died from want, than from fatigue. The most robust only reached Fezzan, in a very debilitated state, and were there "fattened" for the Tripoli slave-market.*

On the 25th of December (the ninth day), the route entered a "nest of hills" composed of black and coloured sandstone. Here, in a small wady, the first *doom*-trees were seen, full of fruit, though green; and *talh*-trees and dry-grass were found in the water-courses. *Tiggerin-dumma*, the head of a range of high hills in the Tuarick country, bore W. S. W. This range, which extends westward as far as the *Arooda*, five days distant, here forms a semi-circular sweep to the left. At length, on the 4th of January, they reached the spot called by the Arabs *Irchat*, by the Tibboos *Anay*. It is distinguished by a large mass of dark, soft sandstone, about twenty yards from which is a rising well of water only a few inches deep, and a sprinkling of coarse grass. The town of Anay consists of a few huts built on a similar mass of rock, round the base of which are also habitations; but their property is always kept "aloft," through fear of the Tuarick freebooters. In case of alarm, they take refuge at the top of the rock, ascending by a rude ladder, which is drawn up after them; and as the sides of their citadel are precipitous, they defend themselves with their missiles, and by rolling down

* "The horrid consequences of the Slave Trade," says Dr. Oudney, "were strongly brought to our mind; and although its horrors are not equal to those of the European trade, still, they are sufficient to rouse every spark of humanity." The blackened skeletons of two women, whose perfect and regular teeth bespoke them yet young, were particularly shocking: their arms still remained clasped round each other as they had expired. The Arabs laughed heartily at the expressions of horror uttered by the British Travellers.

stones on the assailants. The Tibboo Sultan, whose territory extends from this place to Bilma, was then at Kisbee, a town five miles distant S. W., to which he invited Boo Khaloom, the commander of the Arab escort, promising to proceed with him to Bilma. Here, therefore, the party halted for a day. Kisbee is a great place of rendezvous for all *kafilas*,* and may be considered as the frontier town of the Bilma territory.

The Sultan came to Boo Khaloom's tent, attended by six or seven Tibboos, some of whom were truly hideous.† Major Denham's watch, compass, and musical snuff-box, created but little astonishment among these phlegmatic savages, who seemed most pleased at the reflection of their own features in the bright cases of the instruments. A fine scarlet bornouse, however, presented to the Sultan by Boo Khaloom, seemed a little to animate his stupid countenance.

The next halt was at *Ashenumma*, nine miles from Kisbee; a town of mud huts, situated in a recess of the Tiggemma hills, immediately under one of the highest points in the range. This is an insulated hill about 400 feet high, with sides nearly perpendicular. On the approach of the Tuaricks, the whole population flock to the top of these heights, and make the best defence they can. A *wady* comparatively fertile

* Kisbee is eight days from Ag-dass, twenty-four from Kashna, and, by the nearest route, twenty-seven from Bornou. Major Denham says, that, in the latter case, Tuarick days must be meant equal to at least forty miles.

† "They take a quantity of snuff both in their mouths and noses; their teeth were of a deep yellow; the nose resembles nothing so much as a round lump of flesh stuck on the face; and the nostrils are so large that their fingers go up as far as they will reach, in order to ensure the snuff an admission into the head."—Denham, vol. i. p. 139.

extends several miles parallel with the heights, producing dates and grass in abundance ; and within two miles westward, are two fine salt-water lakes about two miles in circumference, producing *trona*, and frequented by a beautiful bird of the plover species. Large groves of palm-trees, and many beautiful acacias bearing at once flower and fruit, added to the cheerfulness of the scenery. The inhabitants of the town are generally travelling merchants or pedlars, who do not pass more than four months in the year with their families. The inside of some of their houses was neat and tidy; and the people appeared light-hearted and "as happy as people constantly in dread of such visiters as the Tuaricks can be." Two other towns, (called *Alighi* and *Tukumanni*,) each having a salt lake near it, were passed a few miles further: they are built under the shelter of the same hills, on the southern side. In this stage, the novel sight of a drove of oxen awakened the most agreeable emotions: "the bare idea of once more being in a country that afforded beef and pasture, the luxurious thought of fresh milk, wholesome food, and plenty," was most exhilarating to the wearied Travellers. On approaching Dirkee, they were again met by the Sultan, his new scarlet bornouse thrown over a filthy checked shirt;* and a numerous assemblage of Tibboo damsels danced for some hours before the tents of the visiters. Some of their movements were very elegant, and not unlike the representations of the Greek dances.

Dirkee stands in a *wady*, between two *trona* lakes

* "When, however," Major Denham adds, "the next morning, his Majesty condescended to ask me for a small bit of soap, the negligences in his outward appearance were more easily accounted for."

E. and W.* From its situation, it is more exposed to the attacks of the Tuaricks, than the towns nearer the hills, and, on this account, is thinly peopled. The houses had literally nothing within them, not even a mat; and a few women and old men were the only inhabitants, the men being all on journeys or in the neighbouring towns of Kisbee, Ashenumma, or Bilma, whither the rest were about to repair after the date season. The women brought to the Travellers, dates fancifully strung on rushes in the shape of hearts with much ingenuity, and a few pots of honey and fat. The *wady* is delightfully shaded by thickly scattered mimosas.†

On the 12th of January, our Travellers reached Bilma, "the capital of the Tibboos, and the residence of their Sultan:" it stands in a hollow, and is surrounded with low mud-walls, which, with the houses within, are mean and miserable.‡ The Sultan, who

* In the centre of each lake, which is about three-fourths of a mile in circumference, is a solid island of trona, which is said to increase annually: that in the lake to the east is 14 or 15 feet in height, and 100 in circumference. The borders of the lake are marshy, and are composed of black mud.

† Dirkee is the Dyrke of Horneman, where, he says, the chief of the Bilma Tibboos resided. "This tribe," he adds, "is a good deal mixed, having established itself forcibly among the negroes who lived in that district. To this day, the inhabitants of Bilma are mostly negroes: in Dyrke, on the contrary, they are Tibbo. This tribe carries on a commerce between Fezzan and Burnu."—Horneman, p. 106. It would seem that the negro population of Bilma has since then been displaced. *Arna*, which Horneman represents as the principal place of another tribe, is probably *Anay*; and his "*Tibbo Rshade* (*Irchat*) or the Rock Tibbo" seem to be the same tribe.—See Horneman, pp. 106—108.

‡ "There is another small town about two miles to the westward, of the same name. Round it are a number of mud elevations, which appear as if produced by mud volcanoes; but they are artificial, made for the preparation of salt."

always managed to get before, so as to receive the party, advanced a mile from the town to meet them, attended by some fifty of his men at arms, and double that number of "the sex we call fair." The men had most of them bows and arrows, and all carried spears, which they shook over their heads as they approached. "After this salutation," says Major Denham, "we all moved towards the town, the females dancing and throwing themselves about with screams and songs in a manner to us quite original. They were of a superior class to those of the minor towns; some having extremely pleasing features, while the pearly white of their regular teeth was beautifully contrasted with the glossy black of their skin; and the triangular flaps of plaited hair, which hung down on each side of their faces, streaming with oil, with the addition of the coral in the nose, and large amber necklaces, gave them a very seducing appearance. Some of them carried a *sheish*, a fan made of soft grass, or hair, for the purpose of keeping off the flies; others, a branch of a tree, and some, fans of ostrich-feathers, or a branch of the date-palm; all had something in their hands, which they waved over their heads as they advanced. One wrapper of Soudan tied on the top of the left shoulder, leaving the right breast bare, formed their covering; while a smaller one was thrown over the head, which hung down to their shoulders, or was thrown back at pleasure: notwithstanding the apparent scantiness of their habiliments, nothing could be further from indelicate, than was their appearance or deportment.

"On arriving at Bilma, we halted under the shade of a large *tulloh*-tree while the tents were pitching; and the women danced with great taste, and, as I was assured by the Sultan's nephew, with skill also. As

they approach each other, accompanied by the slow beat of an instrument formed out of a calabash, covered with goat's skin, for a long time their movements are confined to the head, hands, and body, which they throw from one side to the other, flourish in the air, and bend without moving the feet. Suddenly, however, the music becomes quicker and louder, when they start into the most violent gestures, rolling their heads round, gnashing their teeth, and shaking their hands at each other, leaping up, and on each side, until one or both are so exhausted that they fall to the ground: another pair then take their place.

"I now, for the first time, produced Captain Lyon's book in Boo-Khaloom's tent; and on turning over the prints of the natives, he swore, and exclaimed, and insisted upon it, that he knew every face:—'This was such a one's slave—that was his own—he was right—he knew it. Praised be God for the talents he gave the English! they were *shater*, clever; *wolla shater*, very clever!' Of a landscape, however, I found that he had not the least idea; nor could I make him at all understand the intention of the print of the sand-wind in the desert, which is really so well described by Captain Lyon's drawing; he would look at it upside down; and when I twice reversed it for him, he exclaimed, 'Why! why! it is all the same.' A camel or a human figure was all I could make him understand; and at these he was all agitation and delight—'*Gieb! gieb!* Wonderful! wonderful!' The eyes first took his attention, then the other features: at the sight of the sword, he exclaimed, 'Allah! Allah!' and on discovering the guns, instantly exclaimed, 'Where is the powder?'"

About a mile from Bilma, is a spring of beautiful, clear water, which rises to the surface of the earth,

and waters a space of two or three hundred yards in circumference, which is covered with fresh grass. On leaving this, the traveller must bid adieu to every appearance of vegetable production, and enters on a desert which it requires thirteen days to cross. "In passing these desert wilds, where hills disappear in a single night by the drifting of the sand, and where all traces of the passage even of a large *kafila*, sometimes vanish in a few hours, the Tibboos have certain points in the dark sandstone ridges which from time to time raise their heads in the midst of this dry ocean of sand, and form the only variety, and by them they steer their course." From one of these landmarks, they had to wade through sand formed into hills from 20 to 60 feet in height, with sides nearly perpendicular, the camels blundering and falling with their heavy loads. Tremendously dreary were these marches, the billows of sand bounding the prospect as far as the eye can reach. On the eighth day, they reached *Aghadem*, an extensive *wady* with several wells of excellent water, forage, and numbers of the tree called *suag*, the red berries of which are nearly as good as cranberries.* This is a great rendezvous, and the dread of all small *kafilas* and travellers, being frequented by freebooters of all descriptions. A road branches off to the west, leading to the Tuarick country and Soudan; but it is not frequented by *kafilas*. The arrival of the party put to flight about a hundred gazelles, who were enjoying the fertility of the valley, and the camels feasted on the small branches of the *suag*, of which they are excessively fond. The tracks of hyenas had been numerous for the last

* Is this the *butomo* of Oudney? See page 38 of this volume, note (*).

three marches; and during the night, they approached in droves quite close to the encampment.

On the 25th, (having halted a day at Aghades,) they pursued their route through the desert; and on the next day but one, they reached a country not unlike some of the heaths in England. Clumps of fine herbage afforded food for the camel; and the *tulloh* (*talh*-tree), together with a beautiful parasitical plant called *kossom*, though of the most dingy green and a stunted appearance, afforded a grateful relief to the eye. A herd of more than a hundred gazelles was seen, and the foot-marks of the ostrich were discernible. This spot is called *Geogo Balwy*. On reaching, the next evening, the well called *Beer Kashifery*, they received a visit from the shiekh of the *Gunda* Tibboos, on whose territories the party had now entered. No *kafila* is in general suffered to pass without paying a heavy tribute; but, in the present case, this was a visit of respect, and the shiekh received what was deemed a superb present, a *bornouse* of scarlet cloth and a tawdry silk *caftan*. These Tibboos were smart, active fellows, mounted on small horses of great swiftness. Their saddles are of wood, small and light, open along the bone of the back, the pieces of which they are composed being lashed together with thongs of hide, and the stuffing is of camel's hair, plaited; the girth and stirrup-leathers are also of plaited thongs, and the stirrups are of iron, very small and light. They mount in half the time an Arab does, planting the left foot in the stirrup, and springing up by the assistance of a spear. They are described as slim and well made, with sharp, intelligent faces; nigh forehead, large prominent eyes, flat nose, large mouth, teeth stained a deep red with tobacco, copper complexion, most of them with ornamental scars, and

altogether extremely ugly. Some of the girls who came the next day with camel's milk, were, however, in comparison pretty. They differed from those of Bilma, being more of a copper colour, with high foreheads and a sinking between the eyes; they have fine teeth, and are smaller and more delicately formed than the Tibboos who inhabit the towns. These people are nomades; their animals being their only riches. On the milk of their camels they subsist entirely for six months of the year; and for the remaining half, they manage to raise from their barren soil sufficient *gussob* to satisfy their wants. The horses are fed entirely on camel's milk, corn being too scarce and valuable an article for the Tibboos to spare them; and "animals in higher health and condition," says Major Denham, "I scarcely ever saw. Formerly, when they had little or no communication with Fezzan and Bornou, they were nearly naked, as their crops of cotton were scarcely sufficient, from the dryness and poverty of the soil, to afford them covering. Now, the *kafilas* bring them indigo, cotton, and ready-spun linen in strips, with which they make tobes and wrappers: for these, when not given as tribute, the Tibboos exchange the skins and feathers of the ostrich, with dried meat of gazelles and bullocks." * The men wear a blue turban high on the forehead, and fastened across the lower part of the face; they have sometimes fifteen or twenty charms, in red, green, and black leather cases, attached to the folds

* If these Tibboos can furnish game and beef, it can hardly be true, that they live wholly on milk and millet. Their wardrobe, it seems, is limited only by their poverty. Their sheikh, when arrayed in his new *bornouse*, occupied himself for hours in surveying his person in a small looking-glass, with frequent exclamations of joy, which he occasionally testified by sundry high jumps and springs into the air

of their turbans. The tribe is called *Nufra Gunda*, and are always near Beer Kashifery: they possess more than 5000 camels. It is quite surprising, Major Denham says, with what terror these children of the Desert view the Arabs, whom they regard as invincible. They are themselves agile and active, and far better horsemen; but "the guns" are their dread.*

The face of the country now improved every mile. The next march lay through "a joyous valley, smiling with flowery grasses, *tulloh*-trees, and *kossom*;" and where they halted at mid-day, the ground was covered with creeping vines of the colocynth in full blossom, and overhung with the red flower of the *kossom*. The herbage, almost resembling wild corn, was up to the horse's knees.† On the 2d of February, passing over a fertile plain of great extent, thickly planted with trees and underwood, they reached the well of *Kofei*. Here they were visited by some Tibboos of *Traita* with their chief. These are more important-looking fellows than the *Gunda* Tibboos, but less quick and agile; they are said to number not more than 800 men. They afterwards came upon two encampments of the Traitas. Their huts are constructed entirely of mats, which exclude the sun, yet admit both light and air. The interior of them was singularly neat. Clean wooden bowls, with each a cover of basket-work, for holding their milk, were

* "Five or six of them will go round and round a tree where an Arab has laid down his gun for a minute, stepping on tiptoe, as if afraid of disturbing it, talking to each other in a whisper, as if the gun could understand their exclamations, and, I dare say, praying to it not to do them an injury, as fervently as ever Man Friday did to Robinson Crusoe's musket."—Denham, vol. i. p. 171.

† On this day, one of the party killed a large serpent of the *liffa* species, of a light brown colour, and having two horns. Its bite is mortal, unless the part is instantly cut out.

hung against the side. The huts were arranged in a quadrangle, in the centre of which were about 150 head of cattle (chiefly milch cows and calves, with some sheep) feeding from cradles. They are "perfect Spartans" in the art of thieving, both male and female; and accustomed to plunder one another, they expect no better usage from any party stronger than themselves. The worst people, however, in these parts, are a tribe called Wandela, about 1000 strong, who live by plunder, and have no connexion with any other tribe.* Their tents are in the heart of the Desert, and there are no wells for four days in the line of their retreat. "These are the people," said the *Gunda* shiekh, "who attack and murder travellers and small *kafilas*, and the *Gundowy*, who respect strangers, have the credit of it."

On leaving Kofei, the route led for a whole day through most pleasing forest scenery, enlivened by herds of a large species of fawn-coloured antelope and numbers of guinea-fowl. The evening halt was made in a woody hollow, called *Mittimee*, where are above fifty wells, with clumps of the tulloh and other mimosas, enriched by the *kossom* and various parasitical plants, which running up the trees, droop from the topmost branches, and form the most beautiful bowers. In the freshness of the evening air, the aromatic odour of the flowers, with the melody of the hundred songsters perched among the creeping plants, rendered this a delightful retreat. A short march of about ten miles brought the Travellers, the next day, to Lari, the first town of the Kanemboo. On ascending the rising ground on which it stands, the distressing sight

* Major Denham calls them "Tibboo Arabs," but we presume that they are real Tibboos; Arabs only in the sense of being *bedouins* or dwellers in the desert.

presented itself, of families fleeing across the plains in all directions, alarmed at the strength of the approaching *kafila* of supposed plunderers.* Beyond, however, a most gratifying and inspiring sight appeared,—the great lake Tchad, glowing with the golden rays of the sun in its strength, and seemingly within the distance of a mile. "My heart," says Major Denham, "bounded within me at the prospect, for I believed this lake to be the key to the great object of our search.....By sunrise, I was on the borders of the lake, armed for the destruction of the multitude of birds who, all unconscious of my purpose, seemed, as it were, to welcome our arrival. Flocks of geese and wild ducks of a most beautiful plumage were quietly feeding at within half-pistol shot of where I stood. As I moved towards them, they only changed their places a little, and appeared to have no idea of the hostility of my intentions. All this was so new, that I hesitated to abuse the confidence with which they regarded me, and very quietly sat down to contemplate the scene before me. Pelicans, cranes, four and five feet in height, grey, variegated, and white, were scarcely so many yards from my side; also, a bird between a snipe and a woodcock, resembling both, and larger than either; immense spoonbills of a snowy whiteness, widgeon, teal, yellow-legged plover, and a hundred species of unknown water-fowl, were sporting before me; and it was long before I could disturb the tranquillity of the dwellers on these

* They had been plundered by the Tuaricks the year before, and 400 of their people had been butchered. Only a few days before, a party of the same nation had partially pillaged them. When satisfied, at length, that no harm was intended to them, the women, "good-looking, laughing negresses," came in numbers with baskets of *gussub*, *gafooly*, fowls, and honey, which were purchased with small pieces of coral and coarse amber, and coloured beads.

waters by firing a gun. The soil near the edges of the lake, was a firm, dark mud; and in proof of the great overflowings and recedings of the waters, even in this advanced dry season, the stalks of the *gussub* of the preceding year were standing in the lake, more than forty yards from the shore. The water is sweet and pleasant, and it abounds with fish." *

The town of Lari stands upon an eminence, and consists of conical huts built of the rush which grows on the borders of the lake, and neatly inclosed within fences of the same reed. In the inclosure is a goat or two, poultry, and sometimes a cow. The interior of the huts is neat. In one which Major Denham entered, there was a couch of rushes lashed together, and supported by six poles fixed in the ground: the covering consisted of the skins of the tiger-cat and wild-bull. Round the sides were hung the wooden bowls used for water or milk; and the tall shield of the owner, (who, spear and dagger in hand, eyed the intruder with suspicion,) rested against the wall. A mat-work division separated one-half of the hut from the part allotted to the women; and a mat served for a door.

On quitting Lari, the Travellers plunged immediately into a thick forest of acacias (*talh*) with high underwood. Part of the day's march lay along the banks of the Tchad; and, as they proceeded, the foot-marks of elephants became increasingly numerous. Whole trees were broken down where they had fed; and where they had reposed their ponderous bodies,

* Denham, vol. i. pp. 182–184. In a subsequent part of the route along the shores of the lake, Major Denham was "surprised to see how the water had encroached since the day before. More than two miles of the wood was entirely overflowed, and the cotton plantations were covered with water."

young trees, shrubs, and underwood, had been crushed beneath their weight. An alarm was given of wild boars, and one of the party who followed the scent, alleged that he had seen a lion, and near him seven gazelles. Birds of the most beautiful plumage were perched on every tree; guinea-fowls were in flocks of eighty or a hundred; and the monkeys chattered at the Travellers with impudent familiarity. An enormous *coluber* was killed, measuring eighteen feet in length, "a most disgusting animal," but not venomous.

On the 9th of February, (four days from Lari,) they reached Woodie, a *bellad kebir* (great town), governed by a sheikh. They had hitherto passed only a few small villages of huts. Woodie stands about a mile west of the Tchad, four short days from Bornou. The men are considerably above the common stature, of an athletic make, but have an expression of features particularly dull and heavy. They appeared the most indolent people Major Denham had ever met with, lying about all day in perfect idleness. They have, probably, however, their seasons of excitement and occasions of exertion. The women spin a little cotton, and weave it into a coarse cloth. Their whole dress is a square of blue or white cloth tied over one shoulder; but their hair is curiously and laboriously trained and plaited into a form something resembling a Welsh wig. About six miles eastward from the town, in the pasture-grounds annually overflowed by the lake, Major Denham fell in with a herd of upwards of 150 elephants. "They seemed to cover the face of the country. When the waters flow over these their pasturages, they are forced by hunger to approach the towns, and spread devastation throughout their march: whole plantations, the hopes of the inhabitants for the next year, are sometimes destroyed in a single night."

The whole surface of the country was now covered with a grass bearing a calyx so full of prickles of the most penetrating sharpness, as to occasion the Travellers very serious annoyance. They not only ran into the feet, but adhered to mats, blankets, and trowsers, so that there was no getting rid of these vegetable mosquitoes by day or by night. The seed, called *Asheia*, is eaten.*

On the 11th, they reached *Burwha*, the first negro walled town they had seen, and a place of sufficient strength to defy the Tuarick marauders. The walls are about fourteen feet high, surrounded with a dry ditch, and inclose an area of nearly three square miles. The inhabitants are estimated at between 5000 and 6000. There is a covered way, from which the defenders can lance their spears at the besieged, and instantly conceal themselves. There are but two gates, E. and W.; and these, being the most vulnerable points of attack, are defended by mounds of earth thrown up on each side, and carried out at least twenty yards in front, with faces nearly perpendicular. These advanced posts are always thickly manned; but, were an enemy once to gain possession of them, they so command every part of the town, that all would be lost. Considering, however, the means of attack which the Arabs possess, Burwha is a strong place. All the principal huts in the town have each its little inclosure, with a cow or two, some goats, and

* It is denominated, in a note, *pennisetum dichotomum*. Dr. Oudney adds: "There is not one prickle, but the calyx is studded round, and they fasten themselves like grappling-irons. These prickles may be considered as one of the pests of the country: there is scarcely a place free from them. Our dog Niger is unable to walk, for they have got between his toes, and are adhering to every part of his long, silken hair."

fowls. *Gussub*, in large baskets and in the straw, was every where to be seen; and the women were spinning at the doors of most of the huts.

Between Woodie and Burwha, the lake sweeps off rapidly towards the east. The day after leaving the latter town, the party forded a still water, called *Chugelarem*, said to be a branch of the Tchad. It is, perhaps, a back-water which receives the overflowings of the lake in the rainy season. It was now no where deeper than two feet, with a muddy bottom, and had a zigzag direction towards east and north. About eleven miles beyond this water, (passing several very neat negro villages,) the Travellers came to a very considerable stream, called the *Yeou*, which was in some parts more than fifty yards wide, with perpendicular banks, and a hard, sandy bottom, and a strong current running three miles and a half an hour to the eastward. This appears to be one of the principal feeders of the great lake. It is, at times, double the width and considerably deeper. Two rude canoes lay upon the sand, in which passengers with their goods are then ferried over. The natives were unanimous in stating that it came from Soudan. A neat town of huts, walled, of the same name as the river, stands on the southern side: it is about half the size of Burwha. At length, on the 15th of February, they advanced within a mile of Kouka; and the next day, which was naturally looked forward to with intense interest, introduced the English Travellers to a sovereign and people hitherto scarcely heard of in Europe, and respecting whose power and resources the most contradictory accounts had been given. Unable to ascertain what degree of credit was respectively due to the opposite reports, they were wholly uncertain, whether they should find the lord of Bornou at the head of

martial thousands, or be received by him under a tree, surrounded by a few naked slaves. These doubts were, however, soon dissipated.

"I had ridden on a short distance," says Major Denham, "in front of Boo Khaloom, with his train of Arabs, all mounted, and dressed out in their best apparel, and, from the thickness of the trees, soon lost sight of them, fancying that the road could not be mistaken. I rode still onwards, and, on approaching a spot less thickly planted, was not a little surprised to see in front of me a body of several thousand cavalry drawn up in line, and extending right and left quite as far as I could see; and, checking my horse, I awaited the arrival of my party, under the shade of a wide-spreading acacia. The Bornou troops remained quite steady, without noise or confusion; and a few horsemen, who were moving about in front giving directions, were the only persons out of the ranks. On the Arabs appearing in sight, a shout, or yell, was given by the Sheikh's people, which rent the air: a blast was blown from their rude instruments of music equally loud, and they moved on to meet Boo-Khaloom and his Arabs. There was an appearance of tact and management in their movements which astonished me: three separate small bodies, from the centre and each flank, kept charging rapidly towards us, to within a few feet of our horses' heads, without checking the speed of their own until the moment of their halt, while the whole body moved onwards. These parties were mounted on small but very perfect horses, who stopped, and wheeled from their utmost speed with great precision and expertness, shaking their spears over their heads, exclaiming, '*Barca! barca! Alla hiakkum, cha, alla cheraga!*—Blessing! blessing! Sons of your country! Sons of your country!' and return-

ing quickly to the front of the body, in order to repeat the charge. While all this was going on, they closed in their right and left flanks, and surrounded the little body of Arab warriors so completely, as to give to the compliment of welcoming them, very much the appearance of a declaration of their contempt for their weakness. I am quite sure this was premeditated. We were all so closely pressed as to be nearly smothered, and in some danger from the crowding of the horses and clashing of the spears. Moving on was impossible; and we therefore came to a full stop: our chief was much enraged, but it was all to no purpose; he was only answered by shrieks of '*Welcome!*' and spears most unpleasantly rattled over our heads, expressive of the same feeling. This annoyance was not, however, of long duration. Barca Gana, the Sheikh's first general, a negro of a noble aspect, clothed in a figured silk tobe, and mounted on a beautiful Mandara horse, made his appearance; and, after a little delay, the rear was cleared of those who had pressed in upon us, and we moved on, although but very slowly, from the frequent impediment thrown in our way by these wild equestrians.

"The Sheikh's negroes, as they were called, meaning the black chiefs and favourites, all raised to that rank by some deed of bravery, were habited in coats of mail composed of iron chain, which covered them from the throat to the knees, dividing behind, and coming on each side of the horse: some of them had helmets, or rather skull-caps, of the same metal, with chin-pieces, all sufficiently strong to ward off the shock of a spear. Their horses' heads were also defended by plates of iron, brass, and silver, just leaving sufficient room for the eyes of the animal.

"At length, on arriving at the gate of the town,

ourselves, Boo-Khaloom, and about a dozen of his followers, were alone allowed to enter the gates; and we proceeded along a wide street completely lined with spearmen on foot, with cavalry in front of them, to the door of the Sheikh's residence. Here, the horsemen were formed up three deep, and we came to a stand: some of the chief attendants came out, and after a great many '*Barca's! Barca's!*' retired, when others performed the same ceremony. We were now again left sitting on our horses in the sun. Boo-Khaloom began to lose all patience, and swore by the Bashaw's head, that he would return to the tents, if he was not immediately admitted: he got, however, no satisfaction, but a motion of the hand from one of the chiefs, meaning, 'wait patiently;' and I whispered to him the necessity of obeying, as we were hemmed in on all sides, and to retire without permission would have been as difficult as to advance. Barca Gana now appeared, and made a sign that Boo-Khaloom should dismount: we were about to follow his example, when an intimation that Boo-Khaloom was alone to be admitted, again fixed us to our saddles, Another half hour at least passed without any news from the interior of the building; when the gates opened, and the four Englishmen only were called for, and we advanced to the *skiffa* (entrance). Here we were stopped most unceremoniously by the black guards in waiting, and were allowed, one by one only, to ascend a staircase; at the top of which we were again brought to a stand by crossed spears, and the open flat hand of a negro laid upon our breast. Boo-Khaloom came from the inner chamber, and asked, 'If we were prepared to salute the Sheikh as we did the Bashaw?' We replied, 'Certainly:' which was merely an inclination of the head, and laying the right

hand on the heart. He advised our laying our hands also on our heads, but we replied, 'the thing was impossible: we had but one manner of salutation for any body, except our own sovereign.'

"Another parley now took place, but in a minute or two he returned, and we were ushered into the presence of the Sheikh of Spears. We found him in a small dark room, sitting on a carpet, plainly dressed in a blue tobe of Soudan and a shawl turban. Two negroes were on each side of him, armed with pistols, and on his carpet lay a brace of these instruments. Fire-arms were hanging in different parts of the room, presents from the Bashaw and Mustapha L'Achmar, the sultan of Fezzan, which are here considered as invaluable. His personal appearance was prepossessing, apparently not more than forty-five or forty-six, with an expressive countenance and a benevolent smile. We delivered our letter from the Bashaw; and after he had read it, he inquired 'what was our object in coming?' We answered: 'To see the country merely, and to give an account of its inhabitants, produce, and appearance; as our Sultan was desirous of knowing every part of the globe.' His reply was, 'that we were welcome; and whatever he could shew us would give him pleasure; that he had ordered huts to be built for us in the town; and that we might then go, accompanied by one of his people, to see them; and that when we were recovered from the fatigue of our long journey, he would be happy to see us.' With this we took our leave.

"About noon (the next day), we received a summons to attend the Sheikh; and we proceeded to the palace, preceded by our negroes, bearing the articles destined for the Sheikh by our Government, consisting of a double-barrelled gun, by Wilkinson, with a box and

all the apparatus complete, a pair of excellent pistols in a case, two pieces of superfine broad cloth, red and blue, to which we added a set of china, and two bundles of spices. The ceremony of getting into the presence was ridiculous enough, although nothing could be more plain and devoid of pretension than the appearance of the Sheikh himself. We passed through passages lined with attendants, the front men sitting on their hams; and when we advanced too quickly, we were suddenly arrested by these fellows, who caught forcibly hold of us by the legs, and had not the crowd prevented our falling, we should most infallibly have become prostrate before arriving in the presence. Previous to entering into the open court in which we were received, our papouches, or slippers, were whipped off by these active though sedentary gentlemen of the chamber; and we were seated on some clean sand on each side of a raised bench of earth, covered with a carpet, on which the Sheikh was reclining. We laid the gun and the pistols together before him, and explained to him the locks, turnscrews, and steel shot-cases holding two charges each, with all of which he seemed exceedingly well pleased; the powder-flask, and the manner in which the charge is divided from the body of powder, did not escape his observation; the other articles were taken off by the slaves, almost as soon as they were laid before him. Again we were questioned as to the object of our visit. The Sheikh, however, shewed evident satisfaction at our assurance that the King of England had heard of Bornou and himself; and, immediately turning to his *kaganawha* (counsellor), said, 'This is in consequence of our defeating the Begharmis.' Upon which, the chief who had most distinguished himself in these memorable battles, Bagah Furby (the gatherer of horses), seating himself

in front of us, demanded, 'Did he ever hear of me?' The immediate reply of '*Certainly*,' did wonders for our cause. Exclamations were general; and 'Ah! then, your king must be a great man!' was re-echoed from every side. We had nothing offered us by way of refreshment, and took our leave.

"I may here observe, that besides occasional presents of bullocks, camel-loads of wheat and rice, leathern skins of butter, jars of honey, and honey in the comb, five or six wooden bowls were sent us, morning and evening, containing rice, with meat, paste made of barley flour, savoury but very greasy; and on our first arrival, as many had been sent of sweets, mostly composed of curd and honey. In England, a brace of trout might be considered as a handsome present to a traveller sojourning in the neighbourhood of a stream, but at Bornou, things are done differently. A camel-load of bream and a sort of mullet, was thrown before our huts on the second morning after our arrival; and for fear that should not be sufficient, in the evening another was sent.

"We had a *fsug*, or market, in front of one of the principal gates of the town. Slaves, sheep, and bullocks, the latter in great numbers, were the principal live stock for sale. There were at least fifteen thousand persons gathered together, some of them coming from places two and three days distant. Wheat, rice, and gussub were abundant; tamarinds in the pod, ground-nuts, ban-beans, ochroes, and indigo. The latter is very good, and in great use amongst the natives to dye their *tobes* (shirts) and *linen*; stripes of deep indigo colour, or stripes of it alternately with white, being highly esteemed by most of the Bornou women: the leaves are moistened and pounded up altogether, when they are formed into lumps, and so

brought to market. Of vegetables, there was a great scarcity; onions, bastard tomatoes, alone were offered for sale; and of fruits not any; a few limes, which the Sheikh had sent us from his garden, being the only fruit we had seen in Bornou. Leather was in great quantities; and the skins of the large snake, and pieces of the skin of the crocodile, used as an ornament for the scabbards of their daggers, were also brought to me for sale; and butter, leban (sour milk), honey, and wooden bowls from Soudan." *

Having followed the party thus far, we must leave them for a while, in order to lay before the reader a sketch of the physical and political geography of this till now almost unknown region.

The kingdom of Bornou, in its present state, comprises the region lying between Lake Tchad on the east, and Houssa on the west. On the north, it is bounded by Kanem and the Desert. Southward, it touches on the kingdoms of Mandara and Loggun; and on the S.E., the river Shary, flowing northward into the great Lake, divides it from Begharmi. This tract is comprehended between the parallels of 15° and 10° N., and the meridians of 12° and 18° E. The empire of the Sultans of Bornou was much more extensive. "Some idea may be formed," says Major Denham, "of the importance of the Bornou empire before the Felatah conquest, by the fact of the Sultan's having possessed 80,000 armed slaves.† Kanem, Waday, and Darfoor to the east, and Afnou to the

* Denham, vol. i. pp. 207—217.

† "In preparing for war, when he demanded from his chiefs their *gunta* for the service of the state, one of the largest *kouka* (or *koukawha*) trees was felled at the gate of the city, and each soldier marching out, stepped on the trunk: on its being worn through, the number was pronounced to be sufficient, and the levy complete."

west, were, at no very distant period, tributary to the Sultans of Bornou; while, to the south, their influence extended to the Mountains of the Moon. Achmet Ali, who occupied the throne in 1808, is said to have been descended from a royal line of ancestors. He contended for several years against the rising power of the Felatahs of Soudan, but was at length overcome and deprived of his possessions. The Felatahs, however, did not long retain possession of the territory. Shortly after the conquest, Sheikh Alameen el Kanemy, who now holds the reins of sovereignty, formed the project of delivering the country from the bondage into which it had fallen. Born in Fezzan, of Kanemboo parentage, though, on the father's side, descended from a Moor, Alameen had, after visiting Egypt, proceeded to Kanem as sheikh of the Koran; where, by the correctness of his life and the benevolence of his disposition, he made himself greatly respected and beloved. The miracles and cures which he wrought by writing charms, became the theme of the surrounding country. In fact, he became invested with all the mysterious influence of a Maraboot. Having stirred up the Kanemboos to assist him, by means of a well-planned tale of having been called by a vision to the patriotic enterprise, he made his first campaign with scarcely 400 followers, at the head of whom he defeated an army of the Felatahs nearly 8000 strong. This victory, he followed up with great promptitude and resolution; and in less than ten months, he had been the conqueror in forty different battles. "Nature," says Major Denham, "had bestowed on him all the qualifications for a great commander; an enterprising genius, sound judgement, features engaging, with a demeanour gentle and conciliating. And so little of vanity was mixed with his

ambition, that he refused the offer of being made Sultan; and, placing Mohammed, the brother of Sultan Achmet, on the throne, he, first doing homage himself, insisted on the whole army following his example. The Sheikh built for Sultan Mohammed his present residence, New Birnie, establishing himself at Angornou, three miles distant, and retaining the dictatorship of the kingdom *pro tempore*. Such a commencement was also extremely politic on the part of the Sheikh; but his aspiring mind was not calculated to rest satisfied with such an arrangement. The whole population now flocked to his standard, and appeared willing to invest him with superior power, and a force to support it. One of the first offers they made, was to furnish him with twenty horses per day, until a more regular force was organized, which continued for four years. He now raised the green flag, the standard of the Prophet; refused all titles but that of the 'Servant of God;' and after clearing the country of the Fêlatahs, he proceeded to punish all those nations who had given them assistance; and with the slaves, the produce of these wars, rewarded his faithful Kanemboo and other followers for their fidelity and attachment.

"Even in the breasts of some of the Bornouese, successful war had raised a passion for conquest: their victories, not less a matter of surprise than delight, crest-fallen and dispirited as they were, gave a stimulus to their exertions, and they became accustomed to warfare and regardless of danger. If he has impressed his followers with a belief that supernatural powers are vested in their leader, much good policy as well as superstition may have influenced his conduct. No one could have used greater endeavours to substitute laws of reason for practices of barbarity; and,

though feared, he is loved and respected. 'When lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentlest gamester is the soonest winner.' Compared to all around him, he is an angel, and has subdued more by his generosity, mildness, and benevolent disposition, than by the force of his arms. He is completely the winner of his own honour and reputation, and assumes to himself the title of Liberator or Salvator, as delivering the country he governs, his own adopted one, from servitude to strangers and tyrants; and his highest ambition is to restore the empire of Bornou to its former splendour and vast extent. His life, however, will most likely be too short for this great work, unless his means for carrying on offensive war should be surprisingly increased. For the last eight years, the Sheikh has carried on a very desperate and bloody war with the Sultan of Begharmi, who governs a powerful and warlike people, inhabiting a very large tract of country south of Bornou, and on the eastern bank of the Shary.* Although meeting with some reverses, and on one occasion losing his eldest son in these wars, who was greatly beloved by the people, he has, upon the whole, been successful; and is said to have, from first to last, destroyed and led into slavery, more than thirty thousand of the Sultan of Begharmi's subjects, besides burning his towns and driving off his flocks.

"The late Sultan of Bornou, who always accompanied the Sheikh to the field, also lost his life in these wars: his death was attributable to his immense size and weight. The horse he rode, refused to move on with him from fatigue, although at the time not more than 500 yards from the gates of Angala, and he fell into

* He was also engaged in a contest with the ruler of Waday, for the possession of Kanem.

the hands of the enemy. He died, however, with great dignity; and six of his eunuchs and as many of his slaves, who would not quit him, shared his fate. A sultan of Bornou-carries no arms, and it is beneath his dignity to defend himself: sitting down, therefore, under a tree, with his people around him, he received his enemies, and hiding his face in the shawl which covered his head, was pierced with a hundred spears. Ibrahim, his brother, succeeded him, who is now not more than twenty-two years old. The sultanship of Bornou, however, is but a name: the court still keeps up considerable state, and adheres strictly to its ancient customs, and this is the only privilege left them. El Kanemy is a most interesting and aspiring chief, and an extraordinary, if not a solitary instance, in the eastern world, of a man raising himself to sovereign power, from a humble station, without shedding blood by the assassin's knife, or removing those who stood in his way by the bowstring or the poisoned cup.

"Their dresses are extremely rich, and consist of striped silks and linens of various colours, from Cairo and Soudan. When they take the field, their appearance is truly grotesque: the Sultan is preceded by six men, bearing *frum-frums* (trumpets) of cane, ten feet long; an instrument peculiar to royalty, but which produces a music neither agreeable nor inspiring. Their own heads, and those of their horses, are hung round with charms, sewed up in leather cases, red, green, and white; and altogether, with their wadded doublets and large heads, they would be more apropos in a pantomime than in a field of battle. The Sheikh's force is principally cavalry, (for Bornou may not improperly be called an equestrian nation,)

and is estimated at 30,000; their arms are, spears, shields, and daggers. The chiefs, as well as the Sheikh's own guard, wear jackets of chain-armour, cuirasses or coats of mail, made in Bornou and Soudan. To this force may be added 9000 Kanemboo infantry. Soldiers who fight on foot have ever been the sterling defence of a warlike nation; and in this species of force, Bornou was very deficient.

"Although harassed by the constant wars in which he has been engaged, yet has not the Sheikh been unmindful of the benefits which an extended commerce would confer upon his people, nor of the importance of improving their moral condition, by exciting a desire to acquire, by industry and trade, more permanent and certain advantages than are to be obtained by a system of plunder and destructive warfare. Arab or Moorish merchants, the only ones who have hitherto ventured amongst them, are encouraged and treated with great liberality. Several of them are known to have returned, after a residence of less than nine years, with fortunes of fifteen and twenty thousand dollars; and which might, perhaps, by a more intelligent trader, have been doubled, as the commodities with which they barter, are mostly European produce, purchased at Tripoli, at prices full two hundred and fifty per cent. above their prime cost.*

"The principal return which Moorish merchants

* "The usual calculation of a Moorish merchant is, that a camel-load of merchandize bought at Mourzouk for 150 dollars, will make a return, in trading with Bornou, of 500 dollars, after paying all expenses. From the circumstance of there being no direct trade from this country with Tripoli, English goods (the demand for which is daily increasing among a population of not less than five millions, within 600 miles of the coast) are sold at enormous prices, though frequently of the very worst description."

obtain for their goods, consists in slaves; but Bornou is scarcely any thing more than a mart or rendezvous of *kafilas* from Soudan. These unhappy victims are handed over to the Tripoli and Fezzan traders, who are waiting with their northern produce to tempt the cupidity of the slave-merchants of Soudan. I think I may say, that neither the Sheikh himself, nor the Bornou people, carry on this traffic without feelings of disgust, which even habit cannot conquer. Of the existence of a foreign slave-trade, or one which consigns these unfortunates to Christian masters, they are not generally aware at Bornou; and so contrary to the tenets of his religion—of which he is a strict observer—would be such a system of barter, that one may easily conclude the Sheikh of Bornou would be willing to assist, with all the power he possesses, in any plan which might have for its object the putting a final stop to a commerce of this nature. Already the desire of exchanging whatever their country produces, for the manufactures of the more enlightened nations of the north, exists in no small degree amongst them: a taste for luxury, and a desire of imitating such strangers as visit them, are very observable; and the man of rank is ever distinguished by some part of his dress being of foreign materials, though sometimes of the most trifling kind. It is true, that these propensities are not yet fully developed; but they exist, and give unequivocal proof of a tendency to civilization, and the desire of cultivating an intercourse with foreigners. Every approach which the African has made towards civilization, even to the knowledge of, and the belief in, the existence of a Supreme Being, is attributable to the intrepid Arab spirit, which, despising the dread of the apparently interminable deserts that separate the Black from the White popu-

lation, has alone penetrated to any extent into the country of these before unenlightened savages,—carrying with him his religion and his manners, and converting thousands to the Mohammedan faith.

"The eagerness with which all classes of people listened to our proposals for establishing a frequent communication by means of European merchants, and the protection promised by the Sheikh to such as should arrive within the sphere of his influence, particularly if they were English, excite an anxious hope, that some measures will be adopted for directing the labours of a population of millions to something more congenial to the humanity and the philanthropy of the age we live in, than the practice of a system of predatory warfare; which has chiefly for its object the procuring of slaves, as the readiest and most valuable property to trade with, on every appearance of the merchants from the north at their markets.

"Every probability is against such a barter being preferred by the African Black. Let the words of the Sheikh himself, addressed to us in the hearing of his people, speak the sentiments that have already found a place in his bosom:—'You say true, we are all sons of one father! You say, also, that the sons of Adam should not sell one another, and you know every thing! God has given you all great talents; but what are we to do? The Arabs who come here, will have nothing else but slaves: why do not you send us your merchants? You know us now; and let them bring their women with them, and live amongst us, and teach us what you talk to me about so often, to build houses and boats, and make rockets.' The reader will conceive with what exulting hearts we heard these words from the lips of a ruler in the centre of Africa.

"Until introduced by the Moors, the trading in slaves was little known among them; the prisoners taken in battle served them, and were given as portions to their children, on their marriage, for the same duties; but they were seldom sold. Even now, the greater part of the household of a man of rank are free, with the exception of the women, who often die in the service of the master of their youth. They are treated always like the children of the house, and corporal punishment is a rare occurrence amongst them. I have more than once known a Bornouese, on his morning visit to my hut, say with tears, that he had sent a slave to be sold, who had been three years a part of his family: then he would add, 'But the devil has got into her, and how could I keep her after that?'

"In short, it is to the pernicious principles of the Moorish traders, whose avaricious brutality is beyond all belief, that the traffic for slaves in the Interior of Africa owes not only its origin, but its continuance. They refuse all other modes of payment for the articles which they bring with them; they well know the eagerness with which these articles are sought after; and by offering what appears to the natives an amazing price, tempt them to sell their brethren to the most inhuman of all human beings, while they gain, in Fezzan, Bengazi, and Egypt, sometimes a profit of 500 per cent. I am not, however, without hopes, that a more extended intercourse with Barbary might detach even the proverbially unfeeling Moor from dealing in human flesh; and it was with feelings of the highest satisfaction that I listened to some of the most respectable of the merchants, when they declared, that, were any other system of trading adopted, they would gladly embrace it, in preference to dealing in slaves. Knowing, too, how often we interfered to meliorate

the situation of any of these unfortunates, when they were oppressed or ill-treated, they would continually point out to us, as if to excite our approbation, how well dressed and well fed their own slaves were, in comparison with those of others, as we traversed the Desert, on our return to Tripoli."*

The whole country of Bornou is flat, and by far the greater part is covered with thick underwood, high, coarse grass, and parasitical plants. The climate, Major Denham deems quite as salubrious as any other country of the torrid zone, and far preferable to many. The heat is indeed excessive, and the rainy season is particularly dreaded by the Arabs, "not without reason"; but they allow that Soudan is still more sickly. Kouka, the residence of the present ruler of Bornou, is reckoned the most healthy part of the kingdom, as the water is better, and the air purer and more free from vapours, except during the rainy months, when evaporation is here almost always going on. The barometer, however, maintained uniform steadiness throughout the year, not varying more than the tenth of an inch. From March to the end of June, the thermometer, at about two P. M., will sometimes rise to 105° and 107°; and suffocating and scorching winds from the S. and S. E. then prevail. The nights are also dreadfully oppressive; the thermometer not falling much below 100°, until a few hours before daylight, when 86° or 88° denotes comparative freshness. Towards the middle of May, Bornou is visited by violent tempests of thunder, lightning, and rain. Yet, in such a dry state is the earth at this time, and so quickly is the water absorbed, that the inhabitants scarcely feel the inconvenience of the season. Considerable damage is done to the cattle and the people by the lightning. They now prepare the ground for

* Denham, vol. ii. pp. 179—199.

their corn; and it is all in the earth before the end of June, when the lakes and rivers begin to overflow; and from the extreme flatness in the country, tracts of many miles are quickly converted into large lakes. Nearly constant rains now deluge the land, with cloudy, damp, sultry weather. The winds are hot and violent, and generally from the east and south. In October, the winter season commences; the rains are less frequent, and the harvest near the towns is got in; the air is milder and more fresh, the weather serene; breezes blow from the north-west, and with a clearer atmosphere. Towards December, and in the beginning of January, Bornou is colder than from its situation might be expected. The thermometer will at no part of the day mount higher than 74° or 75°, and in the morning descends to 58° and 60°. It is these cold fresh winds from the north and north-west that restore health and strength to the inhabitants, who suffer during the damp weather from dreadful attacks of fever and ague, which carry off great numbers every year." *

The population of Bornou, estimated by Major Denham at 5,000,000 souls, is composed of a great diversity of races and tribes; and no fewer than ten different dialects are spoken in the empire. The Bornouese, or Kanowry, as they call themselves, are characterized by a large unmeaning face with the

* Denham, vol. ii. pp. 155—157; 176. On December 26th, Fahrenheit's thermometer, after sunrise, stood at 49°. This was at Bedeckarfee. On the 27th, Captain Clapperton's journal has the following note: "The temperature this morning was remarkably low, and the water in our shallow vessels was crusted with thin flakes of ice. The water-skins were frozen as hard as a board."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 220. The rainy season, even at Kouka, is extremely unhealthy and trying; fever and agues then prevail, and the cold winds of October are earnestly longed for by the invalids.

negro nose, wide mouth, good teeth, and high forehead. "They are peaceable, quiet, and civil; they salute each other with courteousness and warmth; and there is a remarkable good-natured heaviness about them. They are no warriors, but revengeful; and the best of them are given to the commission of petty larcenies on every opportunity that offers. They are extremely timid.

"The women are particularly cleanly, but not good-looking: they have large mouths, very thick lips, and high foreheads.* Their manner of dressing their hair is also very unbecoming. It is brought over the top of the head in three thick rolls, joining in front in a point, and thickly plastered with indigo and bees' wax. Behind the point, it is wiry, very finely plaited, and turned up like a drake's tail. The *tattoos* common to all negro nations in these latitudes, and by which their country is instantly known, are here particularly unbecoming. The Bornouese have twenty cuts or lines on each side of the face, drawn from the corners of the mouth towards the angles of the lower jaw and cheek-bone. They have also one cut in the centre of the forehead, six on each arm, six on each leg and thigh, four on each breast, and nine on each side, just above the hips. "It is quite distressing," says Major Denham, "to witness the torture the poor little children undergo, who are thus marked; enduring not only the heat, but the attacks of millions of flies." They are the most humble of females, never approaching their husbands except on their knees, or speaking to any of the male sex, otherwise than with the head and face covered, and kneeling.

* "The women of Bornou have not so many attractions as those of Soudan. They are neither so handsome, well-formed, clean, nor good-tempered; and in consequence, the slaves from the latter country bring much higher prices."—Lyon, p. 161.

The costume of the Kanemboo women, as regards the head-ornaments, (which alone admit of display or variety,) is as becoming as that of the Bornouese is unpleasing. They have small plaits of hair hanging round the head, down to the poll of the neck, with a roll of leather or string of little brass beads in front: sometimes, silver rings are substituted for the brass beads, and a large silver ornament is worn on the forehead. The female slaves of Musgow, a kingdom to the S. E. of Mandara, are, on the other hand, particularly disagreeable in their appearance. Their hair is rolled up in three large plaits, like that of the Bornowy, extending from the forehead to the back of the neck; they have silver studs in their noses, and a large one (of the size of a shilling) just under the lower lip, and going quite through into the mouth; to make room for which ornament, a tooth or two are sometimes displaced. These Musgowy are considered as very trustworthy and capable of great labour.

The *Shouaa* Arabs are a very extraordinary race, bearing scarcely any resemblance to the northern Arabs. They have a fine, open countenance, with large eyes and aquiline nose, and complexion of a light copper colour. They strikingly resemble, in features as well as habits, some of our best-favoured gipsies in England; particularly the women; and they speak the Egyptian Arabic nearly pure. "They are divided into tribes, and bear still the names of some of the most formidable of the Bedouin hordes of Egypt. They are a deceitful, arrogant, and cunning race, great charm-writers; and, by pretending to a natural gift of prophecy, they find an easy entrance into the houses of the black inhabitants of the towns, where their pilfering propensities often shew themselves. It is said, that Bornou can muster 15,000 *Shouaas* in the field,

mounted. They are the greatest cattle-breeders in the country, and annually supply Soudan with from two to three thousand horses."

In their manner of living, the Bornouese are simple in the extreme. Flour made into a paste, sweetened with honey and with fat poured over it, is a dish for a sultan. The use of bread is not known; little wheat, therefore, is grown. Indeed, it is found only in the houses of the great. Barley is also scarce: a little is sown between the wheat, and is used, when bruised, to take off the brackish taste of the water. The grain most in use among the people of all classes, and upon which also animals are fed, is *gussob*, a species of millet. The poor people will eat it raw or parched in the sun, and be satisfied without any other nourishment for several days together. Bruised and steeped in water, it forms the travelling stock of all pilgrims and soldiers. When cleared of the husk, pounded, and made into a light paste, in which a little *meloheia* (the *eboo-ochra* of Guinea) and melted fat are mixed, it forms a favourite dish, and is called *kaddel*. *Kasheia* (the seed of the prickly grass), parched in the sun and cleared of the husk, is boiled and eaten as rice, or made into flour; but this is esteemed a luxury. Four kinds of beans, known under the common name of *gafooly*, are raised in large quantities for the consumption of the slaves and poorer people. A paste made from these and fish, was the only eatable met with in the towns near the river. Salt, they scarcely knew the use of. The rice of Bornou is of an inferior quality: what is used, is brought from Soudan. Indian corn, cotton, and indigo are the most valuable productions of the soil: the latter two grow wild close to the Tchad, and in the inundated grounds. The senna-plant is also found wild and in abundance

There is probably no spot of land between the Tropics, not absolutely desert, so destitute of either fruit or vegetables as the kingdom of Bornou. Mangoes are found only in the neighbourhood of Mandara and to the west; and with the exception of two or three lime-trees, and as many fig-trees, in the garden of the Sheikh at Kouka, raised on a spot of ground watered by himself, and the culture of which gives employment to fifty negroes, not a fruit of any description can be found in the whole kingdom.* Date-trees are not found south of Woodie, and even there they produce but indifferent fruit. Onions are to be procured near the great towns, but no other vegetable. The people have nothing beyond the bare necessaries of life, and are rich only in slaves, herds, and horses. Their dogs, sheep, goats, cows, and oxen are beyond calculation. The Shouaas on the shores of the Tchad have probably 20,000 near their different villages; while the banks of the river Shary could furnish double that number.† The domestic fowl is common, and is the cheapest animal food that can be procured; but they are small and ill-flavoured. Game of all kinds is abundant. Besides gazelles, antelopes, and hares, there is an animal called *koorigum*, about the size of a red deer, with annulated horns; there are very large partridges, small grouse, guinea-fowl, and water-fowl of all kinds. The flesh of the ostrich also is much esteemed. That of the buffalo, which has a high game flavour, is a delicacy. The elephant is

* Captain Lyon was told, that the tamarind grows in Bornou; and tamarinds in the pod are brought to the Kouka market.

† "Throughout Bornou, bullocks are the medium of commerce for every thing: from 100 to 150 bullocks for a good horse; from 30 to 40 bullocks for a handsome slave."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 41. The price of a good bullock is from three dollars to three and a half.—*Ib.*, vol. i. p. 167.

hunted and killed for the sake of his flesh as well as his tusks; and the giraffe is met with and killed by the buffalo-hunters in the woods and marshy grounds near the Tchad. The crocodile and the hippopotamus are also found in Bornou, and the flesh of both is eaten. That of the crocodile is pronounced by Major Denham extremely fine: "it has a green fat resembling the turtle, and the callipee has the colour, firmness, and flavour of the finest veal. The bees are so numerous as in some places to obstruct the passage of travellers. The locust is a frequent visiter, and the natives eat them with avidity, either roasted or boiled, or formed into balls as a paste.

The Bornouese are strict Moslem, and less tolerant than the Arabs. "I have known a Bornouese," says Major Denham, "refuse to eat with an Arab, because he had not performed *sully* (washed and prayed) at the preceding appointed hour. In the towns are many *hajis* who have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and who excel in writing the Arabic characters, as well as in teaching the art to others. However strange it may appear, each *kafila* leaving Bornou for Fezzan, carries several copies of the Koran written by the Bornou *fighis*, which will sell in Barbary or Egypt for forty or fifty dollars each. The Arabic characters are also used by them to express their own language. Every chief has one of these *fighis* attached to him, who write despatches from his dictation with great facility."

Sheikh Alameen is represented as a severe moralist, and in many respects a shrewd politician. He is most anxious to encourage marriage and to curb licentiousness among his subjects. Having observed that the Shouaas, who confine themselves generally to one wife, far exceed the Blacks in fruitfulness, he has

adopted the most summary and severe measures for reforming the manners of the people. Bornou was formerly infested by robbers, who waylaid and plundered travellers within sight of the walls of the capital. Such an event now never occurs; and the roads through the Sheikh's territory are as safe as any even in our own country. The population, which had greatly decreased under the disorders and conflicts of the first part of his rule, is now beginning to recover itself. The towns are in general large and well-built, surrounded with walls from 35 to 40 feet in height, and 20 feet thick. The principal ones, besides Kouka, are, Birnie (a word answering to the Arabic *Medina*, city), the residence of the Sultan; Old Birnie, the ancient capital; and Angornou, the largest and most populous town in Bornou, where the Sheikh resided previously to his building Kouka.

New Birnie is a walled town of huts, of the same description as those in Kouka, and is supposed to contain 10,000 inhabitants. The Sultan resides in a mud edifice. When Major Denham was presented to him, he received the party in an open space before the palace, seated within a sort of cage of cane or wood, on an elevated cushion, which appeared to be covered with satin. His courtiers, to the number of nearly three hundred, after prostrating themselves before his sable majesty, took their seats on the ground in front, but with their backs to the throne, and facing the visiters, who were kept at a considerable distance; while the Sultan looked through the lattice-work of his pavilion, on the assembly before him. Nothing could be more grotesque than the figures who composed the groupe. Large heads and large bodies are in vogue at the court of Birnie; and those who are not so fortunate as to possess these personal recom-

mendations by nature, or have not attained to due corpulence by their diet, supply the deficiency of protuberance by wadding, while their bulk is further increased by from eight to twelve shirts of different colours, worn one above another: the head is also enveloped in folds of muslin or linen of various colours, so as to have the effect of making it appear completely on one side. They were, moreover, hung all over with charms, inclosed in little red leather parcels strung together. Their horses were adorned with the same preservatives. From the faint glimpse that could be obtained of the Sultan, his turban appeared to out-measure those of his courtiers; and his face, from the nose downwards, was completely covered. Nearly in front of his Majesty, an officer shouted forth praises of his master, and proclaimed his pedigree; and near him, was one who bore the long wooden *frumfrum*, on which he ever and anon blew a blast loud and unmusical. The absurdity of the whole pageant was heightened by the consideration, that this shew of pomp is unconnected with a particle of power. The Sultan reigns by sufferance of the Sheikh, who, to make himself popular with all parties, indulges him with this semblance of royalty.

Angornou, which is about two miles from Birnie and sixteen from Kouka, is stated to contain at least 30,000 inhabitants. It is large and straggling, but not walled. The huts, however, are larger and more commodious than those of Kouka, some of them having four mud walls and two chambers. The principal market in the country is held here, (every Wednesday,) which, in peaceable times, is sometimes attended by 80 or 100,000 persons. The inhabitants are mostly Bornowy, but strangers are numerous, and

many Tibboos and Kanemboos reside here during certain months in the year. Linen is so cheap here, that most of the males in Angornou indulge in the luxury of a shirt and a pair of trowsers. The articles for which there is the principal demand, are, amber and coral, and pieces of brass and copper: all other kinds of merchandize are paid for either in slaves or in *tobes;* but these readily bring money.*

Old Birnie is nearly a hundred miles from Kouka, on the road to Soudan, near the banks of the Gambarou, or Yeou. "The ruins of this city," says Major Denham, "certainly tended more strongly to convince us of the power of its former sultans, than any of the tales we had heard of their magnificence. We had seen upwards of thirty large towns which the Felatahs had completely rased to the ground at the time they destroyed the capital, and we were now arrived at the ruins of that capital itself. Old Birnie covered a space of five or six square miles, and is said to have had a population of 200,000 souls. The remains of the walls were, in many places, still standing, in large masses of hard red brick-work, from three to four feet in thickness, and from sixteen to eighteen in height." This account seems to sanction the representations of earlier travellers, resting upon native report, respecting the immense extent and grandeur of this capital. Bornou † (as the city is styled) is

* At this place, our Traveller's "excessive whiteness" excited pity and astonishment, or disgust. A crowd followed him through the market; others fled at his approach; and some of the women overset their merchandise in their anxiety to escape. At another time, while sitting outside the door of his inclosure, he was thus accosted by the wives of some Shouaa chiefs: "You are a *kaffir*, Khaleel; and it is you Christians, with the blue eyes like the hyena, that eat the blacks whenever you can get them far enough away from their own country."

† Probably a mistake for Birnie. According to the inhabitants

described as having a great number of gates, mosques adorned with very high towers, a college in which the students were supported at the Sultan's expense, and the dwellings of the rich were built of stone, in a similar style to the houses of Cairo, but higher. In the Oriental style of exaggeration, it was said to be more than a day's journey in extent; and a child that was parted from its parents in the city, had no chance of being ever found again. The Sultan, at that time, was not of negro race, but of an Arab or Berber tribe; his complexion was a deep brown, and he lived upon rice.* The remains of brick walls would sufficiently prove that this famous African capital, which appears to have given its name to the empire, had no negro monarch for its founder.

About four miles from Old Birnie, close to the bank of the river, and at the hollow of a slight curve in its course, there stood, some fourteen years ago, the town of Gambarou, the favourite residence of the late and former sultans. The ruins now standing prove the buildings to have been, for this country, of a princely kind. The walls of a mosque, which was more than twenty yards square, are still visible, as well as those of the palace, with gates opening to the river, to which a private mosque appears to have been attached. The buildings were all of brick, and must, Major Denham says, have had a superior appearance to any town they had seen in Africa. The situation is beautiful; and although labyrinths of thickets and brambles now overspread the banks of the river, and the meadows are overrun with wild plants and useless

of Mobbo, the capital of Bornoo was called Akumbo. The Arab legend is, that Bornou derives its name from the circumstance of Noah having first touched ground here from the ark, whence it is called *Bar Noa*, the land of Noah!

* See Malte Brun, vol. iv. pp. 265, 6.

grass, he was assured, that the whole neighbourhood of Gambarou was once in a superior state of cultivation; and that, "in the old Sultan's time," boats were constantly moving to and from Kabshary and other towns to the west. Kouka was, at that time, not in existence; and Angornou consisted of a small collection of huts.

To the south of Bornou is the country of Mandara, the Sultan of which resides at Mora, six days' march (180 miles) from Kouka. Major Denham availed himself of the opportunity of joining a *ghrazzie* conducted by Boo-Khaloom, at the head of a party of Arabs, and Barca Gana, the Sheikh's principal negro general, to push his investigations in that direction. It was not without reluctance, however, that the Sheikh gave his permission; and the event justified the apprehensions he expressed respecting the risk to which the British *Rais* would expose himself. The expedition was, indeed, of a nature to which it must be regretted that Major Denham should have given countenance; but his zeal in the cause of African discovery overcame every other consideration.

FROM KOUKA TO MANDARA.

On the 16th of April, Major Denham left Kouka to join the expedition, and proceeded to Angornou. Starting, the next day, an hour before sun-rise, he reached, at noon, a considerable walled town, called Yeddie; it is twenty-one miles from Angornou, and is governed by a kaid. The route to this place passed for some miles over a continued plain covered with corn-stubble. At the end of fourteen miles more, he overtook the army near a town called Merty. The next day, the whole force marched for Mandara.

Fourteen miles from Merty, they halted at a town called Alla, and after a march of five hours more, arrived at Deegoa. This is a large walled town, twenty miles from Alla, governed by a sultan subject to the Sheikh, and may boast a population of 30,000. The country is, in this part, less cleared of wood; and the next day's march was through narrow paths passable only for one horse at a time, and greatly obstructed by the prickly branches of the *talloh*. Early in this day, they reached another very large and populous town, called Affagay, governed by a kaid. This place, together with the surrounding towns of Sogama, Kindacha, Masseram, and Kingoa, is said to possess upwards of 20,000 inhabitants. To the westward of Kingoa, are the ruins of a very large town, called Dagwamba, which formerly gave its name to the district, being the residence of a negro sultan. The people were then all *kerdies* (heathens); but, on being conquered by the Sultan of Bornou, they became Moslem. On the 20th, they marched thirty-four miles, over a country covered with alluvial soil, and of a dark clayey appearance. Cracks, several inches in width, made the road difficult; and the water left here by the rains, remains on the ground for several months. No town was passed this day: the halt at noon was made at a place called Delahay, where are between thirty and forty wells of very sweet water, in the vicinity of a collection of huts belonging to the *Hajainy* tribe of Shouaas. The thermometer, in the afternoon, stood at 109° in Major Denham's tent, and on the next day at 113°, in the best shade that could be found in the open air.

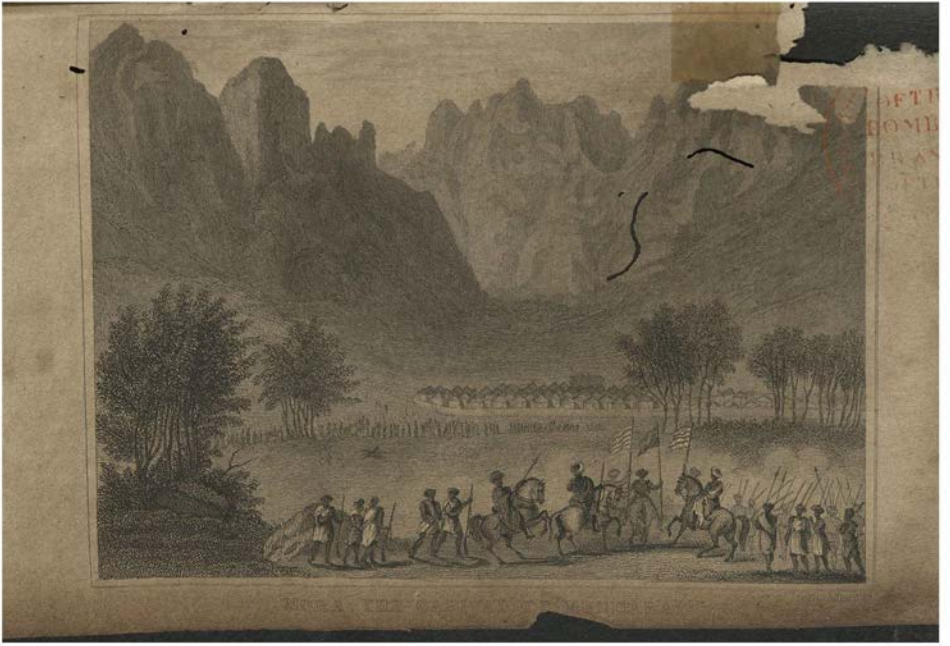
As they now approached the hills of Mandara, the soil became covered with a glittering micaceous sand (principally decomposed granite), and the vegetation

assumed a different character. Below, the first town in Mandara, near which the northernmost point of this chain commences, has some springs of beautiful water; and in the valleys were numerous fig-trees and a tree bearing a white and fragrant blossom, resembling the zeringa. About a mile from this town, they found the Sultan of Mandara, surrounded by about 500 horsemen, posted on a rising ground to receive them. These people were finely dressed in Soudan *tobes* of different colours, (chiefly dark blue and striped with yellow and red,) *bornouses* of coarse scarlet cloth, and large turbans of white or dark-coloured cotton. Their horses were beautiful, larger and more powerful than any in Bornou, and they managed them with great skill. After a parley, in which the object of the expedition was stated, the Sultan returned to the town, preceded by several men blowing long pipes, not unlike clarionets, ornamented with shells, and two immense trumpets, between twelve and fourteen feet in length, made of pieces of hollow wood with a brass mouthpiece; these were borne by men on horseback, and the sound was not unpleasing. The Sultan, Mohammed Bucker, is described as an intelligent little man, of about fifty years of age, with a beard dyed a most beautiful sky-blue. In a subsequent interview, the White man's appearance attracted the Sultan's earnest attention; when, to the inquiry who he was, Boo-Khaloom returned for answer, that he was a native of a very distant and powerful nation, friends of the Bashaw of Tripoli and the Sheikh, who came to see the country. This information did not appear to awake any surprise; and the Sultan looked gracious as he returned, "But what does he want to see?" A fatal question, however, followed: "Are they Moslem?" and the answer, "*La! la!*" (No!

no !) appeared to petrify the whole assembly. Eve
eye was hastily withdrawn from the visiter. " H
the great Bashaw *Kaffir* friends ?" asked the '
The explanation which followed was unavailin
the *Kaffir Rais* was never afterwards invited to
the Sultan's presence.

Mandara was formerly comprised within the ter-
ritory of the Sultan of Karowa, a country bordering upon it to the south-west, but was wrested from the *kerdy* sovereign by the Felatahs of Musfeia and Kora. The son of the Karowa Sultan, who is the present Sultan, succeeded in recovering Mandara out of their hands; and he has since been able to keep possession of it, as they aver, from his having embraced the Mohammedan faith. " Be that as it may," continues Major Denham, " he is now a Mussulman, and an intelligent one for his situation; his resources are great, and his country easy to defend. About ten years ago, he found so little defence from the walls of Delow against the attacks of the Felatahs, that he built the new town, Mora, situated nearly facing the north, under a semicircular ridge of very picturesque mountains. These natural barriers form a strong rampart on every side but one; and he has hitherto withstood the attempts of his enemies. Sheikh El Kanemy, very shortly after his own elevation, saw the advantage of having so powerful an ally against the Felatahs, who were equally the dread of both these potentates. The vicinity of Mandara to the Kerdy nations, as well as the ease with which slaves are obtained from thence, was also another consideration. The tribes of Shouaas bordering on the Mandara frontier to the N. and N.E.,* had always been

* " It is a rather curious circumstance, that no Shouaas are to be found in the Mandara dominions, nor any where to the south of them."



the habit of sending marauding parties into that rt of the country nearest to them, which the Sultan d never been able to prevent; and the Sheikh no oner saw the necessity of bringing these dwellers in tents in subjection to the Sultan of Bornou, than he determined also on stipulating for the discontinuance of their inroads into the Mandara country. This treaty of alliance was confirmed by the Sheikh's receiving in marriage the daughter of the Sultan of Mandara; and the marriage portion was to be the produce of an immediate expedition into the *Kerdy* country called Musgow, to the S.E. of Mandara, by their united forces. The results were as favourable as could have been anticipated. Three thousand unfortunate wretches were dragged from their native wilds, and sold to perpetual slavery; while, probably, double that number were sacrificed to obtain them. This treaty left the Sultan of Mandara no other enemies than the Felatahs to contend with; and his power had increased too much for him to fear any offensive measures on their part.

"The principal Mandara towns, eight in number, all stand in the valley: these, and the smaller ones by which they are surrounded, all profess Islamism. The *Kerdies* are far more numerous; and their dwellings are seen every where in clusters on the sides, and even at the top of the very hills which immediately overlook the capital. The fires which were visible in the different nests of these unfortunates, threw a glare upon the bold peaks and bluff promontories of granite rock by which they were surrounded, and produced a picturesque and somewhat awful appearance. The dread in which they hold the Sultan, has been considerably increased by his close alliance with the Sheikh; and the appearance of such a force

as that which accompanied Barca Gana, bivouacked in the valley, was a most appalling sight to those who occupied the overhanging heights: they were fully aware, that for one purpose alone would such a force visit their country; and which of them were to be the victims, must have been the cause of most anxious inquietude and alarm to the whole. By the assistance of a good telescope, I could discover those who, from the terms on which they were with Mandara, had the greatest dread, stealing off into the very heart of the mountains; while others came towards Mora, bearing leopard-skins, honey, and slaves, plundered from a neighbouring town, as peace-offerings; also asses and goats, with which their mountains abound. These were not, however, on this occasion destined to suffer. The people of Musgow, whose country it was at first reported (although without foundation) that the Arabs were to plunder, sent two hundred head of their fellow-creatures, besides other presents, to the Sultan, with more than fifty horses. Between twenty and thirty horsemen, mounted on small, fiery, and very well-formed steeds of about fourteen hands high, with a numerous train, were the bearers of these gifts; and a most extraordinary appearance they made. I saw them on their leaving the Sultan's palace; and both then and on their entrance, they threw themselves on the ground, pouring sand on their heads, and uttering the most piteous cries. The horsemen, who were chiefs, were covered only with the skin of a goat or a leopard, so contrived as to hang over the left shoulder, with the head of the animal on the breast; and being confined round the middle, was made to reach nearly half way down the thigh, the skin of the tail and legs being also preserved. On their heads, which were covered with long woolly, or rather bristly

hair, coming quite over their eyes, they wore a cap of the skin of the goat, or some fox-like animal; round their arms, and in their ears, were rings of what to me appeared to be bone; and round the necks of each were from one to six strings of what I was assured were the teeth of the enemies they had slain in battle: teeth and pieces of bone were also pendent from the clotted locks of their hair, and with the red patches with which their body was marked in different places, and of which colour also their own teeth were stained, they really had a most strikingly wild and truly savage appearance." *

Major Denham was assured, that this chain of mountains extends for more than two months' journey nearly south;—how much beyond that, they could not tell.† "The only communication in this direction is by means of a few venturesome freed slaves, who penetrate into these countries with beads and *tobes*, which are eagerly bought up, slaves and skins being given in exchange. The nations are very numerous; they generally paint and stain their bodies different colours, and live without any regard to relationship.

* Denham, vol. i. pp. 289—294. Boo-Khaloom positively affirmed, that these poor savages were *Insara*, Christians; but their being *Kerdies* and eating horse-flesh appeared to be the only grounds for the assertion.

† Major Denham met with a native who claimed to be the son of Horneman by a slave, and who said, that he had been twenty days S. of Mandara, to a country called Adamowa, which he described as being situated in the centre of a plain surrounded with mountains ten times as high as the loftiest peaks of the Mandara chain. He passed several extensive lakes in the journey, and before arriving at Adamowa, crossed a river flowing from the W. between two very high ridges of the mountains. In describing them, he called them "*Kou kora, kora, kantaga*"—mountains large, large, moon mountains. To the S. of the river, the population is entirely Kerdy, until "the Great Desert."

Large lakes are frequently met with, plentifully supplied with fish. Mangoes, wild figs, and ground-nuts are found in the valleys. It does not appear that any other metal besides iron, which is abundant, has been discovered in these hills. Near Karowa, to the S.W. of Mandara, it is most plentiful.....The hills extend in apparently interminable ridges E.S.E., S.W., and W.; while to the S. several masses or systems of hills spread themselves out in almost every picturesque form and direction that can be imagined. Those nearest the eye apparently do not exceed 2500 feet in height; but the towering peaks which appear in the distance, are several thousand feet higher. They are composed of enormous blocks of granite, both detached and reclining on each other, presenting the most rugged faces and sides. The interstices and fissures appeared to be filled with a yellow quartzose earth, in which were growing mosses and lichens; trees of considerable size also grow from between them. At the base of these mountains, and also at a considerable elevation on their sides, are incumbent masses of what appeared to be the decomposed fragments of primitive rocks, recompounded by a species of natural cement. At some distance from the base of those which I ascended from the valley of Mora, were collections of quartzose rocks of great variety and colour, fragments of hornblende, and several large abutments of porphyroidal rocks. About one hundred yards above a beautiful spring, (which bubbles from a bed of glittering sand under a rude arch formed by immense blocks of granite,) in a space between two projecting masses of rock, were numerous shells, some petrified and finely preserved, while others were perforated by insects and worm-eaten: they were confusedly mixed with fragments of granite, quartz, sand, and clay, and in some cases

adhered to pieces of the composition rocks: the greater part were of the oyster kind." *

The unfortunate expedition which Major Denham accompanied, took him into the heart of these mountains. Boo-Khaloom expected to have been allowed to march into a Kerdy district, and his Arabs greedily anticipated the plunder they should obtain by the easy conquest. Such, however, was by no means the design of the Sultan, or the wish of the Sheikh. It was against people who would create in the Arabs a little more respect for spears and arrows, that El Kanemy wished them to be sent; and by bringing them into contact with the Felatah tribes, it was hoped to impress that warlike people with a salutary dread of fire-arms. The Sultan seems to have entered completely into the views of the Sheikh; and it was not till Boo-Khaloom's patience was well nigh exhausted, and his men were on the point of mutiny, that the direction which they were to take, was announced to the Arab commander, who deemed it expedient to keep it to himself. They commenced their march through a beautiful valley to the east of Mora, winding round the hills which overhang the town, and penetrating into the mass of mountains nearly south of it. The halt was made near the remains of a Mandara town called Hairey, long since destroyed by the Felatahs, surrounded with a superb amphitheatre of hills. As they proceeded, the mountain scenery became extremely rich. "On all sides," says our Traveller, "the apparently interminable chain of hills closed upon our view: in rugged magnificence and gigantic grandeur, though not to be compared with the Higher Alps, the Apennines, the Jura, or

* Denham, vol. i. pp. 298, 9; 331—338.

even the Sierra Morena in magnitude, yet, by none of these were they surpassed in picturesque interest. The lofty peaks of Vahmy, Savah, Joggiday, Munday, Vayah, Moyung, and Memay, with clustering villages on their stony sides, appeared to the east and west of us; while Horza, exceeding any of her sister hills in height, as well as in beauty, appeared before us to the south, with its chasm or break through which we were to pass; and the winding, rugged path we were about to tread, was discernible in the distance. The valley in which I stood, had an elevation superior to that of any part of the kingdom of Bornou, for we had gradually ascended ever since quitting Kouka; it was in shape resembling a large pentagon, and conveyed strongly the idea of its having been the bed or basin of some ancient lake, for the disappearance of which all hypothesis would be vain and useless. There were the marks of many outlets, some long and narrow fissures, through which the waters might have broken; the channel by which we had entered, appearing most likely to have carried off its contents.

"On proceeding through the pass of Horza, where the ascent continued, its perpendicular sides, exceeding 2500 feet in height, hung over our heads with a projection almost frightful. The width of the valley did not exceed 500 yards, and the salient and re-entering angles so perfectly corresponded, that one could almost imagine, if a similar convulsion of nature to that which separated, were to bring its sides again together, they would unite, and leave no traces of their ever having been disjoined.

"It was long after mid-day when we came to the mountain stream called Mikwa, and it afforded an indescribable relief to our almost famished horses and ourselves. The road, after quitting the Horza pass,

had been through an extensive and thickly-planted valley, where the tree *gubberah*,* the tamarind, a gigantic wild fig, and the mangoe (called by the Mandaras *ungerengera*, and *comonah* by the Bornouese), flourished in great numbers and beauty. This was the first spot I had seen in Africa, where Nature seemed at all to have revelled in giving life to the vegetable kingdom; the leaves presented a bright luxuriant verdure, and flowers, from a profusion of climbing parasitical plants, winding round the trunks of the trees, left the imagination in doubt as to which of them the fair aromatic blossoms that perfumed the air were indebted for their nourishment. The ground had frequent irregularities; and broken masses of granite, 10 and 12 feet in height, were lying in several places, but nearly obscured by the thick underwood growing round them, and by the trees which had sprung up out of their crevices. The nearest part of the hills, to which these blocks could have originally belonged, was distant nearly two miles.

"When the animals had drunk, we again moved on, and after eighteen miles of equally verdant country, more thickly wooded, we came, after sunset, to another stream, near some low hills, called Makkeray: here we were to halt for a few hours to refresh, and then move again, so as to commence an attack on the Felatahs, who were said to be only about sixteen miles distant, with the morning sun.

"About midnight, the signal was given to advance. The moon afforded us a clear and beautiful light, while we moved on silently and in good order, the

* The *gubberah* "much resembles a fig-tree, although wanting its delicious fruit. The trunk commonly measures ten and twelve yards in circumference near the root; and I have seen them covering more than half an acre with their wide-spreading branches."

Sultan's force marching in parallel columns on our right.* At dawn, the whole army halted to *sully*. As the day broke (April 28), a most interesting scene presented itself. The Sultan of Mandara was close on our flank, mounted on a very beautiful cream-coloured horse with several large red marks about him, and followed by his six favourite eunuchs, and thirty of his sons, all finely dressed and mounted on superb horses; besides which, they had each from five to six others, led by as many negroes: the Sultan had at least twelve. Barca Gana's people all wore their red scarfs or bornouses over their steel jackets, and the whole had a very fine effect. I took my position at his right hand. At a spot called Duggur, we entered, in two columns, a very thick wood, at the end of which it was said we were to find the enemy.....A range of minor hills of secondary formation, approaches quite to the skirts of the wood, and numerous ravines and water-courses rendered the passage tedious and difficult. On emerging from the wood, the large Felatah town of Dirkulla was perceivable. The Arabs were now formed in front, headed by Boo-Khaloom, and flanked on each side by a large body of cavalry; and as they moved on, they shouted the Arab war-cry, which is very inspiring. Dirkulla was quickly burned, and another smaller town near it; and the few inhabitants found in them, who were chiefly infants and aged persons unable to escape, were put to death without mercy, or thrown into the flames.

"We now came to a third town, in a situation

* During the latter part of the night, they started several animals of the leopard species, and succeeded in killing a male panther (called *zazuma*) which measured from the nose to the point of the tail, 8 feet 2 inches. The skin was yellow, beautifully marked with orbicular spots on the upper part: underneath and at the throat, the spots were irregular and mixed with white.

capable of being defended against assailants ten times as numerous, called Musfeia. It was built on a rising ground between two low hills at the base of others, forming part of the mass of the Mandara mountains: a dry wadey extended along the front; beyond the wadey a swamp; between this and the wood, the road was crossed by a deep ravine, which was not passable for more than two or three horses at a time. The Felatahs had carried a very strong fence of palisades, well pointed, and fastened together with thongs of raw hide, six feet in height, from one hill to the other, and had placed their bowmen behind the palisades and on the rising ground, with the wadey before them; their horse were all under cover of the hills and the town. This was a strong position. The Arabs, however, moved on with great gallantry, without any support or co-operation from the Bornou or Mandara troops; and notwithstanding the showers of arrows, some poisoned, which were poured on them from behind the palisades, Boo-Khaloom, with his handful of Arabs, carried them in about half an hour, and dashed on, driving the Felatahs up the sides of the hills. The women were every where seen supplying their protectors with fresh arrows during this struggle; and when they retreated to the hills, still shooting on their pursuers, the women assisted by rolling down huge masses of the rock, previously undermined for the purpose, which killed several of the Arabs, and wounded others. Barca Gana, and about one hundred of the Bornou spearmen, now supported Boo-Khaloom, and pierced through and through some fifty unfortunates who were left wounded near the stakes. I rode by his side as he pushed on quite into the town, and a very desperate skirmish took place between Barca Gana's people and a small body of the

Felatahs. These warriors throw the spear with great dexterity. Three times I saw the man transfixed to the earth, who was dismounted for the purpose of firing the town; and as often were those who rushed forward for that purpose, sacrificed for their temerity by the Felatahs. Barca Gana, whose muscular arm was almost gigantic, threw eight spears, which all told, some of them at a distance of thirty or thirty-five yards, and one particularly on a Felatah chief, who, with his own hand, had brought four to the ground. Had either the Mandara or the Sheikh's troops now moved up boldly, notwithstanding the defence these people made, and the reinforcements which shewed themselves to the south-west, they must have carried the town with the heights overlooking it, along which the Arabs were driving the Felatahs by the terror their miserable guns excited; but, instead of this, they still kept on the other side of the wadey, out of reach of the arrows.

"The Felatahs seeing their backwardness, now made an attack in their turn; the arrows fell so thick that there was no standing against them, and the Arabs gave way. The Felatah horse now came on; and had not the little band round Barca Gana and Boo-Khaloom, with a few of his mounted Arabs, given them a very spirited check, not one of us would probably have lived to see the following day. As it was, Barca Gana had three horses hit under him, two of which died almost immediately, the arrows being poisoned; and poor Boo-Khaloom's horse and himself received their death-wounds by arrows of the same description. My horse was badly wounded in the neck, just above the shoulder, and in the near hind leg; an arrow had struck me in the face as it passed, merely drawing the blood, and I had two sticking in

my bornouse. The Arabs had suffered terribly; most of them had two or three wounds, and one dropped near me with five sticking in his head alone: two of Boo-Khaloom's slaves were killed also near his person. No sooner did the Mandara and Bornou troops see the defeat of the Arabs, than they, one and all, took to flight in the most dastardly manner, without having once been exposed to the arrows of the enemy, and in the utmost confusion. The Sultan of Mandara led the way, who was prepared to take advantage of whatever plunder the success of the Arabs might throw in his way, but not less determined to leave the field the moment the fortune of the day appeared to be against them."

And now for the first time, as he saw Barca Gana mounted on a fresh horse, Major Denham lamented his own folly in so rashly exposing himself, without any provision against accidents. He had no alternative but to make the best of his wounded and jaded horse; and, urged beyond his strength, the poor animal stumbled and fell. Before his rider could remount, the Felatahs were upon him, but recoiled from the muzzle of a pistol which he snatched from his holsters; and one who pressed on more boldly, received the contents in his shoulder. Again the Major sprang on his horse; but he had not proceeded many hundred yards before the horse again came down, and the Felatahs instantly surrounded him, unarmed and helpless as he was, and wounded him in three places while attempting to resist being stripped to the skin. The plunderers were beginning to quarrel for the spoil, when the idea of possible escape flashed into his mind; and creeping under the belly of the nearest horse, he started as fast as his legs

could carry him for the thickest part of the wood. Two of the Felatahs followed, and they were beginning to gain upon him, (for the prickly underwood not only obstructed his path, but miserably tore his naked flesh,) when, to his unspeakable delight, he saw a mountain stream gliding along at the bottom of a deep ravine. "My strength," he says, "had almost left me, and I seized the young branches issuing from the stump of a large tree which overhung the ravine, for the purpose of letting myself down into the water, as the sides were precipitous; when, under my hand, as the branch yielded to the weight of my body, a large *liffa* rose from its coil as if in the very act of striking. I was horror-struck and deprived for a moment of all recollection; the branch slipped from my hand, and I tumbled headlong into the water beneath. This shock, however, revived me, and with three strokes of my arms, I reached the opposite bank, which with difficulty I crawled up; and then, for the first time, felt myself safe from my pursuers.

"I now saw horsemen through the trees, still further to the east, and determined on reaching them, if possible, whether friends or enemies; and the feelings of gratitude and joy with which I recognized Barca Gana and Boo-Khaloom, with about six Arabs, although they also were pressed closely by a party of the Felatahs, was beyond description. The guns and pistols of the Arab sheikhs kept the Felatahs in check, and assisted in some measure the retreat of the footmen. I hailed them with all my might; but the noise and confusion which prevailed, from the cries of those who were falling under the Felatah spears, the cheers of the Arabs rallying, and their enemies pursuing, would have drowned all attempts to make myself heard, had not Maramy, the Sheikh's negro, seen and known me

at a distance. To this man I was indebted for my second escape. Riding up to me, he assisted me to mount behind him, while the arrows whistled over our heads, and we then galloped off to the rear as fast as his wounded horse could carry us. After we had gone a mile or two, and the pursuit had something cooled, in consequence of all the baggage having been abandoned to the enemy, Boo-Khaloom rode up to me, and desired one of the Arabs to cover me with a bornouse. This was a most welcome relief, for the burning sun had already begun to blister my neck and back, and gave me the greatest pain. Shortly after, the effects of the poisoned wound in his foot, caused our excellent friend to breathe his last. Maramy exclaimed, 'Look, look! Boo-Khaloom is dead!' I turned my head, almost as great an exertion as I was capable of, and saw him drop from the horse into the arms of his favourite Arab:—he never spoke after."*

Pain, fever, and thirst had now nearly overcome Major Denham; and when, about an hour after, they reached a stream,† he had just strength enough to let

* It was afterwards found, that forty-five Arabs were killed, and nearly all wounded, some of them very severely. Several died during the day and night of the 29th; their bodies, like poor Boo Khaloom's, becoming instantly swollen and black, and blood issuing in some instances from the nose and mouth, which the Bornowy declared to be in consequence of the arrows being poisoned. Burckhardt, speaking of the Fellatahs, says: "They fight with poisoned arrows; the smallest scratch causes the body to swell, and is infallibly mortal, unless counteracted by an antidote known among the natives. This antidote is prepared from a small worm, called at Borgo and Baghermi, *kudongo*, which is dried and reduced to powder. Whenever the soldiers of Borgo go to war, they are furnished with a small box of this powder."

† The effect produced on the horses that were wounded by poisoned arrows, was most extraordinary: immediately after drinking, they dropped, and instantly died, the blood gushing from their nose, mouth, and ears. More than thirty horses were lost at this spot from the effects of the poison.

himself down from the horse, and after drinking of the muddy water, to stagger across the brook, when he sank down in a deep sleep at the foot of a tree. He remained in this state during a short halt, made for the benefit of stragglers, during which, as he afterwards learned, Maramy reported to Barca Gana the difficulty of carrying the European any further on his disabled horse; when, irritated by his defeat and loss, the negro chief exclaimed: "Then leave him behind. By the head of the Prophet! believers enough have breathed their last to-day. What is there extraordinary in a Christian's death?" "No," replied a *fighi*, whose polemical zeal had heretofore annoyed the Major, "God has preserved him, let us not forsake him." Maramy emphatically described his own feelings by saying, that "his heart told him what to do." He returned to the tree, roused the Major, who awoke from his brief slumber much invigorated; and their wounded and exhausted steed bore them safely to a friendly shelter. It was in a deplorable condition, however, that our Traveller found himself once more in the Sultan of Mandara's territory, after a ride of more than forty-five miles on the bare back of a lean horse, and with no other covering than a filthy woollen *bornouse*, which irritated his flesh-wounds. With difficulty he obtained a shirt the next day; but he subsequently met with a signal instance of spontaneous and disinterested kindness in a Bornouese, the dethroned Sultan of a country to the S.W. of Angornou, who disrobed himself of his trowsers, and insisted upon Major Denham's putting them on. At length, on the sixth day after their departure from Mora, they reached Kouka. "Thus ended," says Major Denham, "our most unsuccessful expedition; it had, however, injustice and oppression for its basis, and

who can regret its failure ?" Boo-Khaloom's imprudence in having suffered himself to be persuaded to attack the Felatahs, was the more obvious, since, as the Felatahs are themselves Moslem, he could not have made them slaves, although he might have appropriated to himself all the *Kerdies* he found among them.*

The people of Mandara differ in appearance from the Bornouese (or Kanowry) ; and the difference is all in their favour. The men are intelligent and lively, with high, though flat foreheads, large, sparkling eyes, nose inclining to aquiline, and features altogether less flattened than in the Bornouese, with wiry, curled hair. The women are proverbial for their "good looks," their Hottentot protuberance of form, and delightfully small hands and feet ; and as these are all esteemed recommendations in the eye of a Turk, Mandara slaves obtain an advanced price. Of the iron found in all the Mandara hills, the natives make hinges, small bars, and a sort of hoe used to weed the corn, which they send for sale to the towns of Bornou. The Felatahs will be described hereafter. The villages in the mountains, at which Major Denham came in contact with this warlike race, who have spread over so large a portion of Central Africa, are supposed to be about 230 miles nearly S. of Kouka, between lat. 9° 30′ and 9° 15′. The extreme southern peak of the mountains visible from that point, is called *Mendify*, and is said to be two long days' journey ("say 35 miles") S. of Musfeia. It rose into the air with singular boldness, and had, at that distance, all the character of an alpine peak, resembling very much in appearance *Les Aiguilles* as seen from the *Mer de Glace*. Major Denham could perceive with a glass other

* Denham, vol. i. pp. 307–328.

mountains extending from its sides, the forms of which bore a tranquil character, compared with the arid and steep peaks that overlooked them. This groupe must be within nine degrees of the Line; and Major Denham expresses his conviction that they form a part of the *Jebel Gumhr* or Mountains of the Moon.

On his return to Kouka, Major Denham found the Sheikh preparing to take the field against the people of Munga, a province to the westward, who had manifested a spirit of insubordination. Before, however, we proceed in this direction, we shall collect the remaining notices relating to the country eastward of Bornou and the great basin of Lake Tchad.

FROM KOUKA TO LOGGUN.

Towards the close of January 1824, having obtained the Sheikh's permission, Major Denham, accompanied by Mr. Toole, (a new comrade, who had in the mean time arrived from Tripoli, and whose name is to be added to the melancholy list of those who have fallen victims to the passion for discovery,*) set out on an excursion to the banks of the Shary. On the second day from Angornou, they arrived at Angala, one of the ancient governments subject to Bornou, where the Sultan, a benevolent-looking old black,

* Mr. Toole, an ensign in the 80th regiment, had volunteered to join the exploring party, and his offer having been accepted by Government, he left Malta at twenty hours' notice, made the long and dangerous journey from Tripoli to Bornou in the short space of three months and fourteen days, and reached Kouka on the 23d of December, in apparent health, and with the loss of only five camels. The career of this enterprising young man was, however, unhappily short. He died on the 26th of February, during the excursion to Loggun.

and one of the Sheikh's earliest friends and supporters, received them with the utmost kindness and hospitality. They reached the banks of the Shary at Showy, a town governed by a *Kaid*, and forming part of the district of Maffatai. The magnitude of the stream drew from the Travellers an involuntary exclamation of surprise: it appeared to be full half a mile in width, (it was subsequently ascertained, by measurement, to be 650 yards,) running at the rate of between two and three miles an hour, in a direction nearly N. In front of the town, a beautiful island, nearly a mile in length, divided the stream. Here, the Travellers embarked, accompanied by the *Kaid* with eight canoes, carrying ten and eleven men each, who, ploughing the stream with their paddles for nearly eight hours, brought them, by sunset, to Joggabah, another island, (as the name signifies in the *Mekkari* dialect,) about thirty-five miles from Showy. The river, now full of water, had a highly interesting appearance. "One noble reach succeeded another, alternately varying their courses by handsome sweeps, some of them three and four miles in length. The banks were thickly scattered with trees rich in foliage, and all hung over with creeping plants, bearing aromatic blossoms of various colours, among which the purple convolvulus flourished in great beauty." Several crocodiles, from eight to fifteen feet in length, were slumbering on the banks; but on the approach of the party, they rolled into the stream, and disappeared in an instant. They afterwards saw many hippopotami. The island is high ground, with steep and nearly perpendicular banks, and a depth of ten feet water close to the edge. It extends, in length, as far as the Lake, a distance of nearly fifteen miles, dividing the river into two handsome streams, running N. E. and N. W.

It abounds with game; and the party had here for supper, fish in abundance, venison, buffalo-beef, and wild ducks, all roasted on wooden spits. A negro town stood, a few years ago, on the jutting point of the island; but the inhabitants committed so many piracies on the Showy people, that the Sheikh determined on exterminating them. It is now uninhabited, and covered with jungle and prickly underwood, abounding with porcupines and scorpions.

On the next day, the Travellers re-embarked, and proceeded by the N. W. branch for more than two hours, passing several marshy floating islands, covered with rushes, high grass, and papyrus, till they found themselves at length in that "sea of fresh water," the Tchad, into which the Shary discharges itself. It was their intention to proceed quite round the island, and to return by the other branch; but, after making about two miles in the open lake, a heavy swell from the N. E. rendered it impracticable. The nearest *Biddoomah* island is said to be three days' voyage from the mouth of the Shary, in a N. E. direction; during two of which, these canoes lose sight of land. The distance, Major Denham supposes, may be equal to ninety miles. With an excellent telescope, he could discern nothing towards the N. and E., but the waste of waters.

Although this appears to be the principal mouth of the Shary, several considerable streams separate from the main branch, and run into the lake. The tract of country southward of the Tchad, seems, in fact, to be a sort of Delta, intersected by various channels, and presenting, in the dry season, a succession of marshes, swamps, and stagnant waters, which are periodically covered. The whole country from Angala towards the Great Lake, is described by Major Denham as an

inclined plane, which, during the rains, is impassable. Having ascended the river to Showy, our Travellers pursued their route in a southerly direction, and the next day, crossing a considerable stream, arrived at a walled town of respectable strength, called *Willighi*, the residence of an independent sultan, who is a *hajji*, and held in respect both by the Sheikh and by the Begharmi sovereign. Its situation appears to give it importance, as the Begharmese always pass it in their predatory excursions.* The walls are nearly fifty feet high, with watch-towers on the salient angles, where sentinels are constantly posted. The sultan lives in a sort of citadel with double walls, each wall having three heavy gates strongly bound with iron. Two hours further, on the next day's route, they arrived at another ford of the water Maffatai. "These fords," Major Denham says, "are known only by the natives of the neighbouring towns, who are always hired as guides. The water was up to the body of the horse; and a weak camel, by encountering the load of another, was thrown off the causeway into twelve or fourteen feet water." Besides this water, they also crossed three deep marshes connected with the river. The paths through the woods, though literally strewed with flowers, were nearly impassable from the overhanging branches of thorny shrubs, which not only tore the shirts and cloaks of the Travellers, but were strong enough to drag the loads from the backs of the camels. In the evening, they reached the town of Affadai. The following day, they arrived

* It seems to command the ford over the Gurdya, "a considerable stream running from the Shary into the lake." "Borgomanda, the reigning sultan of Begharmi, and the *Cheromah*, or heir apparent, send annual presents to Mai Dundelmah, the sultan of Willighi."

at a wretched nest of huts, but walled round, called Kala. Thence, they crossed a long and deep marsh, to a town called Alph, built on an artificial mound in the midst of a swamp extending for miles in every direction; and in the evening, again came to the banks of the Shary at Kussery, a strong walled town governed by an independent sultan. "This route," says Major Denham, "is but seldom traversed; it is a continued succession of marshes, swamps, and stagnant waters, abounding with useless and rank vegetation: flies, bees, and mosquitoes, with immense black toads, vie with each other in a display of their peace-destroying powers." Kussery is infested with these insect tormentors to so intolerable a degree, that, "during several hours in the day, the inhabitants themselves dare not move out on account of the flies and bees."* The formation of the houses here is very peculiar; they are literally one cell within another, five or six in number; and they are built thus, expressly as a retreat from the attacks of these insects. The river is here a wide handsome stream: the walls of the town extend to the banks, having two water-gates.

Soon after leaving this place, the route to the southward enters the Loggun territory. The frontier is occupied by the Shouaa Arabs. Kernuk, the capital, is situated on the banks of the Shary, in lat. 11° 7′, in the midst of a very populous country. The river flows past the high walls "with great beauty and majesty," coming direct from the S.W. with a rapid current.† "We entered the town," says Major

* Chickens are frequently destroyed by them, soon after they are hatched; and children have been literally stung to death.

† "The Shary, after leaving Kussery, makes a sweep nearly due S.; then it winds to the S.W.; and nearly on the apex of the

Denham, " by the western gate, which leads to the principal street: it is as wide as Pall Mall, and has large dwellings on each side, built with great uniformity, each having a court-yard in front, surrounded with walls, and a handsome entrance with a strong door hasped with iron. A number of the inhabitants were seated at their doors for the purpose of seeing us enter, with their slaves ranged behind them....At length, a person of apparent consequence advanced towards my horse, bending nearly double, and joining his hands, (the first salutation of the kind I had seen,) followed by his slaves, stooping still lower than himself. After explaining that he was deputed by the Sultan to welcome *kab n'jaffy* (the white man), and repeating frequently, that he was (*kaffama*) my friend, he preceded our party; and as we moved on, each assembly that we passed, rose from the ground, advanced towards us, and saluted us in the same manner. We were conducted to our habitation, which consisted of four separate huts, well built within an outer wall, with a large entrance hall for our servants. The next morning, I was sent for to appear before the Sultan: ten immense negroes, of high birth, most of them grey-bearded, bare-headed, and carrying large clubs, preceded me through the streets, and I was received with considerable ceremony. After passing through several dark rooms, I was conducted to a large square court, where some hundred persons were assembled, and all seated on the ground; in the middle was a vacant space, to which they led me, and I was desired to sit down also. Two slaves, in striped cotton *tobes*, who were fanning the air through a lattice-work of cane, pointed

sinuosity stands the capital of Loggun. The river is here not more than 400 yards in breadth."

out the retirement of the sultan. On a signal, this shade was removed, and something alive was discovered on a carpet, wrapped up in silk *tobes*, with the head enveloped in shawls, and nothing but the eyes visible: the whole court prostrated themselves, and poured sand on their heads, while eight *frumfrums* and as many horns blew a loud and very harsh-sounding salute. My present, a red *bornouse*, a striped cotton *caftan*, a turban, two knives, two pairs of scissors, and a pair of red trowsers, being laid before him, he again whispered a welcome; for it is considered so extremely ill-bred in a Loggun gentleman to speak out, that it is with difficulty you can catch the sound of their voices. He examined me very minutely; when the shade was again drawn. I begged for permission to embark on the Shary, and was told, he would consider of it. He particularly inquired if I wished to purchase *b'lowy*, or handsome female slaves, which I assured him I did not; 'because,' said he, 'if you do, go no further: I have some hundreds, and will sell them to you as cheap as any one.'"*

Kernuk contains, according to our Traveller's estimate, at least 15,000 inhabitants. They speak a language "nearly Begharmi." They are a much handsomer race than the Bornouese, and far more intelligent, the women particularly so: in their car-

* Denham, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18. It afterwards appeared, that this was the *junior* of two rival sultans, father and son, each at the head of a strong party, and both equally fearing and hating each other. "Of the bad terms on which these rival sultans were, notwithstanding their consanguinity, I had pretty good proofs, by their both sending to me in secret for poison 'that would not lie:' the *mai n'bussa* (the young sultan) sent me three female slaves under fifteen years of age, as an inducement."—*Ib.*, p. 21. They were of course sent back, with an explanation in strong terms of our abhorrence at such proceedings.

riage and manner, they struck Major Denham as superior to any negro nation he had seen. Modesty, however, is not among their virtues; they are most expert thieves; and they are pronounced altogether the cleverest and the most immoral race that our Traveller had met with in the Black country. "Both sexes are industrious, and labour at the loom more regularly than in any part of the Sheikh's dominions. Almost every house has its rude machinery for weaving, and the finer and closer linen is here produced: the width, however, is invariably the same as the Bornouese *gubka*, not exceeding six or seven inches. The free people usually perform this labour, while the female slaves prepare the cotton, and give it the deep blue dye so much esteemed, by their incomparable indigo. The glazing is also another and very important part of their manufacture.* The constant hammering attending this process during the whole day, really sounds like the busy hum of industry and occupation." They have a metal currency here of a singular description; it consists of thin plates of iron, "something in the shape of the tip with which they shoe race-horses: these are made into parcels of ten and twelve, according to the weight, and thirty of these parcels are equal in value to ten *rottola* or a dollar." The value of this circulating medium, however, rises and falls according to the good pleasure of the Sultan, being settled by proclamation at the commencement of the weekly market every Wednesday.

* "The linen, which, previously to its being dyed, is generally either made up into *tobes*, or into lengths of fifteen or sixteen yards, is, after three steepings and as many exposures to the sun, laid in a damp state on the trunks of large trees, (cut to a flat surface for the purpose,) and is then beaten with a wooden mallet; being occasionally sprinkled with cold water and powdered antimony. By this means, the most glossy appearance is produced.

If the Sultan expects to receive tribute or duty on bullocks or indigo, the *delatoo* generally proclaims the currency to be below par; but, when he has purchases to make, preparatory to some festival, the value of the metal invariably rises. Major Denham assures us, that speculations are even made by "the bulls and bears" of this Negro city, according to their expectation of the rise or fall in the metallic currency; and that the proclamation of its value never fails to excite an amazing disturbance.

Loggun is more salubrious and fertile than any other part of the banks of the Shary. *Gussub*, *gafooly*, ground-nuts, mangoes, and onions are in great plenty; also, honey, butter, milk, and beef; but salt is extremely scarce, and but little esteemed.* The Shouaas, who live all around, furnish the evening market with a plentiful supply of bullocks, milk, and fat; which are paid for in *tobes* and strips of blue cotton. The trees are numerous and much larger than in Bornou; chiefly acacias, with the locust-tree and the *kukawha*.

Kernuk was the extreme point which Major Denham reached in this direction. The alarm of a Begharmi invasion, induced the Sultan to order their immediate departure from his dominions, on the ground of his alleged inability to protect them. "More than half my people are Begharmi," said the Sultan; "I have no protection to give; go, go! while you can." There was no alternative but to obey, although Major Denham's companion was very unfit to travel; and at Angala, on the way back to Kouka, Mr. Toole sank under the effects of indisposition and fatigue. "The being foiled in my

* Fine trona is sometimes used as a substitute, but it was found dreadfully bitter and nauseous.

attempt to get up the river from Loggun," says Major Denham, "was a circumstance I much regretted; but the confirmation received there of the report I had previously heard, of a more southerly branch of the Shary running through a mountainous country to the eastward, left no doubt on my mind of that being the fact." This stream, he is inclined to think, would be found to extend to Adamowa, and thence to the Lake Fittre. This lake, which is reckoned four days distant from the Tchad, was described to Major Denham by the chieftain of a tribe of Shouaas, as "large, but not like the Tchad. He had often heard the Fittre called the Darfoor water and Shilluk. Fittre (he added) had a stream running out of it; was not like the Tchad, which every body knew was now a still water; a river also came from the S.W., which formed lake Fittre,—he believed this was the Shary, but he knew nothing to the westward; it came, however, from the *Kerdy* country called Bosso,* and slaves had been brought to Fittre by it, who had their teeth all pointed, and their ears cut quite close to their heads."†

According to this report, the Shary is no other river than the Quorra (Kowara) or Timbuctoo river, which, after a long course in a direction generally S.S.E. as far as a place called Funda, in about latitude 8°, would there seem to be forced by a chain of mountains to bend towards the East, and flowing through the plain of Adamowa, ultimately pierces the granite range, assuming a northerly course towards the Lake Tchad. A variety of concurring testimonies renders this account of its course in the highest degree probable, and scarcely leaves room, indeed, to doubt that

* Boussa is evidently intended, where Mungo Park was drowned.
† Denham, vol. ii. pp. 65, 6.

such is the fact.* But here a most interesting point of inquiry presents itself. What becomes of the waters of the Lake?

The Tchad, according to the information reported by Major Denham, is now a *still water;* and all accounts agreed in representing it as having no outlet. It formerly emptied itself, he was told, by the *Bahr-el-Ghazal*, the dry bed of which is now filled with large trees and rich pasture. Of this ancient channel, Captain Lyon received the following more distinct description from the Bornou traders whom he saw at Mourzouk. "*Bahr-el-Ghazal*, the south part of which is about ten days E.N.E. of Birnie, runs nearly N.E. and S.W. for a great distance. It is inhabited

* Horneman says:—"The river seen by Mr. Park on his journey to Timbuctoo, flows southward from Haussa. It waters Nyffé and Cabi, where it is called Julbi, (Joliba?) and runs eastward into the district of Burnu, where it takes the name of Zad" (Tsad or Tchad), "which means the great water: in some parts of Haussa, it is called Gaora," (Quorra, Kowara,) "or the great water. All the Burnuans and Haussans whom I questioned about the distant regions of this river, agreed in telling me, that it ran through the land of *Majies* (*i.e.* Heathens) by Sennaar; others affirmed, that it passes Darfoor in its course eastward, and flows to Cairo, being one stream with the Egyptian Nile. A native of Egypt from Osiut, who had travelled several times to Darfoor, and southward from that place to collect slaves, and lately returned through Wadey, Fiddri, and Begharmi to Fezzan, informed me, that the *Bahr-el-Abiad* is this river."—Horneman, p. 115. "It is certain," Major Rennell remarks, "that Herodotus collected much the same kind of information in Egypt." Captain Lyon, after mentioning that the *Tsad* runs past Looggan in such a way that those going from Birnie to Baghermi must necessarily cross it, adds: "This river, according to the natives, is said to run past Foor, and thence to Egypt."—Lyon, p. 124. Major Laing was informed by the sheikh of Gadamis, that the Quorra is turned out of its southerly course eastward, by a chain of mountains. And lastly, Mr. Jackson states, that the inhabitants of Timbuctoo and the whole of Central Africa maintain, that the Soudan river communicates with the Egyptian Nile.

by Negro tribes, of whom the greater part are *kaffirs*, or, at all events, not Moslem. It is an immense *wady*, full of trees, and having many inhabitants, who are wanderers. Elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, buffaloes, and giraffes (called by the Arabs *Jimel Allah*, God's camel), are in great numbers. The natives generally use a kind of corrupt Arabic, though one or two languages peculiar to the country are also spoken. These people are a fine race, well made and very active. They wear their hair, which is not woolly, long and plaited. The general dress is leather, but some go entirely naked. The cattle are in such numbers, that parts of the country appear literally covered with them. Great quantities of elephants' teeth are procured in the woods. All the accounts of this country agree in one material point, namely, that, though called *Bahr*, there is no river, but that there has been one of great magnitude. Immense bones of unknown animals and fish are frequently found here in a state of petrifaction. The Arabs account for this by saying: 'They went to take them up as bones, but, by a deception of Iblis, they proved to be stones.' Handsome shells (*beit-el-khoot*, fishes' houses) are often found imbedded in the earth, and retaining a fine polish. Some are so large that the Negroes make trumpets of them. By their description of the bones and *vertebræ*, some of the fish must have been ten or twelve feet in length. *Battalia*, which is often called *Bahr*, appears, by some accounts, to be near *Bahr-el-Ghazal*, while others assert that it is part of it. The same accounts of its having once been a river, and of petrified bones being found in it, are generally believed." *

* Lyon, pp. 127, 8. The inhabitants of *Bahr-el-Ghazal* above described, must be the Shouaas of the Dugganah tribe, who gene-

Major Denham was unable to make the circuit of the Lake; but he had a subsequent opportunity of exploring its south-eastern shores, and he seems to have felt convinced, that it has now no outlet towards the East. On the 17th of June, he left Angornou with a *ghrazzie* despatched by the Sheikh against some of the Begharmi Shouaas. On the 24th, the army crossed the Shary at Showy. It had then little less water than when he crossed it six months before. At noon the next day, they arrived at Lake Hameese, which is part of the *Tchad*. A little to the northward of the road, at the head of this lake, are some very curious rocks of red granite, standing on an immense plain, at a great distance from any mountain of a corresponding structure. One is of a conical form; it is called *Kou Abdallah*, and stands at the distance of about 300 yards from the three others, which are connected: these three are called *Hajer Teous* by the Bornouese, and by the Shouaas, *Bete Nibbe Mohammed* (the house of the prophet Mohammed.)* The intervening space is covered with loose fragments of rock of various sizes. The next two days'

rally pass one part of the year there, and the other part by Lake Fittre. The chief of this tribe told Major Denham, that he had heard his grandfather, when he was a boy, say, that the *Bahr-el-Ghazal* gradually wasted itself in an immense swamp or lake, the whole of which was now dried up. "Sidi Barca, a holy man, was killed by the Biddomahs at the mouth of this river; and from that moment, the *Bahr-el-Ghazal* began to dry, and the water ceased to flow." A Borgoo Tibboo at Mourzouk stated, that his grandfather had told him, the *Bahr-el-Ghazal* was once a day's journey broad.—Denham, vol. ii. p. 65.

* A Dugganah Shouaa told Major Denham, that the highest of these rocks was the spot where Noah first placed his foot on leaving the ark, and that it was therefore called his foot-stool or resting-place. This was the first time he had heard any of the natives refer to the Arab legend respecting Bornou, as deriving its name from Noah's having first touched ground there.

route towards Maou, the capital of Kanem, wound amid the swamps which border upon the Tchad, crossing various branches of the lake, which in this part leaves many islands, that afford to the Biddomahs and Shouaas strong positions, from which they are not easily dislodged. In attacking a chieftain who had strongly posted himself behind one of these waters, the Sheikh's troops were overthrown with great slaughter. This disaster put an end to the *ghrazzie*, and Major Denham was obliged to return. He was then close to a place called Tangalia, less than twenty miles from the *Bahr-el-Ghazal*. He afterwards fell in with the troops at Woodie, returning from Kanem, having made the complete tour of the lake. This was the fourth time, Barca Gana told him, that he had encompassed it with an army of cavalry, and the passage of a river or running stream could never have escaped his observation. He had each time encamped in the *Bahr-el-Ghazal*.

In returning to Fezzan, Major Denham made an attempt to penetrate to the eastern shores of the Tchad from Lari; and he advanced as far as fifty miles along the northern side, till it began to sweep off towards the S. E. On this side also, the country is quite a flat; and for many miles, there is one continued marsh or swamp. The character of the country in other respects is different. The surface was for the most part covered with a plant resembling a heath, which our Traveller had seen no where else; and in many places, he observed incrustations of *trona*. In wading through the marshes at the north-eastern extremity of the lake, where the reeds and high grass overtopped the heads of the horsemen, they disturbed hippopotami, buffaloes, enormous fish, and myriads of

insects.* At the commencement of the water, it had a taste of *trona*; but, as they advanced, it became gradually sweeter. "Indeed," he remarks, "all the people say, when you ask if this water, so strong of trona, is the lake, *La! la! inki kora kora kitchi engob-boo tilboo baco.*—No! no! the water of the great lake is very sweet, no trona." During the whole time that our Traveller was encamped near Tangalia, he drank the lake water, and found it sweet and extremely palatable.

But since the water of the lake is fresh, it seems impossible that, with the constant pouring in of the Shary and the Yeou, there should be no other escape for the waters than by evaporation; for, in that case, the lake would assuredly be salt. Besides which, if it had once an outlet, we must suppose, either that less water now flows into the lake, in consequence of which the lake has so contracted itself as to be confined to a lower level than the bed of the *Baher el Ghazal*; or it must have found some other channel. If we adopt the former explanation, and refer the drying up of the channel to the diminution of the lake, (and its inundations, Major Denham says, are thought to be gradually decreasing, though imperceptibly,) then we must conclude, that some portion of the streams by which it was formerly fed, have been diverted from their original course; and the *easterly* branch of the Shary (supposing Major Denham's information to be correct) may be the channel through which a greater propor-

* The buzz of the insects is described as resembling the singing of birds. "The men and horses groaned with anguish, and the legs and necks of the animals were covered with blood." Some relief was obtained by occasionally lighting a line of fires with wet grass to windward of the tents, the smoke carrying off millions.

tion of water now finds its way. It remains a question, however, whether this branch be not tributary to the Shary, instead of affording an outlet for its waters. Captain Clapperton was informed at Saccatoo, by a *hajji* who had recently returned from Mecca by way of Sennaar,* that "the Shary above Loggun, is only about four feet deep in summer, before it is joined by the river *Asha*, which comes from the S. E. through Baghermi, and *falls into* the Shary above Loggun." On the other hand, it is not a little remarkable that an idea should extensively prevail, that the Shary itself flows out of the Tchad.† And Captain Lyon was told, that beyond the Tchad, a large river, called the Gambarroo, runs through Baghermi, of course towards the *E.* Supposing this to be a branch of the Shary, it is easy to imagine, that the waters may gradually have widened or deepened their more direct channel towards the Lake Fittre, so as to discharge less water into the Tchad. But it would still remain to be accounted for, by what means the latter lake preserves its freshness, and throws off the water constantly pouring in from the west and south.

Major Denham mentions a report prevailing among the Shouaas, "that from a mountain S. E. of Waday, called Tama, issues a stream which flows near Dar Foor, and forms the *Bahr el Abiad;* and that this water is the lake Tchad, which is driven by the eddies and whirlpools of the centre of the lake into subterranean passages; and after a course of many miles

* His route was from Kano to Adamowa, Baghermi, Runza, Kaffins, Darfoor, and Kordofan. Clapperton, p. 230. Sultan Bello told Clapperton, that, in going from Soudan to Darfoor and Egypt, he would necessarily enter the Bornou territory in passing from Adamowa to Loggun.

† Clapperton, p. 297.

under ground, its progress being arrested by rocks of granite, it rises between two hills, and pursues its way eastward."* *Jebel Tama* is, according to Browne, a mountain in Borgoo (or Mobba), two days N. of Wara, the capital, and consequently to the N. E. of Beghar mi. Little stress can be laid, in general, upon the vague stories of underground rivers; nor does the physical character of the country favour the idea of a subterranean channel, such phenomena being usually found in mountainous tracts of calcareous formation.† The coincidence of the belief, however, with the account of the Niger given by Pliny, as frequently disappearing under ground, entitles it to some attention. The circumstance too of there being numerous islands in the eastern part of Lake Tchad, is not undeserving of notice, since they are, probably, like the rocks near the head of Lake Hameese, masses of granite, rising considerably above the bed of the waters; and in a flat country of alluvial formation, like Bornou,‡ it seems difficult to account for the protrusion of these massive blocks, otherwise than by referring them to

* Denham, vol. ii. p. 70. Horneman was informed that, "northward from Bornoo, there is a river which disappears among the mountains, and is said to rush into the earth."

† One of the supposed sources of the Eurotas and the Alpheus, is a lake which has no visible outlet; and the latter river is especially celebrated in classic fable for repeatedly descending into the earth.—See MOD. TRAV. Greece, vol. ii. p. 28. The fresh-water lakes of Atitan and Metapa in Guatimala, are both supposed to discharge their waters by subterranean channels.—MOD. TRAV. Mexico, &c. vol. ii. pp. 212, 260. The *bahr tâht el erd*, or underground river in the Zaab (see p. 291. of our first volume), is, perhaps, a phenomenon of similar character.

‡ Between Beer Kashifery, on the borders of the Great Desert, and Haussa, Captain Clapperton says, they had not met with any rocks or even pebbles, "the very channels of the rivers being destitute of stones, and the whole country consisting of soft alluvial clay."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 259.

some physical convulsion which has upheaved them above the incumbent soil. These islands are said to be numerous, but two only appear to be considerable, which are called *Koorie* and *Sayah*. They all lie together in a groupe, and are probably so many summits of one common rocky elevation. Their inhabitants have a language of their own, although resembling that of Kanem. They are said to have nearly a thousand canoes. Their arms are spears and shields, and they fight, like true pirates, with all the surrounding nations, Bornouese, Begharmese, and the people of Waday. It may seem a romantic supposition, that there can be the slightest connexion between these islands and a subterranean channel for the waters of the lake; but eddies and whirlpools, if they really exist, would strongly countenance the idea said to prevail. That some such outlet exists, we are almost forced to conclude by the necessity of the case: the River of Gazelles, which once flowed out of the lake, has disappeared, leaving a dry channel; and yet, the waters of the Yeou and the Shary are still poured into this mysterious receptacle.

Against this hypothesis, however, there seems to lie a formidable objection, drawn from the low level which has been, on conjecture, assigned to the Tchad, as "evidently the sink of North Africa."* Let it be considered, however, in the first place, that, as this lake had clearly an outlet formerly, the basin of the Tchad cannot be so low as has been imagined. Secondly, although the Showy branch of the Shary takes a course nearly northerly, and the ground must therefore decline in that direction, it is clear from the general course of the rivers of Soudan, that the main inclination of the surface is towards the east, and that this is the course ultimately taken by all the waters.

* Quart. Rev. No. lviii. p. 522.

It is observable, that the fords over the Shary were found to slant towards the east; and when all the streams which fall into the Tchad are impassable, and the marshes are inundated, that part of Kanem which borders on Lake Tchad to the north, is above the level of the waters. So that the Tchad would seem to be the highest part, as it is the northernmost, of the great "sink" of waters.

Our information respecting the country to the east of Major Denham's track, is extremely vague and imperfect. Begharmi, by which Bornou is bounded on the south-east, appears to comprehend a very large region of fertile country, extending eastward to Dar Foor. Waday and Borgoo both seem to be either subdivisions of Begharmi, or a continuation of the same country northward and eastward. "The inhabitants of Wa-da-i and Baghar-mee," says the Arabian Author of the account of Takroor, "are nearly of the same description. Baghar-mee, however, is now desolated. The cause of its ruin was, as they say, the misconduct of her king, who having increased in licentiousness to such a frightful degree as even to marry his own daughter, God Almighty caused Saboon, the Prince of Wa-da-i, to march against him and destroy him, laying waste at the same time all his country, and leaving the houses uninhabited, as a signal chastisement for his impiety.* These provinces are bounded on the

* A different version of apparently the same story is given by Malte Brun, on the authority of Hassan, an inhabitant of Mobba. This sultan of Baghirmah is represented as a dependent upon the Emperor of Bornoo, who, upon hearing that he had married, not his daughter, but his sister, required him instantly to relinquish the incestuous connexion. Upon his refusal, he is said to have ordered the vassal Sultan of Mobba to invade the territory of Baghirmah; a commission which he successfully executed, and having vanquished the rebellious tributary, sent him prisoner to Mobba.

north by deserts and dry sands, which, in the spring only, are frequented by herdsmen ;* and on the south, by a great many countries inhabited by various tribes of *soodan* (blacks), each of whom speak a different language, and among whom Islamism is not much spread."† Begharmi (as Major Denham writes the word) must have recovered from this inroad, since it had maintained with Sheikh Alameen, during eight years, a very desperate and sanguinary war with an almost equal share of success. The Sheikh, although meeting with some reverses, (and on one occasion, he lost his eldest son in these wars,) was said to have destroyed and led into slavery, from first to last, more than 30,000 of the Sultan of Begharmi's subjects, besides burning his towns, and driving off his flocks. But various anecdotes were related to Major Denham, illustrating the unconquerable intrepidity of the Begharmese; and the terror spread by the report of their approach, sufficiently attests their warlike and

" Hassan did not know the subsequent fate of that prince, but the Baghirmah country had for five years been attached to the territories of Mobba."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 262.

* These deserts must be the Tibboo country. From Tegerry to Kanem, Captain Lyon says, is twenty days S. by E. " Many of the *kaffilas* pass over the countries of the Tibboo, and through the desert of Bilma, whence they enter on the borders of Bornoo."—Lyon, p. 130.

† Denham, vol. ii. p. 445. " The Sheikh El Kanemy," says this Traveller, " had, on former expeditions, laid waste the whole country (of Begharmi), each time driving the sultan from Kernuk, or the capital. On the last occasion, he had destroyed by fire, the towns which the natives had deserted, and had remained nearly three months in the country. The sultan, with all his family and slaves, had, as before, retired to the other side of a large river to the south of his dominions, inhabited by Kaffirs, or savages; but who nevertheless always afforded him shelter and protection. This people were described as exceeding the sands of the desert in number; and they had now accompanied him to revenge himself on the Sheikh of Bornou."—Denham, vol. i. p. 222.

formidable character. At the time that our Traveller left Kouka, the fury of the war had not in the least abated. No males were spared on either side, except on terms of ignominious bondage. The Sultan of Bornou had more than 200 Begharmese youths under twenty, as officers of his harem;* while the Sultan of Begharmi, who is said to have nearly a thousand wives, had treble that number of unfortunate Bornouese and Kanemboo eunuchs, chosen out of the most healthy young men who had fallen into his hands as prisoners, and spared from the general massacre for the purpose of serving him in that capacity. Kanem, "the most persecuted and unfortunate of negro countries," had long been an object of contention between the Waday Regent† and the Sheikh; no *kafila* had for five years passed between Bornou and Waday; and open hostilities had recently commenced. The unfortunate inhabitants, exposed to be pillaged alternately by the Fezzanners,‡ the Tuaricks, the Tibboo, and the Waday

* "Even the moral, and in many respects amiable Sheikh had more than thirty Begharmi lads thus qualified to enter the apartments of his wives and princesses." Denham, vol. i. p. 455.

† The reigning sultan of Wara, in 1820, was an infant, the son of "the good sultan Sabon," who must be the prince referred to in the MS. account of Takroor. Since his death, no intercourse with Waday had been attempted from Bornou, or even from Fezzan. Of the last *kafila* from Mourzouk, every person had been treacherously murdered, except one who ultimately escaped, and from whom Major Denham had the recital at Kouka. Two Arabs, who had formerly been in Waday, refused to accompany Major Denham thither, although he offered them 200 dollars each. "No! no!" they said; "what is money without life? the Waday people will kill us all."—Denham, vol. i. p. 456.

‡ "On Mukni's last excursion in that direction," Captain Lyon says, "he made an attack on the defenceless people of Kanem, Moslem as well as Kaffir; and having first burned their town, pursued them to the banks of the river Yaoo···the number of captives made on that day, amounted to 1800. Of these, three hundred were massacred in cold blood, it being found impossible to

people, sought in vain efficient protection from either of the contending parties. The country was, in consequence, becoming abandoned, and the villages deserted; part of the population taking refuge in Waday, and part within the dominions of the Sheikh.* The people of Lòggun had maintained, during the whole of these wars, a neutral policy; and though at the cost, sometimes, of great sacrifices, had been able to make their territory respected. They may be considered, however, as belonging to the Begharmi race.

The capital of Begharmi, according to Horneman's authorities, is called Mesna, situated near a large river, which is, however, considerable only in the rainy reason. He represents the country as then dependent on Bornou, and famous for its slave-trade.† At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the residence of the Begharmi sultan was at Karnah, situated,

transport them across the desert, and few ever reached Fezzan." Shiekh Alameen, who was at that time residing at Maoo, the capital of Kanem, fifteen days N. N. E. of Birnie, was fortunate enough to make his escape to Birnie, many of his family having fallen sacrifices to Mukni's barbarity."—Lyon, pp. 129, 130. While Major Denham was at Kouka, the Wadays took possession of Maoo, and drove out the Sheikh's friends.—Denham, vol. ii. p. 61.

* To the E. of Lari, on the borders of the Tchad, are the *Kanemboo* towns of Zogany, Garouah, Mabah, and Kuskoua. Major Denham did not reach the last named, but he describes the others as "full of people; and though annually pillaged by Tuaricks and Tibboo Arabs, yet, still they will not quit their native soil." One would think that the insects which swarm in this part, would have prevented its being inhabited by choice.

† Horneman, pp. 114, 118. Bornou was represented to him as, at that time, the most powerful kingdom in the Interior of Africa. All the petty sultans of Haussa (viz. the kings of Kashna, Daura, Keeno, Sofau, Noro, Nyffee, Gaauri, Cabi, and Guber,) as well as the sultans of Kanem and Begarmé, were tributary to the Bornouese Emperer. The next powerful monarch was the Tuarick sultan of Asben, who resided at Agades, to whom some of the Housa sultans were also tributary.

according to the accounts collected by Father Sicard, on the *Bahr el Ghazal*.* Major Denham mentions *Kernuk* as the capital of Begharmi, but does not describe its situation. Borgomanda is given as the title of the reigning sultan; and Ibrahim Borgomanda is mentioned as the dethroned sultan of Begharmi. But in another place, "the chiefs of Borgomanda" are spoken of, as if that was the name of the country.† Borgoo (or Bergoo) is, in fact, the name given to several distinct tracts, and is, probably, a descriptive term.‡ It is applied to the Tibboo country, to the north of Kanem and Waday, and is also one of the names employed to designate the country between Dar Foor and Begharmi. "To the west of Dar Foor," Malte Brun says, "is a country which the natives call *Mobba*, the Arabs, *Bar Sheleh*, and the Foorians, *Dar Bergoo*; known to us from the reports of two natives, who agree on most of the facts. There are no rivers, properly so called, says one of the native reporters, but rain-torrents, which, when dried up, leave considerable lakes or fens. The largest of these torrents is between Mobba and Baghirmah, and is called *Bahr el Zafal*.

* Malte Brun, vol. iv. 262. This city of *Karneh*, however, is made to be the capital of Bornou; and Malte Brun supposes, that the sultan of Baghirmah might then rule over the adjoining countries, including Bornou. But if we knew the meaning of these names, we should probably find that no stress could be laid on them as local designations. Karneh is doubtless the same word as Kernuk. If we may suppose that the capital of the Begharmi Sultan was then in the Loggun territory, the river alluded to will be the Shary. If it stood on the *Bahr el Gazel*, this would lead us to conclude that the latter had not then become dry. But Kernuk, like Birnie, and perhaps Wara, appears to signify the capital city; and different places would therefore receive these appellations in the respective dialects.

† Denham, vol. ii. pp. 10, 183; vol. i. 407.

‡ There is a kingdom of Borgoo to the west of Boussa in Soudan, which will be described hereafter.

The other native says, that, at three days W. from Wara, the capital, there is a large river running from S. to N., broader than the Nile, and, like that river, subject to periodical inundations: it is called, in the Mobba language, *Engy* (water).* The Mobba country produces soda, which is exported to Cairo, and rock salt of various colours. Two sorts of iron are found in the beds of the torrents; one in the form of sand, the other in that of lumps, from which knives and needles are manufactured. There are no other metals. The country is covered with trees, among which are different sorts of sycamores, palms, and the *acacia vera*. All kinds of poultry are found here, as well as pigeons and wild geese, and there are plenty of horses, dogs, cats, buffaloes, and gazelles. The large ponds left by the rains, harbour numbers of crocodiles. The rainy season lasts seven or eight months. The chief culture is that of *dhoura* and rice; there is neither wheat nor barley, nor pulse. Cotton is abundant, and the gum-bearing shrubs are numerous. Most of the inhabitants are Mohammedan negroes, some of whom have learned to read and write Arabic. The women go unveiled. The arms of these negroes consist of sabres, lances, bows and arrows, and bucklers; they have a few muskets, which, as well as lead, gunpowder, and cuirasses, come from Cairo." Wara, the capital, is described as thrice as large as Boolak in Egypt. It contains many earthen houses; but in the neighbourhood, conical huts, made of reeds and canes, are the only habitations. The sultan's palace, however, is an immense brick building, and contains the only mosque belonging to the place, which is kept constantly lighted with lamps. †

* *Ankee*, which signifies water in the Bornouese language, is doubtless the same word.

† Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 260.

Mr. Browne's account of this country is as follows. "Bergoo is said to be fifteen days in extent from E. to W., and from N. to S. twenty days. The people are remarkable for their zealous attachment to the faith, and read the Koran daily. Within about a day's journey from Wara, are said to be eight large mountains, the inhabitants of each of which use a different language. They are Mohammedans, and are said to be brave, furnishing the armies of the Sultan of Bergoo with recruits as often as required. (Bagarme has many troops; but Bergoo is esteemed the strongest.) One of the mountains, called *Kergna*, is situated S. E. Another, to the W., is inhabited by a people called *Wullad Mazé*. *Gebel Mimi*, N.; *Gebel Absenún*, E.; *Gebel Abdurrug*, E. Other mountains of Bergoo, are *Gebel Tama*, N.; *Gebel Kashimirié*, W.; *Gebel Abuhadid*, E.; each of them two days from Wara. Three days W. of Wara is the *Bahr Misselád*." *

Mr. Horneman evidently refers to the same tract of country under the name of Waday; a name which Mr. Browne does not appear to have heard of, and which is applied by Captain Lyon and Major Denham to the country bordering eastward upon Kanem. "Towards the S.E. of Lake Fiddri," says Mr. Horneman, "lies *Metho*, a small, independent district in a mountainous country. Eastward lies Wadey, which formerly consisted of several small states, but was conquered by the Arabs, who united them in one realm.....A great part of the people, together with

* Browne, p. 468. *Dar Misselad* is stated (at p. 464) to be two days and a half S.W. of Wara. Captain Lyon was informed, that the slaves brought to Fezzan from Waday, are procured from Kooka (or Kaugha), Kola, Tama, Runga, and various petty states in the vicinity.—Lyon, p. 231.

their king, are Arabs. The principal language is Arabic, but above ten other languages are spoken in the district. Wandering Arabs occupy the space from Wadey to Begarmé northward. Eastward from Wadey lies Darfoor, whence flows a river, the banks of which are very rich in sugar-canes: it runs through Wadey, and falls into the Lake Fiddri." * There can be little doubt that this river is the Misselad; and the country through which it flows, must be the Bergoo of Browne, and the Mobba of the natives. It is observable, that Wara is the name of the capital both of Mobba and of the Waday of Major Denham; but whether the same place is intended, it is not easy to determine. *Jebel Tama*, which Browne makes to be two days N. of Wara, is mentioned by Major Denham as being to the S.E. of Waday. Little reliance, however, can be placed upon the bearings as given by the natives.

The true situation and extent of Lake Fittre, are points of no small importance in clearing up the geography of this part of Central Africa; and they are involved, by the conflicting reports, in much obscurity. Horneman's account is very confused, and, as to the bearings, singularly erroneous; but it is almost the only one we have. "Southward from Bornoo," he says, "lie *Margi* † and *Couga*; westward, *Ungura* (*Wangara*): they are under the dominion of governors appointed by the Sultan. Towards east by north, lies *Lussi* (or *Luffé*), by the natives called *Fiddri*, and by the people who dwell eastward, *Couga*. The dominions of the Sultan of Fiddri are situated round a lake which bears the same name.

* Horneman, pp. 114, 115.

† A mistake, perhaps, for *Masgi*, by which Musgow may be intended.

This realm was formerly one of the most powerful: now it is considerably diminished by the treachery of the Sultans of Begarme and Wadey. The natives live in small huts, which they prefer to houses: they are said to be in a very low degree of civilization."* Couga is, doubtless, the Kauga of Edrisi, which he describes as a country and city near a large lake of fresh water, thirty journeys westward from Dongola, and thirty-six eastward of Gana. He reckons it as a part of Wangara, although some, he says, consider it as belonging to Kanem. † Browne mentions the same country (in his Itinerary of the route from Wara to *Bahr-el-Gazelle*) under the name of *Dar Cooka*, which he makes to be three days and a half S.E. from Lake Fittre, and about ten days W. of Wara.‡ At two days from Cooka, in the route to the lake, is *Muddago*, in which district, he says, are Mohammedans, who are governed by a petty prince under the King of Bergoo. This is, perhaps, the Metho of Horneman. Captain Lyon was informed, that Muddago is the name of some very high mountains of black stone; but it is also, probably, that of a hilly district of some extent. It is impossible, how-

* Horneman, p. 114. There is no salt, it is added, in their country; but they procure a substitute in a singular manner, by washing the ashes of *gussob*-straw, and boiling the water till the salt thus obtained settles.

† Edrisi in Horneman, pp. 166, 168.

‡ "From *Wara* to *Nimr* (the chief residence of the merchants), a quarter of a day. From *Nimr* to *Battah* (situated on a small river flowing from the S., and then westward to fall into the *Bahr-el-Fittre*), two days. From *Battah* to *Dirota*, one day. From *Dirota* to *Dar Hummar* (Red country?) half a day; road, clayey soil. From *Dar Hummar* to *Coseiát*, one day. From *Coseiát* to *Shungeiát* one day. (Two towns of idolaters.) From *Shungeiát* to *Dar Dajeou*, one day. From *Dar Dajeou* to *Dar Cooka*, three days. From *Cooka* to *Muddago*, two days. From *Muddago* to *Bahr-el-Fittre*, one day and a half."—Browne, 464, 5.

ever, to reconcile the bearings and distances given by the latter Traveller, with the itinerary of the route from Dar Foor, without supposing that Muddago is to the W. or S.W. of Lake Fittre; in which case, the route from Bergoo must describe a considerable circuit to the south-west, before it turns north-eastward to Lake Fittre.* And for this, the mountainous country which intervenes, would satisfactorily account. The supposition is strengthened too, by the fact, that while the waters of Dar Foor appear to run westward in the first instance, they ultimately flow towards the east. Kauga (or Kooka) must be, as every account agrees in placing it, considerably to the south of Bornou and Begharmi; whereas, Fittre, according to Major Denham's information, is situated to the N.E. of Showy: at least, the route of the expedition was in that direction. The Dagganah Sheikh told this Traveller, that Lake Fittre was four days distant from the Tchad; and that, to reach it, they must pass a high country with only two wells on the road. Horneman too, we have seen, places Fiddre E. by N. from Bornoo, although his meaning is not very clear; and from Edrisi's account, it must border upon Kanem. We are, therefore, led to suppose, that Couga is a *kerdy* country bordering upon the lake to the southward; that Fittre is a Mohammedan state, situated on the opposite extremity, and

* Captain Lyon gives the following information on the authority of a Maraboot of Gatrone. "From Wara to Fittre, five or six days S. From Wara to Muddago, five days S.W. From Wara to *Buhr-el-Ghazal*, seven days N.W. From Wara to Kaugha, six, seven, or eight days S.W."—Lyon, p. 231. The informant had never seen Lake Fittre, however, and knew little more about it, than that it is a large lake, full of fish, which is dried and salted, and sent to great distances for sale. Still, as to the general direction and comparative distances, he was not likely to be mistaken.

to the N. E. of Begharmi; and that the mountainous district, called Muddago, stretches along the western and south-western border of the lake. This hypothesis, like so many previous ones, may be speedily disproved by more accurate information; but it is offered, after much tedious and unprofitable investigation, as the best explanation, in the present state of our knowledge, of the conflicting statements referred to. "The people on the banks of the *Bahr el Fittre*," Mr. Browne says, "are called *Abusemmin*, and are Mohammedans. They use little boats for the purpose of passing from one place to another on the river."* He was not aware that it was a lake.

But where is the outlet of Lake Fittre, and what is its course? It is clear, we think, that whatever becomes of the waters of the Tchad, those of the *Bahr el Fittre* flow, not *from*, but towards Dar Foor, according to the unanimous testimony of the natives. "Major Denham was told by an Arab Sheikh, that a branch of the Shary, called the *Bahr el Dago*, goes into the Nile; that it receives additional supplies from Lake Fittri, twelve days' journey from those mouths of the Shary which flow into the *Tsaad* (or *Tchad*); and that it then takes a course to the south-eastward, till, as before, it reaches the Nile. He was further informed by the Sheikh, of some Mourzouk merchants having spread a report, that it was the intention of the

* Browne, p. 465.—From *Bahr el Fittre* to *Bahr el Gazelle*, he adds, it is a distance of two days N.W.; the road a deep sand, with no trees. That the latter is considerably N. W. of Fittre, appears from Captain Lyon's information; and five days N. W. of *Bahr el Gazelle*, he tells us, is *Bahr Battali*, the bed of an immense stream, containing, in like manner, large skeletons of fish and animals and trunks of trees. It is, apparently, a continuation of the former. The direction, however, of the Bahr el Gazelle is said to be nearly N. E. and S. W.—Lyon, pp. 127, 231. Could its waters have reached Lake Fittre? If not, what became of them?

English to come up that river (*El Dago*) from Misr (Egypt), with ships as large as elephants, loaded with guns and gunpowder."* The name of this river leads us to suppose, that it must flow through the country of *Mundago*, and consequently through Kouga. Now, precisely in this direction, Mr. Browne has laid down in his map, a chain of lakes and streams, extending in a S.W. direction, as low as about the ninth parallel of latitude, where they communicate with the large river called *Bahr Kulla*,† flowing apparently towards the east, and if so, "running past Dar Foor," as Captain Lyon was told the *Tsad* actually does. At this point, our maps exhibit a blank which can be supplied only by conjecture. Nearly, however, in the same parallel, at the distance of some hundred miles eastward, the *Bahr el Ada*, according to this same Traveller, is found flowing towards the S. E., to join the *Bahr el Abiad*. This junction is said to take place eight days to the S. of *Hellet Allais*, where the high road from Kordofan

* Quart. Review, No. lviii. p. 522. As we do not find these expressions in Major Denham's work, we presume that they are cited from his papers. The injurious reports spread by the traders, are referred to at vol. i. p. 221; but no mention is made of the route by which the white people were expected to come and take the country: only, that the Travellers were to build ships, embark on the lake, and so return to their own country.

† "The road from Wara to Dar Kulla," Mr. Browne observes, "exhibits a remarkable concidence as to the number of rivers and lakes that it passes, with that part of Major Rennell's last general map of Northern Africa, which forms what he considers as the *alluvies* of that portion of the continent, though it is neither in the same latitude nor longitude. Of these various streams, little description can be obtained. The country they flow through is said to be, great part of the year, wet and marshy; the heat is excessive, and the people remark that there is no winter. The course of the rivers, if rightly given, is, for the most part, from E. to W."—Browne, p. 449. But whichever be the direction of the subordinate streams, (and they probably flow in all directions towards the main channel,) the line of the basin or chain of waters is from N. to S.;

to Sennaar crosses the White River. We have only to suppose, then, what seems in the highest degree probable, that the *Bahr Kulla* and the *Bahr Ada* are the same river, or at least connected with each other, to have the communication complete between Lake Fittre and the *Bahr el Abiad;* or, in other words, between the Niger and the Nile. The extraordinary interest attaching to this geographical problem, will, it is hoped, furnish an apology for the length of the disquisition.

Of Hellet Allais, the ferry above-mentioned, Mr. Browne gives the following account.

"Hellet Allais is situated on the W. of the river. The river (*Bahr el Abiad*) is here of such breadth, that the features of a person standing on the other side cannot be distinguished, but the human voice is heard. A number of trees is seen here to the W. of the river, not to the E. Hellet Allais is altogether built of clay. A large palm-tree grows in the middle of the town. On the eastern side of the river is *Shillûk*, not far removed from it, being reported to be within sight of Allais. *Shillûk* is a town of idolaters: it is built with clay. The inhabitants have no other clothing than bands of long grass, which they pass round the waist. They are all black. Both sexes are accustomed to shave their heads. The people of Shillûk have the dominion of the river, and take toll of all passengers in such articles of traffic as pass among them. The name *Shillûk* is not Arabic, and its meaning is unknown. They are represented as shewing hospitality to such as come among them in a peaceable manner, and as never betraying those to whom they have once accorded protection." *

* Browne, pp. 452. 3. We have already adverted to the probability that these Shillooks may be of the same race as the Tuaricks. See p. 174 of the present volume.

DAR FOOR.

Dar Foor (the country of Foor) was scarcely known to Europeans even by name, when Mr. W. G. Browne (the Traveller to whom we have had so repeated occasion to refer), urged by the spirit of adventure, attempted to penetrate from Egypt by that route into the Interior. On the 28th of May, 1793, he set out with the Soudan caravan from Siout, in the assumed character of a merchant. The route led through the Thebaic Oasis;* on leaving which, they entered upon a desert extending to the very confines of Foor, which they did not reach till the 23rd of July, the thirty-eighth day from Mughess, the last village in the Oasis. A few brackish wells alone occurred during this tedious journey.† At Sweini, the frontier town of Foor, Mr. Browne was detained for more than a week, awaiting the Sultan's permission to proceed; and it was not till the 7th of August, that he reached Cobbeh, the chief residence of the merchants, situated in latitude 14° 11′ N., longitude 28° 8′ E. This was the furthest point to which he was permitted to penetrate; and during a forced residence of three years, he appears to have scarcely left the immediate neighbourhood of the city. The suspicions treacherously infused into the mind of the Sultan by the Egyptian whom Mr. Browne had hired as broker, occasioned the ill-treatment he met with; and he appears to have narrowly

* See, for the route from Siout to the Oasis, Mod. Trav., Egypt, vol. ii. p. 220.

† Mughess is in latitude 25° 18′, longitude 29° 34′; Sweini, in latitude 14° 50′, longitude 28° 30′. The direct distance, therefore, from the Oasis to Foor, must be nearly 300 miles S.W. by S. The only watering-places are, Sheb, at five days from Mughess; Selimé, two days further; Leghea, five days from Selimé; and Bir-el-Malha, six days more.

escaped being assassinated. All his applications for permission to proceed either to Bergoo or to Sennaar, were unsuccessful. It was, indeed, represented to him by the officer who presided over the foreign merchants, that both routes were equally impracticable; the former, from the jealousy which subsisted between Bergóo and Foor, and the latter, from the disturbed state of Kordofan. To return to Egypt was equally difficult, as the Sultan detained the caravans, while he attempted to negotiate with the Beys of Egypt the monopoly of the Soudan trade. His resources of subsistence were almost exhausted, when, at the intercession of the merchants, he was allowed to join the caravan which at length obtained the Sultan's permission to set out for Siout, where he arrived in the summer of 1796. To his inquiries, instituted under these disadvantages, we are indebted for the principal information we possess relative to this Mohammedan kingdom.

Foor is bounded by Bergoo on the N.W., by the Desert on the N., eastward by Kordofan, (part of which had recently been subdued,) and southward by various petty negro kingdoms. It extends from about the 15th to the 11th parallel of north latitude, and lies chiefly between the meridians of 26° and 29° E. The country rises towards the south, and a chain of mountains extends along the eastern frontier. The surface of the country appears to be in fact highly diversified. In that part where Mr. Browne resided, there are neither lakes, rivers, nor marshes, and the only water is obtained from wells; but when the rains commence, which last from the middle of June till the middle of September, the dry, sandy soil is soon converted into green fields covered with luxuriant vegetation, and torrents of greater or smaller volume intersect the

country in all directions. Water, however, abounds throughout the year in the southern districts.* At the beginning of the *harif* or wet season, the Sultan goes out with his *meleks* (governors) and the rest of his train, and while the people are employed in turning up the ground, and sowing the seed, he makes several holes with his own hand.† The crop of millet is harvested in the course of two months; wheat requires three, and is little cultivated; rice grows spontaneously, and is little valued, though of superior quality. Maize, sesame, beans, and legumes are also raised in considerable quantities. There are several species of trees, but the tamarind alone is valuable for its fruit, or attains any considerable size.‡ The date-palm is found here, but does not appear to be indigenous, as it bears only a small and tasteless fruit. Tobacco seems to grow wild in some parts. The domestic animals are, the camel, the sheep, the goat, and horned cattle, which are numerous. A kind of cheese is made in some parts of the country. The horse and the ass are imported from Egypt and Nubia. The wild animals are the lion, the leopard, the hyena,

* "Darfoor is watered by the *Bahr Attaba*, which is said to flow into the Nile, and is navigated by small craft."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 257. The *Ada* is probably meant, which falls, not into the Misselad, but into the *Bahr-el-Abiad*.

† "The same custom, it is said, obtains in Bornou and other countries in this part of Africa. It calls to mind a practice of the Egyptian kings, mentioned by Herodotus."—Browne, p. 284. A similar ceremonial attends "the opening of the ground" in China, which is performed by the Emperor in person.—See MOD. TRAV., Persia, &c., vol. ii. p. 291.

‡ Among the trees enumerated by Browne are, the *deleib* (oriental plane); the *gimmeiz* (Egyptian sycamore); two species of *nebbek*; the *heglig*, or *hejlij*, another thorny fruit-tree; the *enneb*, bearing a species of grape of strongly astringent taste; and the *shaw*, a shrub resembling the arbutus, with a leaf which has the pungency of mustard.

the wolf, the jackal, the wild boar, the civet-cat, the wild buffalo, the rhinoceros, the elephant, and the *our*, or giraffe. The mountains abound with game. The white ants are very numerous and destructive; and the cochineal insect is frequently met with, but has never been applied to any useful purpose.

Cobbeh, the residence of the principal merchants, and one of the most populous towns, is about two miles in length, but is very narrow; and the houses, each of which occupies a large portion of ground, are divided by a considerable waste. The inhabitants, Mr. Browne thought, could not much exceed 6000 persons, of whom the greater proportion are slaves. The town is built in a plain, and during the rainy season, is surrounded with a torrent. Fronting it, to the east, is a rocky elevation, the resort of hyenas and jackals, which forms part of a ridge running N. and S. for many leagues. The town is supplied with water by wells of indifferent quality. Being full of trees, (chiefly the *heglig* and the *nebbek*,) it has a pleasing appearance at a short distance.

Few, if any of the inhabitants of Cobbeh are natives of Foor, all the respectable residents being merchants and foreigners, who are employed for the most part in trading to Egypt: some of them are natives of that country, but the greater number come from the river. "The latter class," says Mr. Browne, "seem first to have opened the direct communication between Egypt and Fûr. For many years, their native countries, Dongola, Mahas, and all the borders of the Nile as far as Sennaar, have been the scene of devastation and bloodshed, having no settled government, but being continually torn by internal divisions, and harassed by the inroads of the *Shaikié* (*Shêgya*) and other tribes of Arabs who inhabit the

region between the river and the Red Sea.* Such of the natives as were in a condition to support themselves by traffic or by manual labour, in consequence emigrated; and many of them retired to the West. These people, accustomed in their native country to a short and easy communication with Egypt, and impelled by the prospect of immense profit, which a further attempt of the same kind promised them, opened the route which the *jelabs* (merchants) now pursue. Some Egyptians, chiefly from Saïd, a few Tunisines, Tripolines, and others, come and go with the caravans, remaining only long enough to sell their goods. Others have married in Dar Fûr, and are now perfectly naturalized and recognized as subject to the Sultan. The fathers being no more, the children are, in many instances, established in their room, and are engaged in the same occupations. The remainder of them consists of foreigners coming from Dongola, Mahas, Sennaar, and Kordofan, who are generally remarked as indefatigable in commerce, but daring, restless, and seditious, and the offspring of those whose parents have emigrated. The latter are often people of debauched manners, and not remarkable for the same spirit of enterprise. The people first mentioned commonly use among themselves the language of Barabra, though they also speak Arabic. The latter are generally unacquainted with any language but the Arabic. They usually intermarry with each other, or with the Arabs. Both these descriptions of men are easily distinguishable from the natives, being usually of a more olive complexion, and having a form of visage more nearly resembling the European, with short, curly, black hair, but not woolly. They are a well-sized and well-formed people, and have often an

* See Mod. Trav., Egypt, vol. ii. p. 246,

agreeable and expressive countenance, though sometimes indicating violent passions and a mutable temper.* The people of Barabra and Kordofan cannot relinquish their favourite liquor; and as all who drink, persist in drinking till they are completely inebriated, the natural violence of their temper is increased, and gives occasion to continual disputes, which frequently are not decided without blows, and occasionally terminate in bloodshed.

"There are in the town, four or five *mectebs*, where boys are taught to read, and, if they wish it, to write. Such of the *fukkara* (ecclesiastics) as fill the office of lecturer, instruct gratuitously the children of the indigent; but from those who are in easy circumstances, they are accustomed to receive a small remuneration. Two or three lecture on the Koran, and two others on what they call *elm* (theology)." †

At the time of Mr. Browne's arrival, there was only one small mosque, a little square room with walls of clay; but a more spacious one was begun, of the same material, with the sanction of the Sultan. The Foorians are, however, but very indifferent Moslems, and their morals are but little in accordance with their professed creed.‡ Polygamy is practised without any

* See MOD. TRAV., Egypt, vol. ii. pp. 244, 5.

† Browne, pp. 240—244.

‡ The *faquis* or ecclesiastics are of the sect of the Imaum Malek. At the time of Mr. Browne's visit, Islamism had not established itself in Dar Foor more than 150 years. The first Mohammedan sultan is said to have been of the *Dageou* race, which came originally from the north, from the territory of Tunis. The reigning sultan, Abd-el-Rachman, was supposed to be of Moorish origin, having the complexion but not the features of a negro. Soon after his accession, with the ostensible motive of testifying his attachment to the religion of the Prophet, he thought proper to send an embassy to Constantinople, with a present of three picked slaves of each sex. The Ottoman Emperor had never before heard, it is said, of the

limitation, and little or no regard is paid to decency in their unbridled licentiousness. They are extremely prone to inebriation. Like other negro nations, they are unwearied dancers, and each tribe seems to have its appropriate dance. "Such is their fondness for this amusement," says Mr. Browne, "that the slaves dance in fetters to the music of a little drum; and what I have rarely seen in Africa or the East, the time is marked by means of a long stick held by two, while others beat the cadence with short batons. The vices of thieving, lying, and cheating in bargains, with all others nearly or remotely allied to them, are almost universal. No property is safe out of the sight of the owner, nor indeed scarcely in it, unless he be stronger than the thief. In buying and selling, the parent glories in deceiving the son, and the son the parent; and God and the Prophet are hourly invocated to give colour to the most palpable frauds and falsehoods."

In their persons, the Foorians differ from the negroes of Guinea. Their hair is generally short and woolly, though some are seen with it of the length of eight or ten inches, which they esteem a beauty. Their complexion is for the most part perfectly black. In most of the towns, except Cobbeh, the vernacular idiom is in more frequent use than the Arabic; the latter, however, (but of an impure dialect,) is generally understood. The judicial proceed-

Sultan of Dar Foor: but he returned an ornamented sabre, a rich pelisse, and a diamond ring.—Browne, p. 214. The Mohammedism of the Foorian tribes, however, seems to be of a very mongrel kind, and many superstitious practices are still observed. Among others, Mr. Browne was told, at the annual military festival of "the leathering of the drum," the sacrifice of a young boy and girl was still offered; and many idols were worshipped by the women of the Sultan's harem.—*Ib.* p. 305.

ings before the Sultan are conducted in both languages." *

There are some villages at short distances, in various directions, which are dependent on Cobbeh, and increase its apparent population. To the N.E. by N. is *Hellet Hassan*, inhabited altogether by the people of Dongola. The other most noted towns of the kingdom are, Sweini, Ril, Koubcabeia, Kourma, Kours, Shoba, Gidid, and Gellé. Sweini, the frontier town on the north, is the general resort of the merchants trading to Egypt; and a melek, with a small number of troops, is always stationed there to receive them. Provisions are plentiful, and during the time that the caravans remain there, a daily market is held. At other times, it is a place of no importance. There are two other roads leading from the centre of Dar Foor to Egypt, without passing through this place.

Ril, the capital of Foor under the preceding monarch, is the key of the southern and eastern roads, as Koubcabeia is of the west, and Sweini of the north, on which account a governor, with a small body of troops, commonly resides there to guard the frontier, and keep in check the Arabs. The inhabitants are partly natives, but there are also some foreign merchants. It is 3½ days (about 60 miles) S.S.E. from Cobbeh, on the route to Sennaar,† and is well situated, being abundantly supplied with water from a large pool which is never completely dry; with bread from the *Said* or high country; with meat, milk, and butter from the Arabs; and with vegetables from a

* Browne, pp. 291—5.

† From Ril to Ibeit, one of the principal towns of Kordofan, 12 days E. From Ibeit to Hellet Allais 7½ days E. From Shilluk (on the opposite bank of the *Bahr el Abiad*) to the capital of Sennaar, 3½ days.

soil well adapted to horticulture. There is a tenacious clay in the neighbourhood, which, with little preparation, becomes a durable building material.

Koubcabeia, the key of the western road, is a considerable town, and the *depôt* of all the merchandise brought from that quarter. "A market is held there twice a week, in which the chief medium of exchange for articles of small value, is salt, which the inhabitants make by collecting and boiling the earth of those places where horses, asses, and other animals have long been stationary.* This market is celebrated for the quantity of *tokeas* (coarse cotton cloths), and for the manufacture (if such it may be called) of leather sacks for corn, water, and other purposes. The inhabitants are partly Fûrians, who speak their own language, in part Arabs, and partly from some of the Western countries, as Bergoo, &c. There are also some of the race called *Felatîa* (Felatahs), and other descriptions."†

The other towns are of little consideration. Kourma, a small town 12 or 13 miles W. by S. of Cobbeh, is occupied almost entirely by merchants, called the *Jeiâra*, most of whom are born in the Upper Egypt. Kours, a place of little note, five hours and a half N.W. by W. from Cobbeh, is inhabited chiefly by merchants from the river, and by *fukkara*, who affect extraordinary sanctity, and are distinguished by their intolerance and brutal inhospitality. Shobo, two days and a half from Cobbeh, is a place of more note, having been the occasional residence of former sultans; and is well supplied with water. Some *jeîabs* reside here: the rest of the inhabitants are Foorians. There

* See note at p. 280 of this volume.

† Browne, p. 233. From Koubcabeia to Wara, by Dar Misseladin, is 11½ days, the bearing W. and N.W.

are some chalk-pits in the neighbourhood, which have been nearly exhausted for the purpose of adorning the royal residence and some other houses of the great with a kind of white-wash. Gidid, near the road leading from Cobbeh to Ril, is a town of *fukkara*, who bear the same character of inhospitality as those of Kours: there are some merchants here, who derive their origin from the eastward. Gellé was under the galling tyranny of one of the two principal *imaums* of the Sultan, a native of the place, whose avarice left the inhabitants scarcely a mat to lie on. The greater part of the people were either *Corobâti* or *Felatîa*: the *Imaum* was of the latter tribe.

Besides these places, Mr. Browne mentions Heglig, Tini, and Tendelti, as the occasional residence of the reigning sultan, who was perpetually shifting his quarters; but they appear to be places of no consideration. Altogether, the resident population of the whole kingdom could not, Mr. Browne thought, much exceed 200,000 souls.* Numerous hordes of pastoral Arabs, however, wander on the frontiers, (of the tribes of *Mahmid*, *Mahreea*, *Beni Fesara*, *Beni Gerar*, &c.) but these are not in such a state of dependence as to contribute effectually to the strength of the monarch in war, or to his supplies in peace.

* "Possibly, the levies for war may furnish some criterion. The Sultan, for about two years, had been engaged in a very serious war with the usurper of Kordofan. The original levies for this war consisted of about 2000 men. Considerable reinforcements have been sent, which may be supposed to amount to more than half that number. At present, the army does not contain more than 2000, great numbers of them having been taken off by the small-pox and other causes. Even this number is very much missed, and the army is still spoken of as a very large one····The number of villages is considerable, but a few hundred souls form the sum of the largest."—Browne, pp. 284, 5.

Besides these, the kingdom comprehends the inhabitants of various subordinate districts, which are sometimes dependent on the Foorian sultan, sometimes upon the neighbouring powers: as *Dar Rugna*, which is generally subject to the sovereign of Bergoo; *Dar Berti*, (*Bego*, or *Dageou*,) between Foor and Bergoo, inhabited by a distinct tribe whose power formerly predominated over that of the Foorian tribes; and *Zeyhawa*, formerly an independent kingdom, whose chief could command a thousand horse, and the dialect of which differs from that of Foor.

From time immemorial, an inveterate animosity has existed between the Foorians and the Kordofanese, originating, in great measure, in mercantile jealousy; as the country of the latter lies in the route to Sennaar and Suakem, the most direct line of communication with Mekka.* The governors of Kordofan had, till of late years, been deputed by the *Mek* of Sennaar; but, in consequence of the weakness and dissensions of the latter kingdom, the power had been usurped by the Foorian Sultan. A great part of the country, however, still refused to submit, and the eastern route was in consequence entirely interrupted. The language of Kordofan is Arabic.

Among the southern countries, whither the *jelabs* of Foor and Bergoo sometimes journey to procure slaves, is *Dar Kulla*. The chief article they carry

* From Sennaar to Atbara, on the river of the same name, 5 days E. From Atbara to Hallanga, 2 days N. From Hallanga to Suakem, over a mountainous and rocky country, 12 days N.E. Total from Ril to Suakem, 42 days. Another route to the coast is by way of Gondar in Abyssinia, and the greater part of this road is said to be through a fertile country. From Sennaar to the Atbara, 11 days. From the Atbara, crossing Jebel Kussa and Jebel en Narr, to Gondar, 18 days. But this route, as given by Browne, must be very circuitous.

thither, is salt, twelve pounds of which are estimated as the price of a young male slave. A female brings three pounds more. The natives were represented to Mr. Browne as being partly negroes, partly of a red or copper colour. Their language is nasal, but very simple and easy. They are said to worship idols. They are very cleanly, and remarkable for honesty. They have ferry-boats on their river, the *Bahr Kulla*, which are impelled partly by poles, partly by a double oar, like canoes. The trees are very large, canoes being hollowed out of them large enough to contain ten persons. The *kumba* or pimento-tree is found in such abundance, that a *rotal* of copper or a pound of salt will purchase four or five peck.* In this country, the smallest trespass is punished by selling the party or his relations; so that a pretence is never wanting for obtaining slaves for the *jelabs;* but the people of Bergoo make shorter work by their sudden incursions, traversing and laying waste large tracts of country, and carrying off the inhabitants.

Near a place called *Sheibon*, thirteen days S.E. of Ibeit, in a deep glen of clayey soil, much gold is found, both in dust and small pieces. The natives collect the dust in quills of the ostrich or vulture, and sell it in that state to the merchants. The people are all blacks. The slaves, which are brought in great numbers from this quarter, are some prisoners of war, (for their wars are frequent,) some seduced by treachery and sold; but it is said to be a common practice for the father, in time of scarcity, to sell his children.† At Sheibon are some Mohammedans.

* Pimento is very abundant in Benin; and on this circumstance an argument has been built in support of a water communication between the two countries.—See Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 246.

† The statements of the Mohammedan *jelabs* respecting the

The *Mek* of Sennaar used to claim some tribute from the people, but received nothing regularly. Luca, a day and a half W.S.W., is also famous for its gold, which is said to be, as at Sheibon, the only medium of exchange among the inhabitants. This gold country is, perhaps, the Wangara which has hitherto eluded the inquiries of modern explorators.*

Such are the imperfect notices collected by this Traveller, the only European that has hitherto penetrated into Dar Foor. Since that period, the political state of these back countries of African civilization has undergone considerable changes, in consequence of the enterprising genius and sagacious policy of the Ruler of Egypt. Under pretence of putting a stop to the civil wars and disorders to which the countries of the Upper Nile had so long been a prey, he sent an army under his son, Ismael Pasha, in 1820, with orders to reduce the whole of the provinces, to Sennaar inclusive; and both Kordofan and Dar Foor are enumerated among the kingdoms which now acknowledge by a tribute the Conqueror of Egypt and Arabia.† How far civilization has been advanced by their an-

negro nations require to be received with great distrust, as they impute to them all sorts of crimes as an excuse for enslaving them; but there is no doubt that the slave-trade itself is the chief cause of their wars, and of all sorts of atrocity.

* Browne, pp. 461, 2. *Luca* is, perhaps, *Shillook*; and the country seems to be part of the *Dar-el-Abiad* or Shillook country. Major Denham was told, that "all gold countries, as well as any people coming from the gold country, or bringing goroo-nuts, are called Wangara."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 96. By Edrisi, however, and other Mohammedan writers, it is clearly used to denote a particular country,—"an island, 300 miles in length and 150 in breadth, which the Nile surrounds all the year."—See Murray's Disc. in Africa, vol. ii. p. 524. The tract included between the *Bahr-el-Azrek* and the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, is called the Island, and is, in fact, insulated by the Nile.

† See MOD. TRAV., Egypt, vol. i. p. 160.

nexation to the Egyptian empire, does not appear; no change, however, could be much for the worse; and it will probably be from Egypt, by the ancient though long interrupted channel of the head streams of the Nile, that a civilizing commerce, with its attendant blessings, will diffuse itself over this moral wilderness, where hitherto man has seemed to exist in vain.

Having conducted our readers to the point at which our description of the Nilotic countries meets the imperfect account we have of the more central regions of Africa, we must return to Bornou, to explore, with Major Denham and his lamented colleagues, the territories to the east of Kouka, and the route to the metropolis of Soudan.

FROM KOUKA TO KANO.

THE high road to Soudan from the present capital of Bornou, leads by Old Birnie, distant nearly a hundred miles W., on the banks of the Yeou. The intermediate country is, for the most part, uninteresting and flat, the soil alluvial, with not a stone of any kind, but thickly scattered with trees, chiefly of the mimosa tribe, which flourish in uncontrolled luxuriance. The tamarind, the *googooroo* (or *jujube*), and a tree bearing a fruit resembling a medlar, give relief to the landscape. The wild fruits were found palatable; and selecting those on which the monkeys were feeding, the Travellers devoured them fearlessly. These "enchanted men" (*Ben Adam meshood*), as the Arabs call them, were so numerous, that a troop of a hundred and fifty were seen in one place, who received the Travellers with a terrible noise, and gently pelted them when they approached too near. The

river makes several bends and windings; and on the fourth day from Kouka, the Travellers reached the first of a series of lakes, which extend for many miles along the road. That which is called *Muggaby*, or "the lake of the Sultan of Bornou," is nearly three miles long, and full half a mile broad; its depth is very great, and it contains hippopotami in great numbers. The ruins of the old capital extend nearly to the lake. The country in this part is one continued wood, with narrow, winding paths, where the frequent foot-marks of the lion, the hyena, and the jackal warn the Traveller of his dangerous neighbours. Nor are these the only enemies which *kafilas* have to fear: the runaway negroes, who are good bowmen, pick off the leaders from behind the trees, and then plunder the whole party. Straggling bands of Tuaricks also sometimes scour the country about the banks of the river, and carry off whatever suits their purpose. To defend themselves against these cruel marauders, the inhabitants of these wilds dig very deep, circular holes, large enough to receive a *maherry* and his rider, at the bottom of which are placed six or eight sharp stakes, and over the top, the grass is laid so artfully as to render it impossible to discover the deception. Dr. Oudney narrowly escaped being precipitated with his horse into one of these "graves for the quick."

To the west of Old Birnie, the country rises in gentle undulations. The soil is chiefly a red clay. There are very few trees, except on the banks of the Yeou, which are everywhere studded with towns and villages. The inhabitants raise large quantities of Guinea corn (*gafooly*), and beans. During the rains, all the low grounds are inundated, and temporary rivers are formed, which require to be crossed in rafts, made of bundles of reeds. When Captain Clap-

perton travelled from Kouka to Kano, it was the middle of December, by which time the Yeou had fallen full six feet, flowing with a current about three miles an hour. Yet, the low country between Damasak and Muggaby, a distance of ten miles, was still covered, and the party were obliged to make a long circuit by an upper road, frequently wading through hollows filled with water. "I proceeded," says our Traveller, "two or three miles up the banks of a river which, last summer, did not contain a drop of water. The lower road certainly exhibited the appearance of being overflowed during the rains; but nobody, from merely seeing it in that state, could suppose, that, for nearly one-half of the year, it is a broad sheet of water, or that the upper road itself is traversed for the same period by several large streams falling into the Yeou.....Yet, the earth itself was so dry, that we were put in some slight danger by a *kafila*, near Old Birnie, carelessly setting the grass on fire, in the course of the night. The fire advanced rapidly, like a sea of flame, and must have put us all to flight, had we not had the good fortune to obtain shelter within the ruined walls of the city, which checked a little the progress of the conflagration."

On the tenth day from Kouka, the Travellers reached Bede-karfee, about three days W. of Old Birnie. This is a large and populous town, under a governor who, though holding a subordinate command, is dignified with the title of sultan. The inhabitants of the district are chiefly of the Alluanee tribe of Shouaa Arabs. The Arab women of this place are described as really beautiful. They wear their hair in a peculiar fashion, with a large braid on the crown resembling a crest, and the side tresses neatly plaited and frizzled, so as to have altogether the

general effect of a helmet. The houses are mere collections of conical huts, the walls either of clay or matting, with thatched roofs, looking something like immense bee-hives. An ostrich-egg surmounting the roof, is the distinctive mark of the residence of a great man. Here, the *kafila* was joined by at least 500 persons, who were waiting for the protection of an Arab escort to pass through the adjacent territory occupied by the Bedites, an ancient race of native Bornouese, who have not embraced Islamism. The next day's route, after leaving Bede-karfee, lay over an elevated clayey plain, passing the ruins of several towns destroyed by the Felatahs; it then skirted a dismal and immense swamp, stretching southward and westward as far as the eye could reach, and led, on the second evening, to Bede-guna.

The territory of Bede-guna (or Little Bede), Captain Clapperton says, formerly belonged to Bornou, but is now included in the government of Kano. The inhabitants are Bornouese, and speak that dialect. The territory includes many towns and villages, and produces much *gussub*, maize, wheat, and cotton. Herds of cattle also are numerous. The country towards both the S.E. and S.W. appeared to be an entire swamp, which is overflowed in the rainy season by the "Little River,"—the name of the stream already mentioned, which, taking its rise in the country of Yacoba, amid some rocky hills, runs to the eastward of Old Birnie, and soon afterwards enters the Yeou. About twelve miles S.S.W. of Bede-guna is the Lake Zumbrum.

On the 29th of December, the day after leaving Bede-guna, the *kafila* reached Sansan, which takes its name (signifying "the gathering") from having been made a rendezvous for his army, by a former

Sultan of Bornou, when he went to conquer Hausša. There are three towns within a short distance of each other; *Sansan Birnee* (or *Sansan Gora*), signifying "the walled," where the governor resides; *Sansan Bana* (or, "of the banners"), built where the Sultan's tent stood, about a mile distant, and inhabited by a forced colony of Bornouese; and a suburb, about half a mile W. of Sansan Birnie, called *Sidi Boori*, inhabited by Shouaa Arabs. Sansan Birnie has a low clay wall in ruins, surrounded with a dry ditch almost filled up; its mosque is without a roof, and the houses and huts of the inhabitants are old and dilapidated. It stands in latitude 12° 20′ 48″ N. At sunrise, the thermometer was 42°. On a rising ground to the south of the town is the market-place, itself a little village. It was market-day. "The goods were exposed for sale in booths open towards the street. The different wares were arranged, each in its particular quarter;—knives, scissors, needles, and beads; silken cords and pieces of silk; sword-slings and *kohol*-cases; *gubga tobes* and *turkadees*; beef, mutton, and fowls; *gussub*, beans, and Indian corn of four different kinds,—the yellow, the red, the white, and the Egyptian: the last is reckoned the best. There were stalls, besides, for making and mending everything in common use. Bands of music, composed of drums, flutes, and a kind of guitar (*erbab*), each after its own rude fashion, were parading from booth to booth, to attract the attention of customers."

The neighbouring districts abound in towns and villages, which, together with Bede-guna and Sansan, are now under the governor of Katagum, who is himself subordinate to the governor of Kano. The next day's route led by many of these villages, surrounded with plantations of cotton, *gussub*, and maize; and adjoin-

ing to some of them were double rows of granaries, constructed of matting, and raised on poles to prevent the white ants from getting at the grain. On again approaching the Yeou, the villages and cotton-plantations became more numerous, and there were some large fields of wheat. The people were then raising the second crop of wheat, by means of irrigation. The Yeou, which was crossed about half a mile from Katagum, was found almost dry: its channel is here about 150 yards in breadth, but not more than a third was covered with water.*

Katagum, which the *kafila* reached on the 2d of January (1824), stands in latitude 12° 17′ 11″ N., and about longitude 11° E. It is the capital of a province of the same name, which formed the frontier of Bornou before the Felatah conquest, extending nearly one day's journey northward, and five days to the southward, where it is bounded by an independent territory called Kurry-kurry. On the west, it joins the province of Kano. According to the best information Captain Clapperton could obtain, this province is able to send into the field about 4000 horse and 20,000 foot, armed with bows, swords, and spears.† Not far to the southward is the country of Yacoba, of

* This may be taken as a fair average breadth, Captain Clapperton says, from that spot downwards as far as Lake Tchad. During the middle of the dry season, the naked channel and a few pools, sometimes far apart, are all that remain of the river. There is a prevalent opinion among the inhabitants and Arab merchants, that, during the rainy season, the waters of this river rise and fall alternately every seven days; which notion, Captain Clapperton thinks, may originate in the vicissitude in the fall of rain, which he himself remarked during his residence in Bornou.

† "The natives of Haussa carry their merchandize on the head, and go armed with bows and arrows. Those of Bornou convey their goods chiefly on asses and bullocks, and are armed with spears."

which the following particulars were related to Captain Clapperton. "It is called by the Mohammedan nations, *Boushy*, or the country of infidels. It is extremely hilly: the hills, consisting of limestone, are said to contain antimony and silver." The Yeou takes its rise among the hills of Boushy, between Adamowa and Yacoba: after passing Katagum, it turns abruptly to the eastward, and maintains that general course, though with many windings, to the Lake.

The city of Katagum is the strongest that our Travellers had seen since they had left Tripoli. "It is in the form of a square, the sides facing the cardinal points of the compass, with four corresponding gates, which are regularly opened and shut at sunrise and sunset. It is defended by two parallel walls of red clay, and three dry ditches, one without, one within, and the third between the two walls, which are about 20 feet high and 10 feet broad at the base, gradually decreasing upwards to a breadth just sufficient for a narrow footpath. This is protected by a low parapet, and is ascended by flights of steps at convenient distances. Both walls are of the same height, without loop-holes or towers, and, instead of being crenelated, terminate in a waving line. The gates are defended by a platform inside, over the entrance, where a body of townsmen take their station to repel assailants. The three ditches are of equal dimensions, each about 15 feet deep and 20 feet wide. There is only one mosque, and this almost in ruins. The governor's residence is in the centre of the city, and occupies a space of about 500 yards square. The governor and principal inhabitants have houses made entirely of clay. They are flat-roofed, in the Turkish style, and

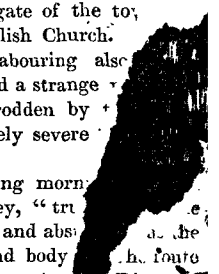
sometimes consist of two stories, with square or semi-circular openings for windows. The city may contain from 7000 to 8000 inhabitants, including all merchants and tradesmen, together with the servants or slaves of the governor.

"The governor resides in a large square, surrounded with a wall of red clay, at least 30 feet high, and divided by lower walls into four principal quar- besides several flat-roofed houses of clay, it con- number of *cousies*, for the most part ranged le row, just within the great walls. These ipally for the slaves and guards attached vernor's establishment. It was here we l, the entrance being guarded night and the eastern gate, there was a sort of au , from which a passage led to the women's apartme on the north side of the square. The stables o ied one quarter, each horse having a hut to its The pillars that supported a room over the western gate, were superior to any I had seen in Central Africa; they were formed of the trunks of the palm-tree, fashioned into columns, with rude pedestals and capitals of no inelegant appearance, all incrusted with clay." *

Here, for the first time, kowrie-shells were met with in circulation as currency; hitherto, native cloth, or some other commodity of standard price, had been found the common medium of exchange. A number of villages were passed in the next day's route; and at noon on the following day, the Travellers halted at the town of Murmur, where Captain Clapperton was doomed to witness the last moments of his fellow-traveller, Dr. Oudney. The Doctor had

* Denham, vol. ii. pp. 247—251.

been wasting away in a slow consumption ever since he left Fezzan; but he had persisted in travelling, as the only means of prolonging his life. He reached this place in so feeble and exhausted a state, that to proceed further was impossible; and on the 12th of January, he breathed his last, at the age of two-and-thirty. The corpse was interred, with the gov[illegible]r's permission, near the southern gate of the to[illegible] cording to the rites of the English Church. friend and fellow-traveller, labouring also disease, and now left alone amid a strange proceed through a country untrodden by European, the loss was extremely severe ing.*



At day-break on the following morn[illegible] Clapperton resumed his journey, "tru[illegible]e salutary effects of change of air and abs[illegible]de best remedies both for mind and body [illegible]h. Route lay through a well-cultivated countr[illegible] Digee, a town having an indifferent double wa[illegible]and a triple ditch nearly filled up, but containing very few houses. There were date-trees in abundance; and outside the walls were several detached clusters of huts. The country afterwards began to rise into ridges running nearly E. and W.; and from one of them, over which the road lay, was obtained an extensive view of "beautiful villages all around, and herds of cattle grazing in the open country." In the evening, the halt was made under the walls of Boogawa, the last town in the province of Katagum; but Captain Clap-

* Mr. Barrow states, that Dr. Oudney was labouring under a pectoral complaint while in England, and that he strongly advised him not to think of proceeding; but that, like his unfortunate predecessor Ritchie, he persisted, that being a medical man, he best knew his own constitution, and that a warm climate would best agree with it.

perton did not enter it. The next day, passing first through a thickly wooded tract, and then over an open, well-cultivated country, they reached Katungwa, a walled town, and the first in Haussa Proper. A range of low, rocky hills was seen stretching nearly S.W., called *Dooshee* (the Rocks), from which a large town on one of the roads leading from Katagum to Kano takes it name. These were the first rocks that had been seen since leaving the southern borders of the Great Desert, even the channels of the rivers being free from stones; and the whole country thus far is a soft alluvial clay. On the 16th, they reached Zangeia, situated near the extremity of the Dooshee hills. Within the walls, there is a ridge of loose blocks of stone connected with the range. These masses of rock are about 200 feet high, and give a romantic appearance to the neat huts clustering round the base, and to the fine plantations of cotton, tobacco, and indigo, which are separated from one another by rows of date-trees, and shaded by large umbrageous trees. From the extensive walls which remain, Zangeia must have been a very large town; but it now consists of merely a collection of thinly scattered hamlets, the plantations occupying the place where houses formerly stood. The inhabitants were carried off or massacred by the Felatahs. The country, after leaving this place, continued to wear the appearance of high cultivation, undulating in hill and dale, while high blue mountains bounded the prospect to the south.* The road passed a remarkable range of little hillocks of grey granite, flattened or rounded at top, and appearing like detached masses rising singly out of

* This range of hills, which are called *Dull*, from a large town at their base, appeared, on a nearer view, to be between 600 and 700 feet in height, oval-topped, and running nearly N. and S.

the earth. Several walled towns also were passed, without inhabitants, the population having been carried off by the ruthless Felatahs. The road was, however, thronged with travellers; and women sat spinning cotton by the road side under shady trees, who offered for sale to the passing caravans, *gussub*-water, roast-meat, sweet potatoes, cashew-nuts, &c. The evening halt was made to the west of a collection of villages called Nansurina. In the forenoon of the next day, our Traveller reached Girkwa. Here, also, the houses were in groupes, with large intervening vacancies, the former inhabitants having been carried off. The walls were in good repair, surrounded with a dry ditch. It was market-day, and a much finer market than Tripoli can boast of.* The soil is still a strong red clay, with large blocks of granite frequently cropping out. The country, to the S. and S.W., is very hilly. A little beyond Girkwa, a stream of the same name crosses the road, flowing from the hills of Dull to the S.W., and forming a junction with the Sockna stream, near a walled town of that name, a few miles further. Their united waters flow into the Yeou, to the N. of Katagum. The stage terminated at another town surrounded with a high clay wall, and enclosing a very extensive area, but with few inhabitants, called Duakee. The road was still

* "A pretty Felatah girl going to market with *milk* and butter, neat and spruce in her attire as a Cheshire dairy-maid, here accosted me," says Captain Clapperton, "with infinite archness and grace. She said, I was of her own nation. After much amusing small talk, I pressed her, in jest, to accompany me on my journey; while she parried my solicitations with roguish glee, by referring me to her father and mother....The making of butter such as ours, is confined to the Felatahs, and it is both clean and excellent. So much is this domestic art cultivated, that, from a useful prejudice or superstition, it is deemed unlucky to sell new milk; it may, however, be bestowed as a gift."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 263.

crowded from sunrise to sunset, with people going to or coming from Kano; and the villages became increasingly numerous as they drew near that city, "the emporium of the kingdom of Haussa." Our Traveller's anticipations had been highly raised by the "flourishing description" given of this place by the Arabs, and he expected, he says, to see a city of surprising grandeur. At eleven o'clock on the 20th of January, he entered it; but no sooner had he passed the gates, than he felt grievously disappointed, as will be inferred from the following description.

KANO.

"KANO, the capital of a province of the same name, and one of the principal towns in the kingdom of Soudan, is situated in latitude 12° 0′ 19″ N., and longitude 9° 20′ E. (by dead reckoning carried on from a lunar observation at Kouka). It may contain from 30,000 to 40,000 resident inhabitants, of whom more than one half are slaves.* This number is exclusive of strangers, who come here in crowds, during the dry months, from all parts of Africa; from the Mediterranean, from the Mountains of the Moon, from Sennaar, and from Ashantee.

"The city is rendered very unhealthy by a large morass, which almost divides it into two parts, besides many pools of stagnant water, made by digging clay for building houses. The house gutters also open into the street, and frequently occasion an abominable stench. On the north side of the city are two remarkable mounts, each about 200 feet in height, lying nearly east and west from one another, and a trifling

* In his subsequent visit, Captain Clapperton was told, that there were no fewer than thirty slaves to every free man.

distance apart. They are formed of argillaceous iron-stone, mixed with pebbles, and a rather soft kind of marl. The city is of an irregular oval shape, about fifteen miles in circumference, and surrounded with a clay wall thirty feet high, with a dry ditch along the inside, and another on the outside. There are fifteen gates, including one lately built up. The gates are of wood, covered with sheet iron, and are regularly opened and shut at sunrise and sunset. A platform inside, with two guard-houses below it, serves to defend each entrance. Not more than one-fourth of the ground within the walls, is occupied by houses; the vacant space is laid out in fields and gardens. The large morass, nearly intersecting the city from east to west, and crossed by a small neck of land on which the market is held, is overflowed in the rainy season. The water of the city being considered unwholesome, women are constantly employed hawking water about the streets, from the favourite springs in the neighbourhood. The houses are built of clay, and are mostly of a square form, in the Moorish fashion, with a central room, the roof of which is supported by the trunks of palm-trees, where visiters and strangers are received. The apartments of the ground-floor open into this hall of audience, and are generally used as store-rooms. A staircase leads to an open gallery overlooking the hall, and serving as a passage to the chambers of the second story, which are lighted with small windows. In a back court-yard, there is a well and other conveniences. Within the inclosure in which the house stands, there are also a few round huts of clay, roofed with the stalks of Indian corn, and thatched with long grass. These are usually very neat and clean, and of a much larger size than those of Bornou. The governor's residence

covers a large space, and resembles a walled village. It even contains a mosque, and several towers three or four stories high, with windows in the European style, but without glass or frame-work. It is necessary to pass through two of these towers in order to gain the suite of inner apartments occupied by the governor.

"The *soug*, or market, is well supplied with every necessary and luxury in request among the people of the Interior. It is held, as I have mentioned, on a neck of land between two swamps; and as this site is covered with water during the rainy season, the holding it here is consequently limited to the dry months, when it is numerously frequented as well by strangers as by the inhabitants: indeed, there is no market in Africa so well regulated. The sheikh of the *soug* lets the stalls at so much a month, and the rent forms a part of the revenues of the governor. The sheikh of the *soug* also fixes the prices of all wares, for which he is entitled to a small commission, at the rate of fifty cowries on every sale amounting to four dollars or 8000 cowries, according to the standard exchange between silver money and this shell currency. There is another custom, regulated with equal certainty, and in universal practice: the seller returns to the buyer a stated part of the price, by way of blessing, as they term it, or of luck-penny, according to our less devout phraseology. This is a discount of two per cent. on the purchase money; but if the bargain is made in a hired house, it is the landlord who receives the luck-penny. I may here notice the great convenience of the cowrie, which no forgery can imitate; and which, by the dexterity of the natives in reckoning the largest sums, forms a ready medium of exchange in all transactions, from the lowest to the

highest. Particular quarters are appropriated to distinct articles; the smaller wares being set out in booths in the middle, and cattle and bulky commodities being exposed to sale in the outskirts of the market-place. Wood, dried grass, bean-straw for provender, beans, Guinea-corn, Indian-corn, wheat, &c. are in one quarter; goats, sheep, asses, bullocks, horses, and camels, in another; earthen-ware and indigo in a third; vegetables and fruit of all descriptions, such as yams, sweet potatoes, water and musk melons, pappaw fruit, limes, cashew-nuts, plums, mangoes, shaddocks, dates, &c. in a fourth; and so on. Wheaten flower is baked into bread of three different kinds; one like muffins, another like our twists, and the third, a light puffy cake, with honey and melted butter poured over it. Rice is also made into little cakes. Beef and mutton are killed daily. Camel-flesh is occasionally to be had, but is often meagre; the animal being commonly killed, as an Irish grazier might say, to save its life: it is esteemed a great delicacy, however, by the Arabs, when the carcass is fat. The native butchers are full as knowing as our own, for they make a few slashes to shew the fat, blow up meat, and sometimes even stick a little sheep's wool on a leg of goat's flesh, to make it pass with the ignorant for mutton. When a fat bull is brought to market to be killed, its horns are dyed red with henna; drummers attend, a mob soon collects, the news of the animal's size and fatness spreads, and all run to buy. The colouring of the horns is effected by applying the green leaves of the henna-tree, bruised into a kind of poultice. Near the shambles, there is a number of cook-shops in the open air; each consisting merely of a wood fire, stuck round with wooden skewers, on which small bits of fat and lean

meat, alternately mixed, and scarcely larger than a penny-piece each, are roasting. Every thing looks very clean and comfortable; and a woman does the honours of the table, with a mat dish-cover placed on her knees, from which she serves her guests, who are squatted around her. Ground gussub-water is retailed at hand, to those who can afford this beverage at their repast; the price, at most, does not exceed twenty cowries, or about two farthings and four-tenths of a farthing, English money, estimating the dollar at five shillings. Those who have houses, eat at home: women never resort to cook-shops, and even at home, eat apart from men.

"The interior of the market is filled with stalls of bamboo, laid out in regular streets: here, the more costly wares are sold, and articles of dress, and other little matters of use or ornament, are made and repaired. Bands of musicians parade up and down to attract purchasers to particular booths. Here are displayed coarse writing paper, of French manufacture, brought from Barbary; scissors and knives of native workmanship; crude antimony and tin, both the produce of the country; unwrought silk of a red colour, which they make into belts and slings, or weave in stripes into the finest cotton tobes; armlets and bracelets of brass; beads of glass, coral, and amber; finger-rings of pewter, and a few silver trinkets, but none of gold; tobes, turkadees, and turban shawls; coarse woollen cloths of all colours; coarse calico; Moorish dresses; the cast-off gaudy garbs of the Mamelukes of Barbary; pieces of Egyptian linen, checked or striped with gold; sword-blades from Malta, &c. &c. The market is crowded from sunrise to sunset every day, not excepting their Sabbath, which is kept on Friday. The merchants understand the benefits of monopoly

as well as any people in the world; they take good care never to overstock the market, and if any thing falls in price, it is immediately withdrawn for a few days. The market is regulated with the greatest fairness, and the regulations are strictly and impartially enforced. If a tobe or turkadee, purchased here, is carried to Bornou or any other distant place, without being opened, and is there discovered to be of inferior quality, it is immediately sent back, as a matter of course,—the name of the *dylala*, or broker, being written inside every parcel. In this case, the *dylala* must find out the seller, who, by the laws of Kano, is forthwith obliged to refund the purchase money.

"The slave-market is held in two long sheds, one for males, the other for females, where they are seated in rows, and carefully decked out for the exhibition; the owner, or one of his trusty slaves, sitting near them. Young or old, plump or withered, beautiful or ugly, are sold without distinction; but, in other respects, the buyer inspects them with the utmost attention, and somewhat in the same manner as a volunteer seaman is examined by a surgeon on entering the navy: he looks at the tongue, teeth, eyes, and limbs, and endeavours to detect rupture by a forced cough. If they are afterwards found to be faulty or unsound, or even without any specific objection, they may be returned within three days. When taken home, they are stripped of their finery, which is sent back to their former owner. Slavery is here so common, or the mind of slaves is so constituted, that they always appeared much happier than their masters; the women, especially, singing with the greatest glee all the time they are at work. People become slaves by birth or by capture in war. The

Felatahs frequently manumit slaves at the death of their master, or on the occasion of some religious festival. The letter of manumission must be signed before the cadi, and attested by two witnesses; and the mark of a cross is used by the illiterate among them, just as with us. The male slaves are employed in the various trades of building, working in iron, weaving, making shoes or clothes, and in traffic; the female slaves, in spinning, baking, and selling water in the streets. Of the various people who frequent Kano, the *Nyffuans* are most celebrated for their industry: as soon as they arrive, they go to market, and buy cotton for their women to spin, who, if not employed in this way, make *billam* for sale, which is a kind of flummery made of flour and tamarinds. The very slaves of this people are in great request, being invariably excellent tradesmen; and when once obtained, are never sold again out of the country. I bought, for three Spanish dollars, an English green cotton umbrella, an article I little expected to meet with, yet by no means uncommon: my Moorish servants, in their figurative language, were wont to give it the name of 'the cloud.' I found, on inquiry, that these umbrellas are brought from the shores of the Mediterranean, by the way of Ghadamis.

"Kano is famed all over Central Africa for the dyeing of cloth, for which process there are numerous establishments.... They shew some ingenuity in the manufacture of leathern jars, fashioning them upon a clay mould out of the raw hide, previously well soaked: these jars serve to contain fat, melted butter, honey, and bees' wax. They are also acquainted with the art of tanning, in which they make use of the milky juice of a plant called in Arabic *brumbugh*, and in Bornouese, *kyo*. The women of this country, and of Bornou, dye

their hair blue, as well as their hands, feet, legs, and eyebrows. They prefer the paint called *shunee*, made in the following manner. They have an old tobe slit up, and dyed a second time. They make a pit in the ground, moistening it with water, in which they put the old tobe, first imbedded in sheep's dung, and well drenched with water, and then fill up the pit with wet earth. In winter, the fire for domestic purposes is made close to the spot, and the pit remains unopened for ten days. In summer, no fire is required; and after seven or eight days the remnants of the old tobe, so decayed in texture as barely to hang together, are taken out and dried in the sun for use. This paint sells at 400 cowries the *gubga*, or fathom; for this measure of length commonly gives name to the cloth itself. A little of the paint being mixed with water in a shell, with a feather in one hand, and a looking-glass in the other, the lady carefully embellishes her sable charms. The arms and legs, when painted, look as if covered with dark-blue gloves and boots.

"The negroes here are excessively polite and ceremonious, especially to those advanced in years. They salute one another by laying the hand on the breast, making a bow, and inquiring, '*Kona lafia? Ki ka kykee? Fo fo da rana?*'—'How do you do? I hope you are well. How have you passed the heat of the day?' The last question corresponds, in their climate, to the circumstantiality with which our honest country folks inquire about a good night's rest. The unmarried girls, whether slaves or free, and likewise the young unmarried men, wear a long apron of blue and white check, with a notched edging of red woollen cloth. It is tied with two broad bands, ornamented in the same way, and hanging down behind to the

very ankles. This is peculiar to Soudan, and forms the only distinction in dress from the people of Bornou. Both men and women colour their teeth and lips with the flowers of the goorjee-tree, and of the tobacco-plant. The former I only saw once or twice: the latter is carried every day to market, beautifully arranged in large baskets. The flowers of both these plants, rubbed on the lips and teeth, give them a blood-red appearance, which is here thought a great beauty. The practice is comparatively rare in Bornou. Chewing the goora-nut, already described, or snuff mixed with trona, is a favourite habit. This use of snuff is not confined to men in Haussa, as is the case in Bornou, where the indulgence is not permitted to women. Snuff is very seldom taken up the nostrils according to our custom. Smoking tobacco is a universal practice both of negroes and Moors. Women, however, are debarred this fashionable gratification.

"The practitioners of the healing art in this country, as formerly in Europe, officiate likewise as barbers, and are very dexterous in the latter capacity at least. Blindness is a prevalent disease. Within the walls of the city, there is a separate district or village for people afflicted with this infirmity, who have certain allowances from the governor, but who also beg in the streets and market-place. Their little town is extremely neat, and the coozees are well built. With the exception of the slaves, none but the blind are permitted to live here, unless on rare occasions a one-eyed man is received into their community. I was informed, the lame had a similar establishment; but I did not see it.

"Every one is buried under the floor of his own house, without monument or memorial; and among the commonalty, the house continues occupied as

usual; but among the great, there is more refinement, and it is ever after abandoned. The corpse being washed, the first chapter of the Koran is read over it, and the interment takes place the same day. The bodies of slaves are dragged out of town, and left a prey to vultures and wild beasts. In Kano, they do not even take the trouble to convey them beyond the walls, but throw the corpse into the morass or nearest pool of water." *

Captain Clapperton was hospitably received by the governor of Kano, and he remained there rather more than a month; till at length, orders arrived from the Sultan of the Fellatahs to conduct the stranger to his capital. On the 23d of February, he left Kano, and reached Soccatoo on the 16th of March. Before, however, we pursue the route any further to the north-westward, we shall trace Captain Clapperton's second journey to Kano from an opposite direction, through regions never before traversed by European. At this point, his route from Badagry meets that which he took, going and returning, in his first expedition. This enterprising Traveller will long be remembered as the first individual who has succeeded in traversing the whole extent of country from the Mediterranean to the Bight of Benin, thus establishing the practicability of a thoroughfare for civilization through the very heart of Africa.

FROM BADAGRY TO BOUSSA.

Towards the close of August 1825, Captain Clapperton sailed from Portsmouth, charged with a mission from the British Government to Sultan Bello of Houssa. He was accompanied by Captain Pearce, R.N.,

* Denham, vol. ii. pp. 281—304.

Dr. Morrison, a surgeon in the navy, and another surgeon of the name of Dickson, who had served in the West Indies. They touched at Sierra Leone, and arrived off Whidah in the Bay of Benin on the 26th of November. At this port, they expected to find messengers from Sultan Bello, who should conduct them to Soccatoo; but nothing could be heard of them. Dr. Dickson, however, landed here, having resolved to attempt singly to make his way into the interior by the route of Dahomey. He proceeded thither in company with a Portuguese of the name of De Sousa, who had for some time resided in that country. He was there well received, and sent forward to a place called Shar, a distance of seventeen days; where also he arrived in safety; and he again set off, under a suitable escort, for Youri, on his way to Soccatoo, but has never since been heard of. In the mean time, the rest of the party proceeded to the mouth of the Benin, or Formosa river, where they met with an English merchant of the name of Houtson, who dissuaded them from ascending that river, as the king of the country bore a particular hatred to the English for their exertions in putting a stop to the slave-trade. He recommended Badagry as the most convenient point on the coast to start from, and he offered to accompany them across the mountains to Katunga, the capital of Youriba. His offer was accepted, and the journal commences with their starting from Badagry on the 7th of December. Captain Clapperton was attended by his faithful servant, Richard Lander, to whose care and discretion we are indebted for the preservation of the Captain's papers, as well as for much additional information collected on his return route. They were also attended by a Houssa black named Pascoe, who had

been sent from one of the king's ships to accompany the late enterprising traveller Belzoni, as interpreter, in his last and fatal journey.

Badagry, the capital of a small territory, is situated at the mouth of the Lagos river, in latitude 6° 20′, and is much frequented by the Portuguese slave-merchants, who have five factories there. Canoes being obtained, the party proceeded slowly up a branch of this river, as far as the mouth of the Gazie creek,* which they ascended for about a mile and a half, and then landed on the western bank, at a place called Bawie, where a market is held for the people of Badagry and the adjacent towns. Here they slept, close to the river, in the open air. The banks of both these streams are low and covered with reeds; the soil, a red clay mixed with sand; and the surrounding country is covered with forests of high trees and jungle. Not the hum of a single mosquito was to be heard. Every circumstance combined to create an atmosphere fatal to animal life; and the consequence of the unaccountable disregard of all precaution on the part of the Travellers, was too soon apparent. The seeds of those diseases were here sown, on the very first night of their journey, which speedily proved fatal to two of the party, and had nearly carried off the whole.

Captain Clapperton, on the next day, walked forward, with Mr. Houtson, to the town of Puka, the first place in the Youriba territory, where they were civilly received, and they were visited by one of the Eyeo war-chiefs, who came in state. He was mounted on a small horse, as were two of his attendants: the

* "The Gazie comes from the N.W., running through part of the kingdom of Dahomy, having its rise in the country called Keeto."

rest of the cavalcade were on foot. His dress was most grotesque, consisting of a ragged red coat with yellow facings, and a military cap and feather, apparently Portuguese. He came curvetting and leaping his horse, until within the distance of a hundred yards, when he dismounted, and approaching the Travellers, sat down on the ground. "We then sent our umbrella," says Captain Clapperton, "as a token that we wished him well; on the receipt of which, the drums were beat, and hands were clapped, and fingers cracked at a great rate. He now came up to us, capering and dancing the whole way, and shook us by the hand, a few of his attendants accompanying him. He then began his speech, saying, he was very glad that he now saw white man; and pointing to the various parts of his dress, he said: This cloth is not made in my country, this cap is of white man's velvet, these trowsers are of white man's nankeen, this is a white man's shawl; we get all good things from white man, and we must therefore be glad when white man come to visit our country. The two men who appeared next in authority to himself, were stout good-looking men, natives of Bornou; they were dressed in the fashion of that country, with blue velvet caps on their heads. Being Mahometans, they could not be prevailed on to drink spirits, but the captain and his men drank each two drams.

"We paid a visit to the caboceer, or chief man of the town. We found him seated in the midst of his elders and women. He was an ancient, tall, stupid-looking man, dressed in a red silken *tobe*, or long shirt; on his head was a cap made of small glass beads of various colours, surrounded with tassels of small gold-coloured beads, and three large coral ones in front. The cap was the best part of the man, for

it was very neat; in his hand he held a fly-flapper, the handle of which was covered with beads. After a number of compliments, we were presented with goroo-nuts and water. We told him of our intention to proceed to Eyeo; that we were servants of the king of England, and that we wanted carriers for ourselves and baggage."

The baggage, however, had not come up from the coast, and Captain Pearce had to return to the beach to see after it. They remained here for the night, and the old caboceer, their host, sent them a present of a sheep, a basket of yams, and some fire-wood. But when, the next morning, application was made to him for carriers, not a single man could be obtained. After a great deal of palavering, the Eyeo captain loaded his own people. They started in the evening, and at midnight, after a most toilsome and distressing march,* part of which wound through thick, dark woods, they reached at own called Dagmoo, where Captain Clapperton and his comrades again imprudently slept in the open air. The morning proved raw, cold, and hazy; the Travellers had nothing to eat; and when, at noon, they reached the town of Humba, Captain Clapperton had a slight fit of ague. The next day, bearers were with some difficulty procured, and he was carried forward in a hammock. At Bidgie, which they reached on the 12th, Dr. Morrison became very unwell, with symptoms of

* Unable to procure bearers for the hammocks, they were obliged to set off, having only one horse, which Clapperton and Mr. Houtson agreed to ride alternately. The former, however, who had almost crippled himself the preceding day with a pair of new boots, and could only wear slippers, became so galled by riding without a saddle, that he was soon reduced to walk barefoot; and whenever he crossed an ant-path, his feet "felt as if in the fire," these insects drawing blood from them and his ankles.]

fever. This place stands on the bank of a river about a quarter of a mile in width, full of low, swampy islands and floating reeds. On the 14th, Captain Pearce and Richard Lander were taken ill. They had by this time reached Laboo, a town situated on a rising ground, where the country begins to undulate in hill and dale. Its distance from the coast is not specified, but it can hardly be so much as fifty miles, as Lagos can be reached in one day by a messenger; yet, the journey had occupied the Travellers no fewer than seven days. The delay seems to have been partly occasioned by the heavy baggage and stores, and by the difficulty of obtaining bearers. The Eyeo people, as they were afterwards told, are unaccustomed to carry hammocks, and they ought to have proceeded on horseback. Had this plan been adopted, and the whole party pressed forward to Laboo, it is highly probable, that they would altogether have escaped the poisonous effects of the miasmata.

The country, thus far, appears to be an almost perfect level, in some places swampy, for the most part covered with dense forests, but partially cultivated and very populous. Towns and villages are numerous; and everywhere on the road, they were met by numbers of people, chiefly women, bearing loads of produce on their heads, always cheerful and obliging, and delighted to see white men. At Humba, the inhabitants kept up singing and dancing all night, in the true negro style, round the house allotted to the white men. Their songs were in chorus, "not unlike some church music," says Captain Clapperton, "that I have heard." On leaving Laboo, they were attended for some distance by the caboceer of the town, at the head of the whole population, the women

singing in chorus, and holding up both hands as they passed; while groupes of people were seen kneeling down and apparently wishing them a good journey. The road now lay over an undulating country, through plantations of millet, yams, and maize; and at three hours from Laboo, led to Jannah, which has been a walled town, but the gate and fosse are all that remain of the fortifications. It is situated on a gentle declivity, commanding an extensive prospect to the west: eastward, the view is interrupted by thick woods. The inhabitants may amount to from 800 to 1000 souls. The account which Captain Clapperton gives of the natives of this district, is highly favourable. He had only to complain of the eternal loquacity of the women, by which he was exceedingly annoyed. "Here, among the Youribanies," he says, "is the poor dog treated with respect, and made the companion of man; here, he has collars round his neck, of different colours, and ornamented with cowries; he sits by his master, and follows him in all his journeys and visits. The great man is never without one; and it appeared to me, that a boy was appointed to take care of him. In no other country of Africa that I have been in, is this faithful animal treated with common humanity. I cannot omit bearing testimony to the singular and perhaps unprecedented fact, that we have already travelled sixty miles in eight days, with a numerous and heavy baggage, and about ten different relays of carriers, without losing so much as the value of a shilling, public or private; a circumstance evincing not only somewhat more than common honesty in the inhabitants, but a degree of subordination and regular government which could not have been supposed to

exist among a people hitherto considered as barbarians." *

A circumstance, however, is mentioned, which somewhat detracts from this pleasing representation of the amiableness and other good qualities of the inhabitants of Jannah. Owing to the arrival of a Brazilian brig at Badagry for slaves, they had been, for the preceding two days, making preparations for a slaving expedition to a place called *Tabbo*, lying to the eastward. Yet, these people are both civil and industrious.† They are great carvers: their doors, drums, and everything of wood, are carved. Captain Clapperton observed several looms at work: in one house, he saw eight or ten,—"in fact, a regular manufactory." He afterwards visited several cloth-manufactories and three dye-houses, with upwards of twenty vats in each, all in full work. The indigo is of an excellent quality, and the cloth of a good texture; some very fine. The women are the dyers; the boys, the weavers. The loom and shuttles are on the same principle as the common English loom; but the warp is only four inches wide. They also manufacture earthen-ware, but prefer European ware, which they obtain from Badagry. In walking through the town, the strangers were followed by an immense crowd, but met with not a word or look of disrespect. The men took off their caps as they passed, and the women remained kneeling. The market was well supplied with raw cotton, cloths, oranges, limes, plantains, bananas, onions, pepper, and gums for soup, boiled

* Clapperton, p. 13. The Eyeo captain, Adamooli, had not quite so high an opinion of their spontaneous honesty: he told the Travellers, at Puka, to keep a good look out after their things, as the people there were great thieves.

† The industry, however, seems mostly confined to the women.

yams, and *accassons* (a paste made of maize and wrapped in leaves).

A country finely cleared and diversified with hill and dale, extends from Jannah to Tshow, distant two short stages. The route then again entered upon a thickly wooded tract, with only patches of corn-land; and the roads were dreadfully bad, being partially flooded by heavy rains. Captain Clapperton caught a fresh cold, and the sick became worse. Dr. Morrison, after being carried in a hammock as far as Tshow, finding himself grow no better, was left behind under the charge of Mr. Houtson, who was to see him safe back to the coast. He expired at Jannah on the 27th. On the same day, at a town called Engwa, Captain Pearce breathed his last. Thus was Captain Clapperton again deprived of his comrades, and left to pursue, with only his servant, his adventurous journey.* He was himself too ill to assist at the interment of his friend, which was attended by all the principal people of the town: the grave was staked round by the inhabitants, and a shed built over it.

Where the ground has been cleared, the country between Tshow and Engwa, is beautiful, diversified by hills and dales, a small stream running through each valley. All the towns, however, are situated in the bosom of an inaccessible wood. The approach is generally through an avenue defended by three stockades, with narrow wicker gates and only one entrance. Beyond Engwa, the state of the atmosphere became much improved, the country being clear, and gradually rising; and on the high grounds, large blocks of grey granite cropping out, indicated their approach to a

* He was afterwards rejoined, however, by Mr. Houtson.

range of primitive formation. The plains were scattered with the female cocoa-nut, and covered with long, high grass. All the valleys were filled with streams running towards the N. W., to join a larger river, said to empty itself into the Lagos. Walled towns occur at the end of short stages, containing from five to ten thousand inhabitants. Those at which the Travellers halted, were called Afoura, Assula, Assoudo, and Chocho. On leaving the last-mentioned town, situated among the rocky hills, the first steps of the granite range,* the road wound through beautiful valleys, planted, in many places, with cotton, corn, yams, and bananas, belonging to the inhabitants of the numerous villages perched on the tops and in the hollows of the hills. At this very time, however, a "slaving war" was being carried on at only a few hours' ride from the route taken by the Travellers; such is the withering curse that hangs over the fairest regions of this devoted country!

The next stage, from Bendekka to Duffoo, lay through mountain scenery of a still wilder character. Rugged and gigantic blocks of grey granite rose to the height of between six and seven hundred feet above the valleys, which now contracted to defiles scarcely a hundred yards in breadth, then widened to half a mile; and in one part, the route crossed a wide table-land. The soil is rich, but shallow, except along the fine streams of water which run through the valleys, where large tall trees were growing. The sides of the mountains are bare, but stunted trees and shrubs fill all the crevices. The valleys are well cultivated with cotton, corn, and yams. This cluster of hills is said to rise in

* "From the sea-coast to Chocho, in lat. 8° 8′ N., long. 4° 2′ E. the country rises by a gradual ascent, the soil of a strong red clay and mould."—Clapperton, p. 56.

the province of Borgoo behind Ashantee, and to run through Jaboo to Benin, in a direction from W.N.W. to E.S.E. The width of the range is about eighty miles. From a summit overlooking the town of Duffoo, a grand and beautiful view was obtained of mountains, precipices, and valleys in all directions. The top of the hill was covered with women grinding corn. "They make a hole in the face of the rock, in which they crush the grain with a small stone held in the hand." This mount, Capt. Clapperton says, might be called a large corn-mill. Here, and in every other place, the King of Eyeo's wives were found trading for his majesty, and, like women of the common class, carrying large loads on their heads from town to town. The town of Duffoo is said to contain a population of 15,000 souls. On leaving it, the road wound between two hills, descending over rugged rocks, beneath impending masses of granite, which seemed ready to start from their base, to the destruction of all below. It continues to ascend and descend, as far as the town of Weza, which stands on the edge of a table-land, gently descending, well cultivated, and watered by several streams. The stage terminated at another fortified town, called Chiadoo, containing upwards of 7000 inhabitants.

On leaving this town, the next morning, they were attended by the worthy caboceer and an immense train of men, women, and children; the women singing in chorus, while drums, horns, and gongs formed a barbarous and discordant accompaniment to their agreeable voices. A difficult and dangerous road over broken rocks and through rugged passes, where the natives were perched in groupes to see the Travellers pass, led, in five hours, to the large and populous town of Erawa. Here, they were received with

drums; the people, as usual, curious beyond measure, but very kind. The next day, a mountain pass led through a thickly populous tract, to a town called Washoo; beyond which place, they entered a second range of mountains, more elevated and of a more savage character than any they had hitherto passed; they appeared as if some great convulsion of nature had thrown the immense masses of granite in wild and terrific confusion. "The road through this mountain pass," says Captain Clapperton, "was grand and imposing, sometimes rising almost perpendicularly, then descending in the midst of rocks into deep dells; then winding beautifully round the side of a steep hill, the rocks above overhanging us in fearful uncertainty. In every cleft of the hills, wherever there appeared the least soil, were cottages, surrounded with small plantations of millet, yams, or plantains, giving a beautiful variety to the rude scenery. The road continued rising, hill above hill, for at least two miles, until our arrival at the large and populous town of Chaki, situated on the top of the very highest hill. On every hand, on the hills, on the rocks, and crowding on the road, the inhabitants were assembled in thousands; the women welcoming us with holding up their hands and chanting choral songs, and the men with the usual salutations and every demonstration of joy. The caboceer was seated on the outside of his house, surrounded by his ladies, his singing men and singing women, his drums, fifes, and gong-gongs. He is a good-looking man, about fifty years of age, and has a pleasing countenance. His house was all ready for us: and he immediately ordered us a large supply of goats, sheep, and yams; pressing us strongly to stay a day or two with him. He appeared to consider us as messengers of peace, come with blessings to his king

and country. Indeed, a belief is very prevalent, and seems to have gone before us all the way, that we are charged with a commission to make peace wherever there is war, and to do good to every country through which we pass. The caboceer of this town, indeed, told us so; and said, he hoped that we should settle the war with the Nyffee people and the Fellatah; and the rebellion of the Houssa slaves, who have risen against the king of Youriba."

On leaving Chaka, the caboceer escorted them several miles, attended by upwards of two hundred of his wives, *one* of whom was young and handsome. The country was now extremely beautiful, clear of wood, and partly cultivated; and a number of Fellatah villages were passed, the inhabitants of which live here, as they do in most other parts of Soudan, a quiet and inoffensive pastoral life, unmolested by the black natives, and not interfering with their customs. The stage led to Koosoo, the largest town they had yet seen, surrounded with a double wall, and containing at least 20,000 people. This place appears to stand at the north-western termination of the granite range,* the outer wall extending from some rugged hills on the S.E. to a great distance in the plain. Here, the same favourable impression respecting the Whites was found to prevail, as at Chaki. The walls were crowded with people, and the caboceer, with his wives and head men, came forth to welcome the strangers. He was glad, he said, to see white men coming to his country, and going to see his king; adding, that he never ex-

* "From Chocho to Koosoo is a range of granite hills running from W.N.W. to E.S.E. These hills are of grey granite, bare of vegetation, and in solid masses. They are from four to eight hundred feet above the level of the valleys, which are narrow, winding, and well cultivated, and watered with innumerable small streams; the soil a thin black mould."—Clapperton, p. 56.

pected to see this day, and that now, all the wars and bad palavers would be settled. He presented to them yams, eggs, a goat, a sheep, a fine fat turkey, and milk; and a large pig was sent by the caboceer of a neighbouring town. The country was described as being on every side full of large towns. Its aspect continued, through the next stage, very beautiful and well cultivated. The route lay in a parallel line with the hills, in a direction E. $\frac{3}{4}$ N., as far as the town of Yaboo, and then entered a fine plain, studded with Fellatah villages, extending to Ensookosóo. At Ladooli, half an hour further, the range of hills was seen bearing from E. by S. to S. The well-cultivated country continued as far as Aggidiba; but a considerable change then took place in its general aspect. The road led through a wood of low, stunted, scrubby trees, on a soil of gravel and sand; and the destructive ravages of the Fellatahs, now became apparent in the half-deserted towns and ruined villages. Akkibosa, the next town, is large, and surrounded, inside the walls, with an impenetrable wood.* Two hours and a quarter further, is a walled town called Adja, having an avenue of trees with a creeping briar-like plant ascending to the very tops, and hanging down, so as to form an impenetrable defence against every thing but a snake, and it is impossible to burn it. Loko, an hour and a quarter further, is also a considerable walled town; at the end of another hour, there is a groupe of

* Here, Captain Clapperton became worse than he had been since leaving Badagry. The pain in his side was relieved by rubbing the part with a piece of cord, after some Mallageta pepper, chewed, had been applied to it. But the caboceer of Adja gave our Traveller some medicine which was far more efficacious. It tasted like lime-juice and pepper, and produced nausea to such a degree, that he was unable to stand for half an hour after; he then suddenly got well, both as to the pain in his side, and a severe diarrhœa which had troubled him for some days.

three towns, one walled and two without walls, all bearing the name of Saloo; and an hour and a half further is the town of Laydoo. The country, in this part, is but little cultivated and thickly wooded; the soil, a red clay and gravel with large lumps of clay iron-stone.* Atepa, the next stage, is a large town containing certainly above 6000 souls: it is surrounded with a belt of trees, rendered impenetrable by the crossing thorny creepers, through which there is only a narrow pass at the gates. Here, the thermometer at night stood as low as 55°. The next day, half an hour beyond the walled town of Namah, the Travellers crossed a stream called Juffee, or Moussa, flowing to the S. E., which falls into the Quorra opposite to Nyffee. In another hour and a half, they came to the town of Leobadda, built on the eastern side of a ridge of granite, the tops of which are broken into large masses, some of them forming the most grotesque figures imaginable: they run in a direction N.E. and S.W., rising from fifty to sixty feet above the plain, and join the hills to the S. and E. The town contains about 150 houses with from thirty to forty souls in each. Kiama, the capital of Borgoo, is only a day's journey, by horse, to the N.W. of this place.

The route to the capital of Youriba now winds more to the eastward, and at length turns towards S.E. The road lies through a wooded country, but the trees are low and stunted; and here, for the first time, was seen the small, stunted acacia.† Several more large

* In this part of his route, Captain Clapperton obtained the flower of the butter-tree of Mungo Park. "The tree is almost bare of leaves when in flower, and until the rains are nearly over; it is then in luxuriant foliage. The flower has eight petals and eight leaves, and is of a pale yellow."

† At Tshow, our Traveller obtained a specimen of the *Tsheu* fruit and leaves. The fruit is of the size of a large pear, having a stone

villages were passed, which had been recently destroyed by the Fellatahs. Between Leobadda and Tshow, the route traversed two ridges of granite, enclosing some well-watered valleys finely wooded.* At the latter place, the Travellers were met by a caboceer despatched by the King of Eyeo, with a host of attendants, so numerous as almost to fill the town; and they kept drumming, blowing, dancing, and singing all night. With this guard of honour, on the following day, (Jan. 23.) Captain Clapperton set out for the seat of negro royalty. The whole road was covered with horse and foot; the horsemen, some dressed in the most grotesque manner, others covered all over with charms, and armed with two or three long spears, hurrying on as fast as they could induce the Travellers to go; horns and drums beating and blowing before and behind; and a train of bow-men on foot, with "natty, little hats and feathers," a leathern pouch (called *jebus*) hanging by their side. The party were also accompanied by great numbers of traders. After passing over a granite ridge commanding a beautiful view of fine, wooded valleys to the eastward, the road again crossed the Moussa, running to the Quorra, which is only three days distant. About an hour further, from the top of a high ridge, the Travellers obtained a view of the capital. "Between us and it," says Captain Clap-

inside, covered with a cream-coloured pulp, which is eaten. The stone itself is said to be poisonous. The outer rind is put into soup.

* "From Koosoo to Eyeo, the country is less hilly, the hills in broken, irregular ranges, and running principally from N.E. to S.W.; with here and there detached masses thrown up, as if by some great convulsion of nature. The granite is of a softer kind, and crumbling away with the weather. The valleys between these hills widen into plains, as they advance to the northward."—Clapperton, p. 56.

perton, "lay a finely cultivated valley, extending as far as the eye could reach to the westward; our view to the eastward intercepted by a high rock, broken into large blocks, with a singular top; the city lying below us, surrounded and studded with green, shady trees, forming a belt round the base of a rocky mountain of granite, about three miles in length; presenting as beautiful a view as I ever saw." They entered the city by the north gate, accompanied by a band of music, and followed by an immense multitude of men, women, and children. After proceeding about five miles through the city, they reached the residence of the king, who received them seated under a verandah, the insignia of his state being two red and blue cloth umbrellas, supported by large poles held by slaves. He was dressed in a white *tobe* over another of blue; round his neck was a collar of large beads of blue stone; and on his head, the imitation of a European crown, in pasteboard, covered with blue cotton. The king's people had some difficulty in clearing the way for the strangers through the crowd; and sticks and whips were freely used, though generally in a good-natured manner. When they had at last got as far as the umbrellas, the space was all clear. Captain Clapperton had intimated, that the only ceremony he would submit to, was that of an English salute, which was taken by his sable majesty in good part, although nothing less than absolute prostration is required from all his subjects.* The king, he says,

* "It is the court etiquette to appear in a loose cloth tied under one arm: no tobes, no beads, no coral, or grandeur of any kind, must appear but on the king alone." In many points of the ceremonial, in the umbrellas, the prostrations, the sticks and whips so good-naturedly inflicted on the crowd, and the extraordinary politeness practised by these people to each other, we have, it has been remarked, a singular approximation to the customs of the

"lifted up our hands three times, repeating, *Ako*, *ako* (how do you do)? the women behind him standing up and cheering us, and the men on the outside joining. It was impossible to count the number of his ladies, they were so densely packed and so very numerous." In a private visit subsequently paid to the Travellers, the king assured them, that they were truly welcome; "that he had frequently heard of white men, but that neither himself, nor his father, nor any of his ancestors had ever seen one. He was glad that white men had come at this time; and now, he trusted, his country would be put right, his enemies brought to submission, and he would be enabled to build up his father's house, which war had destroyed."

Of the capital itself, we have the following description.

"The city of Eyeo (in Houssa language, Katunga), the capital of Youriba (or Yarriba), is situated in latitude 8° 59′ N., longitude 6° 12′ E. It is built on the sloping side and round the base of a small range of granite hills, which, as it were, forms the citadel of the town; they are formed of stupendous blocks of grey granite of the softest kind, some of which are seen hanging from the summits in the most frightful manner, while others, resting on very small bases, appear as if the least touch would send them down into the valley beneath. The soil on which the town is built, is formed of clay and gravel, mixed with sand, which has obviously been produced from the crumbling granite. The appearance of these hills is that of a

Celestial Empire. The theatrical entertainments, too, which are acted before the king, are quite as amusing, and almost as refined, as any which his Celestial Majesty can command to be exhibited before a foreign ambassador.—Quart. Review, No. lxxvii. p. 451.

mass of rocks left bare by the tide. A belt of thick wood runs round the walls, which are built of clay, and about 20 feet high, and surrounded with a dry ditch. There are ten gates in the walls, which are about 15 miles in circumference, of an oval shape, about 4 miles in diameter one way, and 6 miles the other, the south end leaning against the rocky hills, and forming an inaccessible barrier in that quarter. The king's houses and those of his women occupy about a square mile, and are on the south side of the hills, having two large parks, one in front, and another facing the north. They are all built of clay, and have thatched roofs, similar to those nearer the coast. The posts supporting the verandahs and the doors of the king's and caboceers' houses, are generally carved in bas-relief, with figures representing the boa killing an antelope or a hog, or with processions of warriors attended by drummers. The latter are by no means meanly executed, conveying the expression and attitude of the principal man in the groupe with a lofty air, and the drummer well pleased with his own music, or rather deafening noise. There are seven different markets, which are held every evening; being generally opened about three or four o'clock. The chief articles exposed for sale are, yams, corn, calavances, plantains, and bananas; vegetable butter, seeds of the colocynth, which forms a great article of food, sweetmeats, goats, fowls, sheep, and lambs; also, cloth of the manufacture of the country, and their various instruments of agriculture.* *Trona* is brought

* The price of a small goat is from 1500 to 2000 cowries, 2000 cowries being equal to a Spanish dollar; a large sheep, 3000 to 5000; a cow, from 20 to 30,000; a horse, 80, to 100,000; a prime slave, 40 to 60,000—about half the price of a horse!

here from Bornou, and sold to all parts of the coast, where it is much in request to mix with snuff, and also as a medicine." *

The kingdom of Youriba extends from Puka, within five miles of the coast, to about the parallel of 10° N.; being "bounded by Dahomey on the N.W.; Ketto and the Maha countries on the N.; Borgoo on the N.E.; the Quorra to the E.; Accoura, a province of Benin, to the S.E.; and Jaboo to the S. and W." † Dahomey, Alladah, Maha, and Badagry were claimed as tributaries, and the King of Benin was referred to as an ally. The government is an hereditary despotism, every subject being the slave of the king; but its administration appears to have been for a long period mild and humane. When the king was asked, whether the customs of Youriba involved the same human sacrifices as those of Dahomey, his majesty shook his head, shrugged up his shoulders, and exclaimed, "No, no; no king of Youriba could sacrifice human beings." He added, but probably without sufficient grounds for the vaunt, that if he so commanded, the King of Dahomey must also desist from the practice; that he must obey him. Captain Clapperton states, notwithstanding, that "when a king of Youriba dies, the caboceer of Jannah, three other head caboceers, four women, and a great many favourite slaves and others, are obliged to swallow poison, given by fetish-men in a parrot's egg: should this not take effect, the person is provided with a rope to hang himself in his own house. No public

* Clapperton, pp. 58, 9.

† Such are the positions of the neighbouring countries as given by Captain Clapperton, although it is difficult to reconcile them with the map. Borgoo seems rather to be N.E.; Dahomey W. and S.W.; Jaboo and Benin, S.E. If Badagry be included in Youriba, the southern boundary will be the Bight of Benin.

sacrifices are used, at least no human sacrifices; and no one was allowed to die at the death of the last king, as he did not die a natural death; having been murdered by one of his own sons, not the present king." *

"The religion of the people of Youriba," continues our Traveller, "as far as I could comprehend it, consists in the worship of one God, to whom they offer sacrifices of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and fowls. At the yearly feast, all these animals are sacrificed at the fetish-house, in which a little of the blood is spilled on the ground. The whole of them are then cooked, and the king and all the people, men and women, attending, partake of the meat, drinking copiously of *pitto* (the country ale). It is stated, moreover, that it depends on the will of the fetish-man, or priest, whether a human being or a cow, or other animal, is to be sacrificed. If a human being, it is always a criminal, and only one. The usual spot where the feast takes place, is a large open field before the king's house, under wide-spreading trees, where there are two or three fetish-houses." †

The usual mode of burying the dead in this country, is to dig a deep, narrow hole, in which the corpse is deposited in a sitting posture, the elbows between the knees. A poor person is interred without any ceremony: in honour of a rich man, guns are fired, and rum is drunk over his grave, and afterwards in the

* The Youriba word for king, *Obbah*, seems to designate him as the father of his subjects. The sun is called *O'noo*; and God *Ala'noo*; words which might seem related, but that *noo* is a common termination.—See Vocabulary of the Youriba tongue in Clapperton, p. 341.

† Clapperton, pp. 49, 51. This latter statement, Captain Clapperton received from a native of Bornou, a Mohammedan, and a slave to the caboceer of Jannah.

house, by his friends and retainers. At the celebration of a marriage, *pitto* is circulated freely among the guests. "Wives are bought; and, according to the circumstances of the bridegroom, so is the price."

The military force of the kingdom consists of the caboceers and their immediate retainers, which, upon an average, may be about 150 each; a force formidable enough when called out upon any predatory excursion, but which would seem to be inadequate to the defence of the territory against the encroachments or inroads of the Fellatah and other more warlike tribes.* The Youribanies struck our Traveller as having less of the characteristic features of the negro, than any other African race he had yet seen. "Their lips are less thick, and their noses more inclined to the aquiline shape, than negroes in general. The men are well made, and have an independent carriage. The women are almost invariably of a more ordinary appearance than the men, owing to their being more exposed to the sun, and to the drudgery they are obliged to undergo, "all the labour of the land devolving upon them." The cotton-plant and indigo are cultivated to a considerable extent, and they manufacture the wool of their sheep into good cloth, which is bartered with the people of the coast for rum, tobacco, European cloth, and other articles. The medium of exchange throughout the Interior, is the cowry-shell. Slaves, however, form the chief article of commerce with the coast. A prime slave at Jannah is worth, in sterling money, from 3*l.* to 4*l.*, according

* Captain Clapperton supposes, that the army may be as numerous as that of any of the kingdoms of Africa. He offers no conjecture as to the total population, but nearly fifty towns occurred in the line of route, each containing from 6 to 7000, and some, 15 and 20,000 souls: and from the crowds on the roads, the population must be very considerable.

to the value set on the articles of barter. Domestic slaves are never sold, except for misconduct. His majesty was much astonished at learning that there are no slaves in England. Upon the whole, the Youribanies appeared to be a mild and kind people, kind to their wives and children, and to one another, and under a mild though despotic government.

Among the domestic animals of this country, there are horses of a very small breed, but these are scarce. The horned cattle are also small near the coast; but, on approaching the capital, they are seen as large as those of England: many of them have humps on their shoulders, like those of Abyssinia. They have also sheep, both of the common species and of the African kind; hogs, Muscovy ducks, fowls, pigeons, and a few turkeys.* The hyena and the leopard are said to be very common, and the lion is found in some parts; but monkeys were the only wild animals seen by the Travellers.

Although Captain Clapperton remained at Katunga from January 23 to March 7, and the mysterious Quorra was not more than thirty miles distant to the eastward, he was not able to prevail upon the king to allow him to visit it, but was always put off with some frivolous excuse. He had considerable difficulty, indeed, in getting away from Katunga, as his majesty could not, or would not, comprehend why he should

* "The people of Yariba are not very delicate in the choice of their food; they eat frogs, monkeys, dogs, cats, rats, mice, and various other kinds of vermin. A fat dog will always fetch a better price than a goat. Locusts and black ants, just as they are able to take wing, are a great luxury. Caterpillars are also held in very high estimation; they are stewed, and eaten with yams and *tuah*. Ants and locusts are fried in butter."—Lander's Journal, p. 323. This statement, as regards the dog, is somewhat at variance with the compliment paid to the Youribanies for their treatment of the faithful animal.

be in any hurry to proceed, offering him a wife if he would stay. Of his own wives and children, he could not tell the precise number, but was sure that his wives alone, hand in hand, would reach from Katunga to Jannah. It would seem, however, that this female corps, instead of forming a useless and expensive establishment, are actively employed in trading for their lord and master. It is the etiquette of the court, for the monarch to hold a levee twice a day; at six in the morning, and two in the afternoon. Before their introduction to the king, the caboceers who come from the country, are required to wait upon the chief eunuch, and practise their prostrations before him, with dust on their heads. Captain Clapperton was present on one occasion, when these preliminary prostrations were continued without intermission for an hour and a half, the attendants dancing in a circle, with now and then the interlude of a minuet by one of the performers, in the course of which he would frequently throw a somerset, "as expert as *old* Grimaldi;" and all this without any regard to the intense heat of the sun. These caboceers were dressed in robes of leopard-skin, hung round with tassels and chains. But, afterwards, Captain Clapperton saw about twenty of them "in all their dirt and debasement," stretched at full length before the king, stripped to the waist, and vying with each other, which should have most dust, and kiss the ground with the greatest fervour. When any one speaks to the king, it must be addressed to him through the eunuch, who is also prostrated by the side of his master.

During the time that the caboceers remain on their visit to the king, it is customary to enact pantomimes for the diversion of the court. Captain Clapperton

was present at one of these entertainments, exhibited in the king's park, beneath some beautiful clumps of trees. The actors were dressed in large sacks, which covered every part of the body, their heads fantastically decorated with strips of rags, damask silk, and cotton of all sorts of glaring colours. The first act consisted in dancing and tumbling in the sacks, which were performed to admiration. The second exhibition was hunting the *boa constrictor*. The part of the reptile was very dexterously enacted by two of the sack-dancers, the colour of the serpent being well represented by a covering of painted cloth, and its motions imitated in a very natural manner by the performers. The third act was the exhibition of "the white devil," of which we must give our Traveller's description. "The actors having retired to some distance in the back ground, one of them was left in the centre, whose sack falling gradually down, exposed a white head, at which all the crowd gave a shout that rent the air; they appeared indeed to enjoy this sight, as the perfection of the actor's art. The whole body was at last cleared of the incumbrance of the sack, when it exhibited the appearance of a human figure cast in white wax, of the middle size, miserably thin, and starved with cold. It frequently went through the motion of taking snuff, and rubbing its hands; when it walked, it was with the most awkward gait, treading as the most tender-footed white man would do in walking bare-footed, for the first time, over newly frozen ground. The spectators often appealed to us, as to the excellence of the performance, and entreated I would look and be attentive to what was going on. I pretended to be fully as much pleased with this caricature of a white man as they could be; and certainly, the actor burlesqued the

part to admiration. This being concluded, the performers all retired to the fetish-house. Between each act, we had choral songs by the king's women, in which the assembled crowd joined their voices."

On the 7th of March, Captain Clapperton resumed his journey into the Interior, and retracing his steps to Tchow, reached, at noon the next day, the town of Algi, which was just rising from its ruins after the Fellatah inroad of the preceding year. All the intermediate villages had shared the same fate. Algi, our Traveller was told, no longer belonged to Youriba, but to the sultan of Kiama. It comprised three walled villages, and before it was burned down, had been of considerable size. These marauders have a singular mode of setting fire to walled towns, by fastening combustibles to the tails of pigeons, which, on being loosed, fly to the tops of the thatched houses, while the assailants keep up a sharp fire of arrows to prevent the inhabitants from extinguishing the flames.

On the 11th, our Traveller once more crossed the Moussa, which formerly divided the kingdoms of Youriba and Borgoo. It was now dry in a great many places, with a very rocky bed: when full, it is about 30 yards in breadth, and flows with a very strong current. On the other side, the road to Kiama lay through a flat country thickly wooded with fine trees, and inhabited by large antelopes; the soil, a red clay mixed with gravel. Early on the 13th, Captain Clapperton was met by an escort from the chief of Kiama,—a despicable set of fellows mounted on beautiful horses, and forming as fine and wild a looking troop as he had ever seen. By Sultan Yarro himself, our Author was well received. He was found seated at the porch of his door, dressed in a white *tobe*, with a red Moorish cap on his head, attended by a mob of

people, all lying prostrate, and talking to him in that posture. "We shook hands," says Captain Clapperton, "and after telling him who I was, and where I wished to go, he said, Very well; I had better go and rest from the fatigues of my journey in the house that was prepared for me; and he sent his head man to conduct me to it. It consisted of three large huts inside a square. I had not remained long, before Yarro sent me a present of milk, eggs, bananas, fried cheese, curds, and *foo-foo*;* and I was left alone until the heat of the day was over, when I received a visit from Yarro himself. He came mounted on a beautiful red roan, attended by a number of armed men on horseback and on foot, and six young female slaves, naked as they were born, except a fillet of narrow white cloth, tied round their heads, about six inches of the ends flying out behind, each carrying a light spear in the right hand. He was dressed in a red silk damask *tobe*, and booted. He dismounted and came into my house, attended by the six girls, who laid down their spears, and put a blue cloth round their waists before they entered the door." After a short conference, in which he promised our Traveller all the assistance he solicited, Sultan Yarro mounted his horse; the young spear-women resumed their arms, laying aside the incumbrance of their aprons; and away went the most extraordinary cavalcade which Clapperton had ever witnessed. "Their light form, the vivacity of their eyes, and the ease with which they appeared to fly over the ground," made these female pages, he says, "appear something more than

* *Foo-foo*, the common food of rich and poor in Youriba, is of two kinds, white and black. The former is merely a paste made of boiled yams, formed into balls of about 1 lb. each. The black is a more elaborate preparation from the flour of yams.

mortal, as they flew alongside of his horse when he was galloping and making his horse curvet and bound. A man with an immense bundle of spears remained behind at a little distance, apparently to serve as a magazine for the girls to be supplied from, when their master had expended those they carried in their hands."

Kiama, the capital of one of the four petty states or sultanries of Borgoo, is a straggling and ill-built town of circular thatched huts, built, as well as the town wall, of clay. It stands in latitude 9° 37′ 33″ N., longitude 5° 22′ 56″ E., and is one of the towns through which the Houssa and Bornou caravan passes in its way to Gonja (W.N.W.) on the borders of Ashantee: it has also a direct trade with Dahomey, Youri, Nyffée, and Youriba. Both city and province are, as frequently happens in Africa, called after the chief, Yarro, whose name signifies the Boy. "The inhabitants are pagans of an easy faith; never praying but when they are sick or want something, and cursing their object of worship as fancy serves. The Houssa slaves among them are Mohammedans, and are allowed to worship in their own way. The town may contain 30,000 inhabitants. They are looked upon as the greatest thieves and robbers in all Africa; and it is enough to call a man a native of Borgoo, to designate him as a thief and a murderer.* Their government is despotic; and it appears that very little protection is given to the subject, as one town will plunder another whenever opportunity offers." Captain Clapperton, however, met with nothing but the most hospitable treatment.†

* Captain Clapperton had afterwards reason to doubt the justice of this unfavourable representation.

† The treatment which Lander met with on his return, from

On the 18th, our Traveller took leave of Sultan Yarro and his capital, and on the fourth day reached Wawa, another territorial capital, situated in latitude 9° 53′ 54″ N., longitude 5° 56′ E. It is built in the form of a square, and may contain from 15 to 20,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded with a good high clay wall and dry ditch, and is one of the neatest, most compact, and best walled towns that had yet been seen. The streets are spacious and airy; the houses are of the *coozie* form, consisting of circular huts, connected by a wall, opening into an interior area. The governor's house is surrounded with a clay wall about 30 feet high, having large *coozies*, shady trees, and square clay towers inside. Unlike their neighbours of Houssa, they bear a good character for honesty, though not for sobriety or chastity,—virtues wholly unknown at Wawa; but they are merry, good-natured, and hospitable. They profess to be descended from the people of Nyffée and Houssa, but their language is a dialect of the Youribanee; their religion, a mongrel Mohammedism grafted upon paganism. Their women are much better-looking than those of Youriba, and the men are well made, but have a debauched look. "I never was in a place," says Captain Clapperton, "where drunkenness was so general." They appeared to have plenty of the necessaries of life, and a

this eccentric but friendly chief, was not less generous. He expressed much regret at Clapperton's death, and said, that if the King of England wished at any future period to send any one to Bornou, he would conduct him thither by a safe route, so as to preclude the necessity of going through the Fellatah country. He professed himself to be tributary to the Sheikh. "The King of Khiama," says Lander, "is, without exception, the finest and handsomest man we had seen in Africa, far superior to Bello, and, with the exception of the King of Yariba, the most respectably dressed."—Clapperton, p. 319.

great many luxuries. Their fruits are, limes, plantains, bananas, and several wild fruits; their vegetables, yams and *calalou*, a plant the leaves of which are used in soup as cabbage; and their grain is *dourra* and maize. Fish, they procure in great quantities from the Quorra and its tributaries; chiefly a sort of cat-fish. Oxen are in great plenty, principally in the hands of the Fellatahs; also, sheep and goats, poultry, honey, and wax. Ivory and ostrich feathers, they said, were to be procured in great plenty, but there was no maket for them.

In this part of Borgoo, as well as in the neighbourhood of Algi, and in all the countries between them and the sea that our Traveller had passed through, he met with tribes of Fellatahs, nearly white, who are not Moslem, but pagan. "They are certainly," he says, "the same people, as they speak the same language, and have the same features and colour, except those who have crossed with the negro. They are as fair as the lower class of Portuguese or Spaniards, lead a pastoral life, shifting from place to place as they find grass for their horned cattle, and live in temporary huts of reeds or long grass."

From Wawa, there are two roads leading to the Fellatah country; one by Youri, the other through Nyffée. The former was reported to be unsafe, the sultan of the country "being out, fighting the Fellatahs." The latter crosses the Quorra at Comie, and runs direct to Koolfu in Nyffée. It was necessary, however, for our Traveller to proceed in the first instance to Boussa, to visit its sultan, to whom all this part of Borgoo is nominally subject. He was also particularly anxious to see the spot where Park and his companion perished, and, if possible, to recover their papers. Leaving Wawa at day-break on the

30th of March, he passed over a woody country, and at length entered a range of low, rocky hills, composed of pudding-stone,* the valleys well cultivated with yams, corn, and maize; and at ten, A.M., arrived at Injum, the first village belonging to Boussa, situated on the north-eastern side of the hills. The rocks now changed to a dark grey slate, which moulders away in the rains; the soil, a strong blue clay with deep gulleys formed by the water-courses; and the country is thickly wooded. The traces of elephants, buffaloes, and large antelopes (*corigum*), were numerous. At four hours from Injum, Captain Clapperton halted at a village of the *Cumbrie* (or *Cambrie*), an aboriginal race of *kaffirs* inhabiting the woods on both sides the river. About an hour further, he arrived at the ferry over the Menai, where it falls into another branch of the Quorra; and in a quarter of an hour's ride from the opposite bank, entered the western gate of Boussa. The walls, which appeared very extensive, were undergoing repair. Bands of male and female slaves, singing in chorus, accompanied by a band of drums and flutes, were passing to and from the river, to mix the clay they were building with. Every great man had his part of the wall to build, "like the Jews, when they built the walls of Jerusalem, every one opposite to his own house."

Here, just twenty years before, Mungo Park terminated his travels and his life.

* The quartz pebbles were square, not rounded, imbedded in a grey substance. At the end of an opening in the range, was a beautiful sugar-loaf mountain, overlooking all the rest, and bearing from the village half a mile E.S.E. Captain Clapperton called it Mount George.

END OF VOL. II.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWENTY-SECOND.

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CONTENTS

OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

	PAGE
BOUSSA	1
FROM BOUSSA TO KANO	5
FROM KANO TO DUNRORA	19
FROM KANO TO SOCCATOO	26
SOCCATOO	35
HISTORY OF THE FELLATAH SOVEREIGNTY	40
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE FELLATAHS	48
FOOLAH STATES OF SENEGAMBIA	55
TIMBUCTOO	79
SOURCE OF THE NIGER	87
SOURCES OF THE GAMBIA AND RIO GRANDE	89
SOURCE OF THE FALEMME	92
SOURCE OF THE SENEGAL	93
SENEGAMBIA	95
KINGDOM OF GALAM (OR KAJAAGA)	103
COUNTRY OF BAMBOOK	106
GOLD MINES OF BAMBOOK	110
THE YOLOFS	116
KINGDOM OF WOOLLI	125
KINGDOM OF BONDOO	127
PORTUGUESE COAST	136
BISSAO	141
THE FELOOPS	143
THE BISAGOES, OR BIJUGAS, &c.	145
SIERRA LEONE	157
HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH COLONY	158
FREETOWN	179
LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE COLONY	193
THE TIMMANEES	195

PAGE
INSTITUTION OF THE PURRAH 199
THE KOURANKOES 207
THE SOOLIMAS 215
THE MANDINGOES 222
WINDWARD COAST 236
COLONY OF LIBERIA ..... *Ibid.*
GOLD COAST 243
FERNANDO PO 253
ASHANTEE 256
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE 260
HISTORY OF THE CAPE SETTLEMENT 261
STATISTICAL VIEW OF THE COLONY 285
CAPE TOWN 301
GNADENTHAL 311
BETHELSDORP 312
EASTERN COAST 319

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

TABLE MOUNTAIN, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, *to face* 303
BETHELSDORP 313

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

AFRICA.

BOUSSA.

THE city of Boussa is situated on an island formed by the Quorra, in lat. 10° 14′ N., long. 6° 11′ E. The course of the river here is from N.N.W. to S.S.E. It is full of islands and rocks. Boussa stands nearest the westernmost branch, the Menai, which is about twenty yards in breadth, and runs with a slow and sluggish current. The other two branches, which have no other name than the Quorra, flow with a strong current, with eddies and whirlpools breaking over the rocks. The place pointed out to Captain Clapperton as the spot where Mr. Park perished, is in the eastern channel. A low, flat island, about a quarter of a mile in breadth, lies between the town of Boussa and the fatal spot, which is in a line, from the Sultan's house, with a double-trunked tree with white bark, standing singly on the low, flat island. The bank was now only ten feet above the level of the stream, which here breaks over a grey slate rock extending quite across to the eastern shore: this shore rises into gentle hills of grey slate, thinly scattered with trees.*

* The following statement of the circumstances attending the lamented fate of that enterprising Traveller, was subsequently

"Boussa Island," on which the city is built, extends about three miles from N. to S., and a mile and a half

given to Captain Clapperton at Koolfu by an eye-witness; and together with all the information he could collect, it tallies with the story, disbelieved at the time, which Isaaco brought back from Amadi Fatooma. "He said, that when the boat came down the river, it happened unfortunately just at the time that the Fellatas first rose in arms, and were ravaging Goober and Zamfra; that the Sultan of Boussa, on hearing that the persons in the boat were white men, and that the boat was different from any that had ever been seen before, as she had a house at one end, called his people together from the neighbouring towns, attacked and killed them, not doubting that they were the advanced guard of the Fellata army then ravaging Soudan, under the command of Malem Danfodio, the father of the present Bello; that one of the white men was a tall man with long hair; that they fought for three days before they were all killed; that the people in the neighbourhood were very much alarmed, and great numbers fled to Nyffé and other countries, thinking that the Fellatas were certainly coming among them; that the number of persons in the boat was only four, two white men and two blacks; that they found great treasure in the boat; but that the people had all died who ate of the meat that was found in her." This meat, according to another native informant, was believed, on that account, to be human flesh, for they knew, it was added, that we white men eat human flesh. The Sultan of Boussa, who was "a little boy when the event happened," shewed uneasiness when inquiries were made upon the subject; as did all his people, although, upon every other, they were as frank and communicative as they were kind and hospitable. Lander afterwards received the following additional information from a *mallam* or priest, whom he met with at Wawa, and who tendered it spontaneously. "The Sultan of Youri advised your countrymen to proceed the remainder of the way on land, as the passage by water was rendered dangerous by numerous sunken rocks in the Niger, and a cruel race of people inhabiting the towns on its banks. They refused, however, to accede to this, observing, that they were bound to proceed down the Niger to the Salt Water. The old *mallam* further observed, that, 'as soon as the Sultan of Youri heard of their death, he was much affected; but it was out of his power to punish the people who had driven them into the water. A pestilence reaching Boussa at the time, swept off the king and most of the inhabitants, particularly those who were concerned in the transaction. The remainder,

in breadth. A ridge of slate rock runs from one end to the other, forming a precipice from twenty to thirty feet high on the eastern side, and shelving down gently to the west. Below this precipice, a beautiful meadow extends nearly the whole length of the island, to the banks of the river, where are several rocky mounds, on which four villages are built. The wall of Boussa, which is about a quarter of a mile from the Menai, unites with the two extremities of the rocky precipice, where they fall in with the banks of the river, and is nearly a mile in length. The houses are built in clusters of huts, not occupying above a tenth of the walled area. Outside the walls there are also several villages, with plantations of corn, yams, and cotton; but the whole number of inhabitants is estimated at less than 12,000.

The State of Boussa was reported to be more populous, however, than all the other provinces of Borgoo; and its sultan can raise more cavalry from that state alone, than any other prince between Houssa and the sea. The inhabitants, with a few exceptions, are Pagans; as is the Sultan, although his name is Mohamed, and he claimed to be descended from the Sultans of Bornou; to whom, until of late years, all the sultans of Borgoo, as well as the kings of Youri and Youriba, paid tribute. The language of Boussa is the same as that of the other states of Borgoo, which appears to be a dialect of the Youriba, but the Houssa is understood by all classes, even by the Cambrie. These latter are a lazy, harmless race of negroes, tall in

fancying it was a judgement of the white man's God, placed every thing belonging to the Christians in a hut, and set it on fire.' It is not a little remarkable, that it is now a common saying, all through the interior of Africa, 'Do not hurt a Christian, for if you do, you will die like the people of Boussa.'"—Clapperton, pp. 134, 5; 100; 316, 17.

stature, "more stupid-looking than wild," who inhabit the villages in the woods near the Quorra, in Boussa, Wawa, and Youri. They plant a little corn and yams, and keep a few sheep and goats. The men employ themselves in hunting, fishing, and sleeping, the most laborious work devolving on the women. Their clothing is seldom more than a skin round the waist. From their mild and unwarlike dispositions, they are often ill used and imposed upon, their children being seized as unceremoniously as their flocks. Their language differs from that of the surrounding inhabitants. Captain Clapperton saw a rude temple in one of their villages,—a platform raised about five feet from the ground, on which were piled the heads of the hippopotamus and the alligator.

The Kingdom of Borgoo, (as Captain Clapperton styles it, with doubtful propriety,) comprehending the four petty states of Boussa, Niki, Wawa, and Kiama, is bounded on the E. by the Quorra; on the S. by Youriba; on the W. by Dahomey; and on the N. by Gourma. It extends eleven days' journey from N. to S., and thirty from E. to W. Its rivers are the Quorra, the Moussa, and the Oli.* Its mountains belong to the range which passes through Youriba, Youri, Zamfra, Guari, and Zegzeg. Of the four states, Boussa is considered as the head; and in the event of a civil war between the other states, the Sultan of Boussa is said to interfere, and to make both parties pay. Notwithstanding the bad character given to them by the Arabs and their other neighbours, Captain Clapperton had no reason to complain of them on any ground. He never lost the smallest article while among them.

* This stream, which rises in Niki, and falls into the Quorra above Rakah, was crossed at a ferry between Kiama and Wawa.

"I have travelled and hunted alone with them," he says, "and myself, servants, and baggage have been at their mercy. I ever found them cheerful, obliging, good natured, and communicative." Many of the misdemeanours charged upon the people of Borgoo, are really perpetrated by natives of Houssa, parties of whom infest the roads of the neighbouring kingdoms. The religion of Borgoo is paganism, but no human sacrifices are offered.

On leaving Boussa, Captain Clapperton retraced his steps to the Cambrie villages, and then turned S.S.W., to another of their villages, named Songa, situated on the banks of the Quorra. The river here flows in an undivided stream, not above three-fourths the breadth of the Thames at Somerset-House at high-water, with a current of about two knots and a half, the colour of the water red and muddy. The banks are high, rising to the height of forty-five or fifty feet. About two hours above Songa, there is a formidable cataract, where, Captain Clapperton remarks, if Park had passed Boussa in safety, he would have been in danger of perishing, "unheard and unseen." The river at this spot, after rushing round two low rocky and wooded islands, and among several islets and rocks, bends suddenly to the westward, dashing with great violence against the foot of the rocky bank on that side. Just below the islands, and nearly half way across, the river had, when Clapperton saw it, a fall of three or four feet; and the rest of the channel was studded with rocks, some of them above water. An hour and a half below Songa, the Quorra rushes with great force through a "natural gap" (such it seems) between porphyritic rocks, rising on each side of the channel. Between Songa and this place, this river is full of rocky islets and rapids; and these occur occasionally all the way

down to *Wonjerque*, or the King's ferry, at the village of Comie, where it is all in one stream about a quarter of a mile in width, and ten or twelve feet deep in the middle. This is the great ferry of all the caravans to and from Nyffee, Houssa, &c., and is only a few hours from Wawa. Captain Clapperton was told, that the Quorra continues to be beset with rocks and islets nearly the whole way to Fundah, at which place it was said to enter the sea,—that is, some great river or body of water; and according to all accounts, there must be some great lake or confluence near that place.

Our Traveller was now on the high road to Koolfu, the emporium of Nyffee. In the course of the first two stages, he came to two villages full of blacksmiths' shops, with several forges in each. They get their iron ore from the hills, which they smelt where they dig it. In every village, he saw a fetish-house in good repair, adorned with painted figures of human beings, as also the boa, the alligator, and the tortoise. The country is well cultivated with corn, yams, and cotton; but the ant-hills were the highest Captain Clapperton had ever seen, being from fifteen to twenty feet high, and resembling, he says, "so many Gothic cathedrals in miniature." In the afternoon of the third day, he crossed a stream called the *May-yarrow*, opposite the town of Tabra, by a long, narrow wooden bridge of rough branches covered with earth,—the first he had seen in Africa: it will not, however, bear a man and horse, nor can two horses pass at once. Tabra, which is divided by the river into two quarters, was at this time the residence of the queen-mother of Nyffee, who was governor *ad interim*, during the absence of her son. It may contain from 18 to 20,000 inhabitants, who, with a few exceptions, are pagans; and they all, men and women, have the reputation of being great drunkards.

There are only a few blacksmiths here, but a great number of weavers. The Houssa caravans pass close to the north side of the town, but seldom enter it. Before the civil war began, the Benin people came here to trade. The war, which was still raging, originated in a dispute for the succession, between Mohamed El Magia (the son of the queen-mother), who was a Moslem, and Edrisi, who was represented to be a pagan. The former was supported by the Fellatahs, whom the people of Nyffee cannot endure: the other had the best right and the people on his side, but there was little doubt of his being obliged to succumb. Captain Clapperton subsequently repaired to the camp, to pay his respects to El Magia. He was found mounted on a good bay horse, the saddle ornamented with pieces of silver and brass; the breast-plate with large silver plates hanging down from it, like what is represented in the prints of Roman and Eastern Emperors on horseback. He is described as a tall man, with a stupid expression of countenance, a large mouth, and snagged teeth, which shewed horribly when he attempted a smile. His dress consisted of a black velvet cap with flaps over the ears, and trimmed with red silk; a blue and white striped *tobe*; and ragged red boots, part leather and part cloth: in his hand, he bore a black staff with a silver head, and a coast-made umbrella and sword were carried by his slaves. Altogether, his appearance was far from being either kingly or soldier-like; and he displayed the most mean degree of rapacity. "He has been," adds Captain Clapperton, "the ruin of his country by his unnatural ambition, and by calling in the Fellatahs, who will remove him out of the way the moment he is of no more use to them. Even now, he dares not move without their permission. He is said to have

put to death his brother and two of his sons. Through him, the greater part of the industrious population of Nyffee have either been killed, sold as slaves, or fled from their native country. To remove him now, would be charity."

The *Sanson* (camp) was a large collection of bee-hive-shaped huts, thatched with straw. But for the number of horses feeding and some picketed near the huts, the men being all seen armed, and the drums beating, it might have been taken for a populous and peaceful village. "Here were to be seen, weavers, tailors, women spinning cotton, others reeling it off; some selling *foo-foo* and *accassons*, others crying yams and paste; little markets at every green tree, holy men counting their beads, and dissolute slaves drinking *roa-bum* (palm wine)." The king, when our Traveller went to take leave of him, was found in his hut, surrounded by Fellatahs, one of whom was reading the Koran aloud for the benefit of the whole, the meaning of which not one of them understood, not even the reader. It is very common, we are told, both in Bornou and Houssa, for a man to be able to read the Koran fluently, who does not understand a word in it but *Allah*, and who is unable to read any other book.

On the 2d of May, Captain Clapperton left Tabra, and travelling along the banks of the May-yarrow, crossed a stream running into it from the north, and soon after entered the great market-town of Koolfu. Here he took up his abode with the widow Laddie, huge, fat, and deaf, and reputed very rich; a dealer in salt, natron, *et cætera*, but more particularly famous for her *booza* * and *roa-bum*. Every night, a large

* The *booza* is made from a mixture of *dourra*, honey, Chili pepper, the root of a coarse grass on which the cattle feed, and a

outer hut was filled with the topers of Koolfu, who keep it up generally till dawn with music and drink. Their music consists of the *erbab* or Arab guitar, the drum, the Nyffee harp, and the voice. Their songs are mostly extempore, and allude to the company present.

On the night of our Traveller's arrival, the new moon was seen, which put an end to the fast of Rhamadan. It was welcomed by both Moslem and Kaffirs with a cry of joy; and the next day, the town exhibited a scene of general festivity. "Every one was dressed in his best, paying and receiving visits, giving and receiving presents, parading the streets with horns, guitars, and flutes; while groupes of men and women were seen seated under the shade at their doors, or under trees, drinking *roa-bum* or *booza*. The women were dressed and painted to the height of Nyffé perfection; and the young and modest, on this day, would come up and salute the men as if old acquaintances, and bid them joy on the day; with the wool on their heads dressed, plaited, and dyed with indigo; their eyebrows painted with indigo, the eyelashes with khol, the lips stained yellow, the teeth red, and their feet and hands stained with henna; their finest and gayest clothes on; all their finest beads on their necks; their arms and legs adorned with bracelets of glass, brass and silver, their fingers with rings of brass, pewter, silver, and copper; some had Spanish dollars soldered on the back of the rings. They, too, drank of the *booza* and *roa-bum* as freely as the men, joining in their songs, whether good or bad.

proportion of water; these are allowed to ferment, in large earthen jars, placed near a slow fire for four or five days, when the *booza* is drawn off into other jars, and is fit to drink. It is very fiery and intoxicating, but is drunk freely by both Moslem and Pagans.

In the afternoon, parties of men were seen dancing; free men and slaves all were alike; not a clouded brow was to be seen in Koolfu. But at nine in the evening, the scene was changed from joy and gladness to terror and dismay; a tornado had just begun, and the hum of voices and the din of people putting their things under cover from the approaching storm, had ceased at once. All was silent as death, except the thunder and the wind. The cloudy sky appeared as if on fire; each cloud rolling towards us as a sea of flame, and only surpassed in grandeur and brightness by the forked lightning, which constantly seemed to ascend and descend from what was now evidently the town of Bali on fire, only a short distance outside the walls of Koolfu. When this was extinguished, a new scene began, if possible worse than the first. The wind had increased to a hurricane; houses were blown down, roofs of houses going along with the wind like chaff, the shady trees in the town bending and breaking; and, in the intervals between the roaring of the thunder, nothing was heard but the war-cry of the men and the screams of women and children, as no one knew but that an enemy was at hand, and that we should every instant share in the fate of Bali. At last, the rain fell. The fire at Bali had ceased by its being wholly burned down. And all was quiet."

Koulfu (or Koolfie) stands on the northern bank of the May-yarrow, and contains from 12 to 15,000 inhabitants, including slaves. It is built in the form of an oblong square, surrounded with a clay wall about twenty feet high, with four gates. There are a great number of dyers, tailors, blacksmiths, and weavers; but all these, together with the rest of the town's folk, are engaged in traffic. There are, besides the daily market, general markets every Monday and Saturday, which are resorted to by traders from all

quarters,—Youriba, Borgoo, Soccatoo, Houssa, Nyffé, and Benin. The caravans from Bornou and Houssa, which halt here a considerable time,* bring horses, natron, unwrought silk, silk cords, beads; Maltese swords from Bengazi, remounted at Kano; clothes made up in the Moorish fashion; Italian looking-glasses, such as sell for one penny and upwards at Malta; *tobes* undyed, made in Bornou; *kohol* for the eye-lids; a small quantity of attar of roses, much adulterated; gums from Mecca; silks from Egypt; Moorish caps; and slaves. "The caravans from Cubbi, Youri, and Zamfra, bring principally slaves and salt, which they exchange for natron, goora-nuts, beads, horses, and *tobes* dyed of a dark blue and having a glossy and coppery tinge. The slaves intended for sale, are confined in the house mostly in irons, and are seldom allowed to go out of it, except to the well or river every morning to wash. They are strictly guarded on a journey, and chained neck to neck, or else tied neck to neck in a long rope of raw hide; and carry loads on their heads, consisting of their masters' goods or household stuff: these loads are generally from fifty to sixty pounds weight. A stranger may remain a long time in a town without seeing any of the slaves, except by accident, or by making particular inquiry."

The articles brought from the west by the small traders, (nine out of ten of whom are women, who carry their goods on their heads in packages from sixty to a hundred pounds in weight,) are principally salt, peppers, red wood from Benin, (used in the form

* The Bornou caravans never go any further than this place, though some of the merchants go on with those of Houssa to Agolly in Youriba, and Gonja in Borgoo, whence they bring goora-nuts, woollens, printed cottons, brass and pewter dishes, earthenware, a few muskets, and a little gold.

of a paste for ointment,) loin-cloths, and a small quantity of calico and red cloth of European manufacture: for these they take back, Venetian beads, natron, and unwrought silk, the latter two being esteemed as good as cowries. These female pedlars take up their abode in the town, and attend the markets daily, employing their spare time in spinning cotton, and supporting themselves by this kind of labour.* They attend all the markets at the different towns between this and their homes, buying and selling as they go along. The duties which the traders pay here, are collected by the people of Tabra, who take twenty cowries from every loaded person, forty for an ass, and fifty for a loaded bullock.

The majority of the inhabitants of Koolfu, are professedly Mohammedans: the rest are Pagans, who, once a year, in common with the other people of Nyffee, repair to a high hill in one of the southern provinces, on which they sacrifice a black bull, a black sheep, and a black dog. On their fetish-houses are sculptured, as in Youriba, the lizard, the crocodile, the tortoise, and the boa, with sometimes human figures. Their language is a dialect of the Youribanee, but the Houssa is that of the market. "They are civil, but the truth is not in them; and to be detected in a lie, is not the smallest disgrace; it only causes a laugh. The men drink very hard, even the Mohammedans; and the women are generally of easy virtue." Although they succeeded in cheating our Traveller, he was not, however, robbed of a single article, and he was uniformly treated with perfect respect. The people seem, indeed, by no means devoid of kindness

* There were no fewer than twenty-one of these "mercantile women" from Youriba and Borgoo, lodging at one time with the Captain's landlady.

of disposition; * and "when it is considered," adds Captain Clapperton, "that they have twice been burned out of the town by the enemy within the last six years, and that they have had a civil war desolating the country for the last seven years, and been subject to the inroads of the Fellatahs for the last twenty years, and have neither established law nor government, I am surprised that they are as good as they are."

The following is the manner in which the good people of Koolfu fill up the twenty-four hours. "At day-light, the whole household rise. The women begin to clean the house; the men to wash from head to foot. The women and children are then washed in water in which has been boiled the leaf of a bush called *bambarnïa*. When this is done, breakfast of cocoa is served out, every one having their separate dish, the women and children eating together. After breakfast, the women and children rub themselves over with the pounded red wood and a little grease, which lightens the darkness of the black skin. A score or patch of the red powder is put on some place where it will show to the best advantage. The eyes are blacked with khol. The mistress and the better-looking females stain their teeth and the inside of the lips of a yellow colour with gora, the flower of the tobacco-plant, and the bark of a root: the outer part

* "When the town of Bali was burned down, every person sent, next day, what they could spare of their goods, to assist the unfortunate inhabitants." To their domestic slaves, they behave with the greatest humanity, looking upon them almost as children of the family. The males are often freed, and the females given in marriage to freemen or to other domestic slaves. "The food of the slave and the free is nearly the same. The greatest man or woman in the country, is not ashamed at times to let the slaves eat of the same dish, but a woman is never allowed to eat with a man."

of the lips, hair, and eye-brows are stained with *shuni*, or prepared indigo. Then the women who attend the market, prepare their wares for sale, and when ready, go. The elderly women prepare, clean, and spin cotton at home, and cook the victuals; the younger females are generally sent round the town, selling the small rice balls, fried beans, &c., and bringing back a supply of water for the day. The master of the house generally takes a walk to the market, or sits in the shade at the door of his house, hearing the news, or speaking of the price of natron or other goods. The weavers are daily employed at their trade; some are sent to cut wood, and bring it to market; others to bring grass for the horses that may belong to the house, or to take to the market to sell; numbers, at the beginning of the rainy season, are employed in clearing the ground for sowing the maize and millet; some are sent on distant journeys to buy and sell for their master or mistress, and they very rarely betray their trust. About noon, they return home, when all have a mess of the pudding called *waki*, or boiled beans. About two or three in the afternoon, they return to their different employments, on which they remain until near sunset, when they count their gains to their master or mistress, who receives it, and puts it carefully away in their strong room. They then have a meal of pudding and a little fat or stew. The mistress of the house, when she goes to rest, has her feet put into a cold poultice of the pounded henna-leaves. The young then go to dance and play, if it is moonlight, and the old to lounge and converse in the open square of the house, or in the outer *cooxie*, where they remain until the cool of the night, or till the approach of morning drives them into shelter."*

* Clapperton, pp. 140, 1.

The country round Koolfu is a level plain, well cultivated, and studded with little walled towns and villages along the banks of the May-yarrow, and of a little river running into it from the north. Between the walled towns of Bullabulla and Rajadawa, the route passed through plantations of grain, indigo, and cotton; the soil, clay mixed with sand, with here and there large blocks of sandstone containing nodules of iron and veins of iron-stone. At five days from Koolfu, it entered, at the town of Wazo (or Wazawo), the district of Kotongkora, formerly included in Kashna; and after another five days' journey through a rich and beautiful valley and over woody hills, our Traveller reached Womba, a large walled town, where the caravans both from the east and the west generally halt a day or two, and where, as at Wazo, a toll is levied on merchandise. This town is in latitude 10° 35′, longitude 7° 22′. It stands on rising ground, at the eastern head of a valley watered by a small stream, having three bare, rocky hills of granite to the north, east, and south. The inhabitants may amount to between 10 and 12,000 souls. Kotongkora, from which the district takes its name, is thirty miles distant northward. On the second day from Womba, our Traveller passed through another large and populous town, called Akinjie, where also *kafilas* pay toll; beyond which, the route lay for two days over a very hilly country, for the most part covered with wood, and but little cultivated till he approached Guari.

This town, the capital of a district of the same name, formerly included in Kashna, stands in latitude 10° 54′, longitude 8° 1′ E. It is built partly on a hill, and partly in a narrow valley, through which a muddy stream runs, that is dry in summer: this stream, the source of which is only a day's journey distant, divides

in one part the states of Kotongkora and Guari, and falls into the Kodonia in Nyffee. The district of Guari was conquered by the Fellatahs, in a short time after their rising, together with the rest of Houssa. On the death of "old Bello," the father of the present sovereign, these districts, with the greater part of Kashna, joined in the *towia* or confederacy against the Fellatahs.* The chief of Zamfra was the first to shake the spear of rebellion; and he was soon joined by the natives of Goober and the northern parts of Kashna, by Guari and Kotongkora, and at length by the states of Youri, Cubbi, Doura, and the southern parts of Zegzeg. The strength of Guari is said to lie in the bravery of its inhabitants and the number of horse they can bring into the field,—amounting to a thousand; but Captain Clapperton is disposed to place their real strength in the hilly and woody nature of their country.

Fatika, the frontier town of Zegzeg, was reached on the second day from Guari; and at Zaria, which he entered on the fourth day, Capt. Clapperton found himself in a city almost wholly peopled by Fellatahs, who have mosques with minarets, and live in flat-roofed houses. The population is said to exceed that of Kano, and, if so, must be above 50,000 souls. A great number of the inhabitants are from Foota Bonda and Foota Torra, the Foulahs and the Fellatahs being, in fact, the same people. These people from the west professed to be well acquainted with both the English and the French, and they "rattled over the names of the towns between Sierra Leone and the Senegal and Timbuctoo." They were armed with French fusees, preferring

* The *Muloulk e Towdeif* of the Arabian annals, presents an instance of a similar confederacy of petty tribes under a state of society not very different.—See MOD. TRAV., Arabia, p. 31.

the guns of the French and the powder of the English.

The old city of Zaria was taken by the Fellatahs within a month after they had made themselves masters of the provinces of Goober and Zamfra, about thirty years ago. It stood a siege of two days, when it was evacuated by the sultan and the greater part of the inhabitants, who took refuge in the hills to the south and west, where they still maintain their independence, though subject to the continual attacks of the Fellatahs. The old city is now known only by its ruined walls, surrounding some high mounts which were in the centre of the enclosed area. The new city, built by the Fellatahs to the S.E. of the old, consists of a number of little villages and detached houses scattered over an extensive area, surrounded with high clay walls. It stands in lat. 10° 59′ N., long. 8° 42′ E. Near the centre of the wall stands the principal mosque, built of clay, with a minaret nearly fifty feet high. On entering one of the western gates, instead of finding houses, our Traveller could but just see the tops of some over the growing grain, at about a quarter of a mile distance; all was walled fields, full of *dhourra*, with here and there a horse tethered in the open space.

The province of Zegzeg is the most extensive in the kingdom of Houssa, and both Kashna and Kano were at one time tributary to its sovereigns.* It is

* The country of Haussa, according to the MS. account of Takroor, already referred to, consists of seven provinces, to each of which a prince (or governor) was appointed under the Fellatahs; and the inhabitants of the whole speak one language. "The central province is Kashnah; the most extensive is Zag-Zag; the most warlike is Ghoober; and the most fertile is Kanoo."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 449. The three others are called Dor (or Dowry),

bounded by Kano to the E.; Yacoba to the S.E.; a mountainous tract inhabited by Pagans to the south; Nyffee to the S.W.; and Guari and Kashna to the N. and W. The name of the country appears to be also given to the capital, and is possibly derived from it.* Prior to the Fellatah conquest, Islamism is said to have been unknown in Zegzeg; and the southern part is still in the possession of various Pagan tribes, whose country is called *Bowsher* or *Boushi*, that is, the infidel country, and is said to extend to the ocean.†

The country in the vicinity of the capital (Zaria), is clear of wood, and is all either in pasture or under cultivation. Its appearance at this season resembled some of the finest country in England, at the latter end of April: "all was green and beautiful." After passing several towns at the distance of short stages, our Traveller, on the fourth day from Zaria, entered, at the town of Dunchow, the province of Kano. A highly cultivated and populous country extends from

Ranoo, and Yareem. The last-mentioned is, probably, the Guari of Clapperton. Doura is mentioned by this Traveller in immediate connection with the southern part of Zegzeg, as if bordering upon it; and Ranoo may be another name for Kotongkora. Youri, though nearly surrounded by the states of Houssa, is not included in that country.—Clapperton, p. 155.

* Lander mentions Zaria, only by the name of Zegzeg.

† Among the provinces of Bow-sher, formerly included in the kingdom of Zegzeg, the MS. account enumerates; 1. *Ghoo-wary*, inhabited by seven *soodan* (negro) tribes. 2. *Ghoondar*. 3. *Rcerwa*, which contains a lead-mine. 4. *Yass*. 5. *Kodoor*. 6. *Kotoo*. 7. *Addam*. 8. Another district called *Kotoo*, containing mines of copper and alum. 9. *Kornorfa*, embracing about twenty districts under one king, who often sallied forth upon Kanoo and Barnoo; and containing mines of gold, antimony, and salt. 10. *Atagára* or *Ataghér*, "one of the most extensive in the territory of Zag-Zag; and near it, there is an anchorage for the ships of the Christians."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 451.

this place to Baebaejie, the next stage. This town, situated in lat. 11° 34′ N., long. 9° 13′ E., stands in an extensive plain, stretching towards the north till lost in the horizon. The two mounts inside the walls of Kano are just distinguishable above the horizontal line, bearing N.E. by N. The hills of Nora are seen about ten miles east; to the south are the mountains of Surem, distant about 25 miles; while westward appear the tops of the hills of Aushin in Zegzeg, over which the route had passed. Small towns and villages are scattered over the plain, and herds of fine white cattle were seen grazing on the fallow-ground. The inhabitants of Baebaejie, amounting to 20 or 25,000, are chiefly refugees from Bornou and Waday, and their descendants, all engaged in trade; and they appeared cleanly, civil, and industrious. A broad and good road, thronged with passengers and loaded animals led, in another day's journey, to Kano.

FROM KANO TO DUNRORA.

HALF an hour short of Baebaejie, the Nyffee road falls into that from Funda, which was taken by Richard Lander on his return route, in the hope of being able to penetrate to the Niger, and to reach Benin by water. Striking off to the eastward of the route by which his master had reached Kano, he passed several walled towns, all inhabited by natives of Houssa, tributary to the Fellatahs; and early on the third day from Bebajiè (as he spells it), arrived at the foot of a high, craggy mountain, called *Almena*, from a ruined town said to have been built by a queen of the Fantee nation some five hundred years ago.* The gigantic blocks of granite, fearfully piled

* Mahomet, Lander's servant, who had travelled far and near, and knew all the traditions of the country, gave the following

on each other, and seeming ready to fall, are described as resembling the rocks near the Logan stone in Cornwall, but on a scale infinitely larger. To the eastward, a range of high hills was seen stretching from north to south, as far as the eye could reach; and Lander was told, that they extend to the salt water. They were said to be inhabited by a ferocious race of *yamyams* (cannibals), who had formerly carried on an extensive traffic with the Houssa men, bringing elephants' teeth, and taking in exchange red cloth, beads, &c.; but, five years before, they had murdered a whole *kafila* of merchants, and had afterwards eaten them; since which time the Houssa folk had been reasonably shy of dealing with them.*

story: "About 500 years ago, a queen of the Fantee nation, having quarrelled with her husband about a golden stool," (in other words, we presume, about the throne,—probably after her husband's death,) "fled from her dominions with a great number of her subjects, and built a large town at the foot of this mountain, which she called *Almena*, from which it took its name." The town, Lander adds, was surrounded with a stone wall, as the ruins plainly attest. The MS. account of Takroor evidently alludes to the same personage. "The first who ruled over them," (the seven provinces of Houssa,) "was, as it is stated, *Amenah*, daughter of the Prince of Zag-Zag. She conquered them by the force of her sword, and subjected them, including Kashnah and Kanoo, to be her tributaries. She fought and took possession of the country of Bowsher, till she reached the coast of the ocean on the right hand and west side. She died at Atágára."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 450.

* Sultan Bello asserted to Clapperton, that he had ocular proof of the fact, that these same people are in the practice of eating human flesh. "The Sultan said, that, on the governor of Jacoba telling him of these people, he could hardly believe it; but, on a Tuarick being hanged for theft, he saw five of these people eat a part, with which he was so disgusted, that he sent them back to Jacoba soon after. He said, that whenever a person complained of sickness among these men, even though only a slight head-ache, he is killed instantly, for fear he should be lost by death, as they will not eat a person that has died by sickness; that the person falling sick is requested by some other family, and repaid when

Thus far, all the streams that were crossed, have a north-westerly course; and on the fifth day, Lander reached a large river running in the same direction, called Accra. The next day, proceeding S.W., he arrived at Nammaleek, built immediately under a mountain, which, rising almost perpendicularly, forms a natural wall on the north-eastern side. It is thickly wooded, and abounds with thousands of hyenas, tiger-cats, jackals, and monkeys, who monopolize all the animal food in the neighbourhood: "the poor inhabitants cannot keep a single bullock, sheep, or goat." For four hours beyond this town, Lander's route continued along the foot of this range of mountains, in a direction still S.W.; it then turned eastward through an opening in the range, and after crossing one large, and three small rivers, led to Fullindushie, the frontier town of Catica.* The inhabitants of this place are described as a fine, handsome people, with features not at all resembling those of the negro race, and very similar to the European, but below the negroes in civilization; without any clothing, filthy in person, disgusting in manners, and destitute of natural affection; the parent selling his child with no more remorse or repugnance than he

they had a sick relation; that universally, when they went to war, the dead and wounded were always eaten; that the hearts were claimed by the head men; and that, on asking them why they ate human flesh, they said, it was better than any other; that they had no want of food; and that, excepting this bad custom, they were very cleanly, and otherwise not bad people, except that they were *kaffirs.*"—Clapperton, p. 251.

* Lander speaks of the "Catica or Bowchee" people as the same. This district must therefore belong to the Bow-sher country, which forms part of Zag-zag, according to the MS. account of Takroor; (see Denham, vol. ii. p. 450;) the same, apparently, as the *Boushy* (i.e. infidel or *kerdy*) country bordering on Yacoba.—See p. 303 of our second volume.

would his chicken; yet "artless and good-humoured." Their appearance is extremely barbarous and repulsive. They rub red clay softened with oil over their heads and bodies, and invariably wear a large semi-circular piece of blue glass in the upper and lower lip, with ear-pendents of red wood. They "make fetishes like the natives of Yariba."

Turning again to the S.W., the route now led over a fine and rich country, to a large river rolling to the N.W., called Coodoonia (Kodonia), which empties itself into the Quorra near Funda. Lander reached the north-eastern bank on the tenth day; and on the morrow, after three hours' travelling, reached Cuttup. Having heard, on his route, many different reports of the wealth, population, and celebrated market of this place, he was surprised at finding it consist of nearly five hundred villages almost joining each other, occupying a vast and beautiful plain, adorned with the finest trees. Among these, the plantain, the palm, and the cocoa-nut tree were seen flourishing in great abundance, and the aspect of the country strikingly resembled some parts of Yariba. A considerable traffic is carried on here in slaves and bullocks, which are alike exposed in the daily market. The bullocks are bred by the Fellatahs, who reside here for no other purpose. Among the other articles brought here for sale, are red cloth, gum, salt, goora-nuts, trona, beads, tobacco, native cloth, rings, needles, cutlery, honey, rice, and milk; people from the most distant parts resorting hither in vast numbers. The Sultan of Cuttup being a very great man, Lander made him a suitable present of four yards of blue damask, the same quantity of scarlet, a print of his present Majesty, one of the late Duke of York, and some other trifling articles; in return for which, he

received from the Sultan, a sheep, the humps of two bullocks, and stewed rice sufficient for fifty men. During the four days he remained in these hospitable quarters, he was never in want of provisions. The king invariably receives, as a tax, the hump of every bullock that is slaughtered, (weighing from 12 to 15 pounds, and the choicest part of the animal,) and one or two was sent to the white man, by the king's wives, each day.

On leaving this place, Lander proceeded S.S.W. over a hilly country, and on the next day, crossed the Rary, a large river flowing to the S.E. On the following day, part of the route lay over steep and craggy precipices, some of them of a most awful height. From the summit of the pass, he obtained a very extensive and beautiful prospect, which would indicate the elevation to be indeed very considerable. "Eight days' journey," he says, "might plainly be seen before us. About half a day's journey to the E., stood a lofty hill, at the foot of which lay the large city of Jacoba."* In the evening, he reached Dunrora, a town containing about 4000 inhabitants.

Lander had now reached the latitude of Funda, which, according to his information, lies about twelve days due W. of Dunrora; and, after seventeen days' perilous travelling from Kano, he seemed to be on the point of solving the geographical problem respecting the termination of the supposed Niger; when, just as he was leaving Dunrora, four armed messengers from the Sultan of Zegzeg rode up to him, bearing orders for his immediate return to the capital. Remonstrance

* About half a mile from this city, he was told, is a river called Shar or Shárry, which was represented to him (unless the error be Lander's) as flowing *out* of the lake Tchad, and emptying itself into the Niger at Funda.

was in vain; and with a bad grace and a heavy heart, poor Lander complied with the mandate. He was led back to Cuttup by the same route that he had taken; and here, much against the inclination of his guards, he remained four days, suffering under an attack of dysentery. The subsequent part of the route was to the W. of his former track. The Koodoonia, where he crossed it, was much deeper, as well as broader and more rapid.* Four days further, he reached a large river called *Makammee*, "running southerly:" the town of the same name is an hour E. of the ferry. After passing several walled towns, he arrived, in three days more, at an extremely neat and large town, called *Eggebee*, built in the centre of a beautiful and highly-cultivated plain. The inhabitants, amounting to 6 or 7000 souls, were all dressed with peculiar neatness; and the cleanliness they displayed, both in their persons and their huts, reminded our Traveller of his own far-distant country. No town appears to have occurred during the next stage, an eight hours' journey; and the halt was made in the midst of a wood. Beyond this, a rich and fertile country, principally laid out in gardens, extends the whole stage to Zaria.

On being presented to the Sultan of Zegzeg, Lander was told, that the only reason for his being brought

* On Lander's refusing to cross the river till it had become shallower, his guards left him in great wrath, threatening to report his conduct to their master; and they did not return for a fortnight; during which time, Lander remained at a *Bowchee* village an hour distant, very ill, having nothing to eat but boiled corn, not relishing *roasted dog*. The inhabitants, who came by hundreds every day to visit him, were destitute of any clothing, but "behaved in a modest and becoming manner." The men appeared to have no employment or occupation whatever. The women were generally engaged, the greater part of the day, in manufacturing oil from a small black seed and the Guinea nut.

back, was to prevent his falling into the hands of the King of Funda, who, being at war with Sultan Bello, would, probably, it was alleged, have murdered him. Lander supposes, that it was simply in order to gratify the curiosity of the Sultan of Zegzeg and the prince his son, (who were absent when he passed through Zaria, with his master, on their way to Kano,) that he was unfortunately stopped on his journey to Funda. It does not appear, whether he would have been allowed to retrace his steps; but to return by that route, was now out of the question. He accordingly resolved to make the best of his way by the Youriba road. Leaving Zaria on the 24th of July, after various delays, he reached Badagry on the 21st of November,* and arrived in England in the following April; the sole survivor of those who, three years before, had left the country on this adventurous expedition.—We now resume Captain Clapperton's route.

* On his return to Badagry, after having escaped all the perils of the journey, Lander had nearly fallen a victim to the vindictive jealousy of the Portuguese slave-merchants, who denounced him to the king as a spy sent by the English Government. The consequence was, that it was resolved by the chief men to subject him to the ordeal of drinking a fetish. "If you come to do bad," they said, "it will kill you; but if not, it cannot hurt you." There was no alternative or escape. Poor Lander swallowed the contents of the bowl, and then walked hastily out of the hut, through the armed men who surrounded it, to his own lodgings; where he lost no time in getting rid of the fetish drink by a powerful emetic. He afterwards learned, that it almost always proves fatal. When the king and his chiefs found, after five days, that Lander survived, they changed their minds and became extremely kind, concluding that he was under the special protection of God. The Portuguese, however, he had reason to believe, would have taken the first opportunity to assassinate him.

FROM KANO TO SOCCATOO.

It was on the 23d of February (1824), that Captain Clapperton, in his first journey, left Kano for Soccatoo. The route soon entered upon a thickly wooded country, traversed by numerous ravines and dry channels, which are filled by the rains, and the roads are then almost impassable. The road is zig-zag, and is repeatedly crossed by dikes or ridges of white quartz, running N. and S. Numerous Fellatah villages were seen, with large herds of very fine horned cattle and flocks of sheep and goats.* On the 26th, Captain Clapperton halted at a walled town, called Kadania, which was found thinly peopled, the former inhabitants, as in most other captured towns, having been sold by the Fellatahs. On the 28th, he advanced to the town of *Faniroa*, or "White Water." Between Kano and this place, all the torrents are said to run towards the east; but in the next stage, he crossed the dry bed of a large stream which flows towards the west, separating the provinces of Kano and Kashna. After passing Zirmie, the capital of Zamfra, it bends northward, and traverses the province of Ghoober; then, bending again to the west, it washes the city of Soccatoo, and at the distance of four days, enters the Quorra. It is called, in this part, the *Duncamee*, from a town of that name; but, lower down, after receiving several other streams, it assumes that of Quarrama.

* "The shepherd, with his crook, usually goes before the flock, and leads them to fresh pasture, by merely calling with a loud but slow voice, '*Hot, hot,*' while the sheep keep nibbling as they follow."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 309. This description forcibly recals the language of the Son of Jesse, in that exquisite pastoral, the twenty-third Psalm. It will illustrate also John x. 4.

On the 1st of March, after travelling through a thickly wooded country, and passing a considerable walled town, called *Geosa*, he came to ridges of granite running towards the N.E., and halted for the night at a populous town called *Ratah*, remarkably situated amid large blocks of granite, which rise out of the earth like towers, and form its only defence on the northern side: some of the houses are perched like bird-cages on the top of the rocks. The next day's route lay through a beautiful and well cultivated country, rendered extremely romantic by ledges of rock and clumps of large trees; and the town of *Bershee*, where he halted, is also situated among large blocks of granite. The day following, the road passed through little valleys, delightfully green, between high ridges of granite; and to add to the beauty of the scenery, there were many clear springs issuing from the rocks, where the young women were employed drawing water. The dry channel of the large river above-mentioned, was crossed four times in three hours. It winds beautifully, with steep and high wooded banks. On the 4th, the same beautiful country continued, interspersed with villages romantically situated among the granite ridges, and having the appearance, in many parts, of an ornamental park in England. The cultivation increased, and the road became crowded with passengers and loaded bullocks, on approaching Zirmie.

This town, the capital of the province of Zamfra, occupies a peninsula formed by the river, which has here very high and steep banks, covered with mimosas and prickly bushes, through which a narrow path winds to the gates. It is surrounded with a clay wall and dry ditch. The governor bears the character of a freebooter, and the inhabitants are reputed the

greatest rogues in all Houssa. Runaway slaves from all parts, flee to Zirmie as an asylum, where they are always welcomed. The inhabitants have, in general, a remarkably independent, reckless look. Some of them are particularly wild and savage in appearance, their only clothing being a tanned sheep-skin round their loins, cut into tassels, and ornamented with cowries; while their woolly hair is cut in parts or shaved, the rest being plaited and formed into crests and circles, or left to hang in shaggy ringlets. Captain Clapperton did not halt here, but passing through an opening in a range of low hills, through which the Quarrama finds a channel, he reached, on the 5th, the town of Quarri or Quarra, situated in latitude 13° 7′ 14″ N. This is a walled town containing between 5 and 6000 inhabitants, chiefly Fellatahs. During the dry season, a number of Tuaricks from Bilma, come here with salt, and lodge in huts outside the walls. It stands on the northern bank of the Quarrama, a mile and a half W. of its junction with a river from the S.W. The banks of the river are planted with onions, melons, cotton, indigo, and some wheat, which are watered, by means of a basket and lever, from holes dug about two feet deep in the sandy channel, in which water is always found in abundance.

In returning from Soccatoo, Captain Clapperton took a different route, proceeding from Zirmie in a direction nearly W., to Kashna, three days distant, situated in latitude 12° 59′ N. This provincial capital, which is said to have borne the name of *Sangras* about a century ago, derives its present name, Kashna (or Geshna), from the small underwood growing on the ridge on which the town is built, and which is one of the many long ridges of sienite that run from N.N.E. to S.S.W. The walls are of clay, and very

extensive; but, as at Kano, the houses do not occupy above one-tenth of the space inclosed; the rest being laid out in fields or covered with wood. The governor's residence resembles a large village, and is about half a mile to the east of all the other buildings. The houses are mostly in ruins, the principal commerce of the country having been transferred to Kano since the Fellatah conquest; there is, nevertheless, a considerable trade still carried on here, Kashna being a favourite resort of the Tuaricks who frequent Soudan in the dry months. There are two daily markets, one held in the northern, the other in the southern part of the town. The latter is chiefly attended by merchants from Ghadamis and Tuat: the former by Tuaricks. The Ghadamis and Tuat merchants bring unwrought silk, cotton and woollen cloths, beads, and a little cochineal; which they sell for *cowries*, to be exchanged by their agents at Kano for blue *tobes* and *turkadees*, with which they supply the fair at Ghraat: what is not there disposed of to the Tuaricks, is sent to Timbuctoo. The manufactures of Kashna are chiefly of leather, such as water-skins, red or yellow cushions, bridles of goat-skin, and hides: very good dried beef is also prepared here, with which the Arab merchants usually provide themselves before crossing the desert. The fruits here are figs, melons, pomegranates, and limes. Grapes are said to have been plentiful in former times, but at the Fellatah conquest, the vines were all cut down.*

The route from Quarra to Soccatoo, lies for some

* Denham, vol. ii. pp. 390—392. Captain Clapperton left Kashna on the 17th of May, and passing through a well-cultivated country, in some parts exhibiting the traces of the Fellatah conquest in the ruins of walled towns, reached Duncamee on the 19th, and Kano on the 22nd.

hours over a rich plain, clear of wood, and covered with plantations of indigo, cotton, and millet: a wooded tract succeeds, extending to the river Foulchir (or Fulche), which joins the river of Zirmie half a day's journey to the N. It was now almost dry; the channel, where our Traveller crossed it, only 30 or 40 yards wide. In his second journey, however, (Oct., 1827,) Captain Clapperton crossed it nearer its junction with the Quarri (or Quarrama), where it was upwards of 100 yards in breadth, the ford about 4 feet deep, and flowing with a current about two miles and a half an hour. He afterwards travelled for an hour along its banks, which are low, sandy, and woody. After leaving it, the country became a succession of sandy ridges and swamps, and thick woods of acacias and other mimosas, extending to the Lake Gondamee. This part of the country, on the confines of the provinces of Ghoober and Zamfra, is especially dreaded by *kafilas;* and a place better adapted for "land pirates," is scarcely to be conceived. Kalawawa, the capital of Ghoober, is one day's journey to the southward. To the W. of the lake, the country rises into ridges running N.N.E., over which the road to Soccatoo passes; and on the fourth day from Quarri, Captain Clapperton entered the Fellatah capital.

In his second journey, our Traveller found the Fellatahs encamped on the borders of this lake, which is formed by the rivers Zirmie (or Quarrama) and Zarrie. It is more properly, he says, "a chain of lakes and swamps, extending through the greater part of the plains of Gondamee, almost to Soccatoo. The borders of these lakes are the resort of numbers of elephants and other wild beasts. The appearance at this season, and at the spot where I saw it, was very beautiful; all the acacia-trees were in blossom, some

with white flowers, others with yellow, forming a contrast with the small dusky leaves, like gold and silver tassels on a cloak of dark green velvet. I observed some fine large fish leaping in the lake. Some of the troops were bathing; others watering their horses, bullocks, camels, and asses; the lake as smooth as glass, and flowing around the roots of the trees. The sun, on its approach to the horizon, throws the shadows of the flowery acacias along its surface, like sheets of burnished gold and silver. The smoking fires on its banks, the sounding of horns, the beating of their gongs or drums, the braying of their brass and tin trumpets, the rude huts of grass or branches of trees, rising as if by magic, every where the calls on the names of Mahomed, Abdo, Mustafa, &c., with the neighing of horses and the braying of asses,—gave animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake, and its sloping green and woody banks. The only regulation that appears in these [rude feudal armies, is, that they take up their ground according to the situation of the provinces, east, west, north, or south; but all are otherwise huddled together, without the least regularity."

The Sultan was himself encamped, with the forces from Soccatoo, near Coonia, a city of Ghoober, at that time in revolt, whither our Traveller proceeded to join him; and he arrived just in time to be an eye-witness of a specimen of the military tactics and conduct of these much dreaded Fellatahs. Of this curious scene, he gives the following recital.

"After the midday prayers, all, except the eunuchs, camel-drivers, and such other servants as were of use only to prevent theft, whether mounted or on foot, marched towards the object of attack; and soon arrived before the walls of the city. I also accompa-

nied them, and took up my station close to the Gadado. The march had been the most disorderly that can be imagined; horse and foot intermingling in the greatest confusion, all rushing to get forward; sometimes the followers of one chief tumbling amongst those of another, when swords were half unsheathed, but all ended in making a face, or putting on a threatening aspect. We soon arrived before Coonia, the capital of the rebels of Ghoober, which was not above half a mile in diameter, being nearly circular, and built on the bank of one of the branches of the river, or lakes, which I have mentioned. Each chief, as he came up, took his station, which, I suppose, had previously been assigned to him. The number of fighting men brought before the town, could not, I think, be less than fifty or sixty thousand, horse and foot, of which the foot amounted to more than nine-tenths. For the depth of two hundred yards, all round the walls, was a dense circle of men and horses. The horse kept out of bow-shot, while the foot went up as they felt courage or inclination, and kept up a straggling fire with about thirty muskets and the shooting of arrows. In front of the Sultan, the Zegzeg troops had one French fusil: the Kano forces had forty-one muskets. These fellows, whenever they fired their pieces, ran out of bow-shot to load; all of them were slaves; not a single Fellatah had a musket. The enemy kept up a sure and slow fight, seldom throwing away their arrows until they saw an opportunity of letting fly with effect. Now and then, a single horseman would gallop up to the ditch, and brandish his spear, the rider taking care to cover himself with his large leathern shield, and return as fast as he went; generally calling out lustily, when he got among his own party, 'Shields to the wall!' 'You people of the

Gadado, (or Atego, &c.) why do not you hasten to the wall?' To which some voices would call out, 'Oh! you have a good large shield to cover you!' The cry of 'Shields to the wall!' was constantly heard from the several chiefs to their troops; but they disregarded the call, and neither chiefs nor vassals moved from the spot. At length, the men in quilted armour went up 'per order.' They certainly cut not a bad figure at a distance, as their helmets were ornamented with black and white ostrich feathers, and the sides of the helmets with pieces of tin, which glittered in the sun, their long quilted cloaks of gaudy colours reaching over part of the horses' tails, and hanging over the flanks. On the neck, even the horse's armour was notched, or vandyked, to look like a mane; on his forehead, and over his nose, was a brass or tin plate, as also a semicircular piece on each side. The rider was armed with a large spear; and he had to be assisted to mount his horse, as his quilted cloak was too heavy; it required two men to lift him on. There were six of them belonging to each governor, and six to the Sultan. I at first thought, the foot would take advantage of going under cover of these unwieldy machines; but no, they went alone, as fast as the poor horses could bear them, which was but a slow pace. They had one musket in Coonia, and it did wonderful execution, for it brought down the van of the quilted men, who fell from his horse like a sack of corn thrown from a horse's back at a miller's door; but both horse and man were brought off by two or three footmen. He had got two balls through his breast; one went through his body and both sides of the tobe; the other went through and lodged in the quilted armour opposite the shoulders."

"The cry of *Allahu akber* (God is great), the war-

cry of the Fellatahs, was resounded through the whole army every quarter of an hour; but neither this, nor 'Shields to the wall,' nor, 'Why do not the Gadado's people go up?' had any effect, except to produce a scuffle among themselves; when the chiefs would have to ride up and part their followers, who, instead of fighting against the enemy, were more likely to fight with one another." At sun-set, the besiegers drew off, and the harmless campaign terminated in a desertion on the part of the Zirmie troops, followed by a general retreat.

"The flags of the Fellatahs are white, like the French, and their staff is a palm-branch. They are not borne by men of honour, but by their slaves. The Sultan had six borne before him; each of the governors had two. They also dress in white *tobes* and trowsers, as an emblem of their purity in faith and intention." These feudal forces, however, Captain Clapperton says, are most contemptible, ever more ready to fall out with one another, than to engage with the enemy, and rarely acting in concert. "The most useful personage in the army, and as brave," he adds, "as any of us, was an old female slave of the Sultan's, a native of Zamfra, five of whose former governors, she said, she had nursed. She was of a dark copper colour, in dress and countenance very like one of Captain Lyon's female Esquimaux.* She was mounted on a long-backed, bright bay horse, with a scraggy tail, crop-eared, and the mane as if the rats had eaten part of it; and he was not in high condition. She rode a-straddle; had on, a conical straw dish-cover for a hat, or to shade her face from the sun, a short dirty white bed-gown, a pair of dirty white loose and wide trowsers, a pair of Houssa boots, which are wide, and come up over the knee, fastened with a string round the waist. She

had also a whip and spurs. At her saddle-bow hung about half a dozen gourds, filled with water, and a brass basin to drink out of; and with this she supplied the wounded and the thirsty."*

The army being disbanded, Captain Clapperton obtained the Sultan's permission to proceed to Soccatoo, where he found every thing ready for his reception in the house he had occupied on his former visit.

SOCCATOO.

This city, the present capital of the Fellatah dominions, is situated in lat. 13° 4′ 52″ N., long. 6° 12′ E. It stands on the top of a low hill, near the junction of an inconsiderable stream with the Zirmie river, which crossing the district of Cubbé in a S.W. direction, at the distance of four days' journey, enters the Quorra.† The name signifies a halting-place, the city having been built by the Fellatahs, after their conquest of Ghoober and Zamfra, about the year 1805. "It occupies," says Captain Clapperton, "a long ridge which slopes gently towards the north, and appeared to me the most populous town I had visited in the interior of Africa; for, unlike most other towns in Houssa, where the houses are thinly scattered, it is laid out in regular well-built streets. The houses approach close to the walls, which were built by the present sultan in 1818, after the death of his father; the old walls being too confined for the increasing population. This wall is between twenty and thirty feet high, and has twelve gates, which are regularly closed at sunset. There are two

* Clapperton, pp. 185—189.

† This river is well stored with fish, which afford the poor inhabitants a very considerable part of their food.

large mosques, including the new one at present building by the Gadado, besides several other places for prayer. There is a spacious market-place in the centre of the city, and another large square in front of the sultan's residence. The dwellings of the principal people are surrounded with high walls, which enclose numerous coozees and flat-roofed houses, built in the Moorish style; whose large water-spouts of baked clay, projecting from the eaves, resemble at first sight a tier of guns. The inhabitants are principally Fellatahs, possessing numerous slaves. Such of the latter as are not employed in domestic duties, reside in houses by themselves, where they follow various trades; the master, of course, reaping the profit. Their usual employments are weaving, house-building, shoe-making, and iron work: many bring fire-wood to the market for sale. Those employed in raising grain and tending cattle, of which the Fellatahs have immense herds, reside in villages without the city. It is customary for private individuals to free a number of slaves every year, according to their means, during the great feast after the Rhamadan. The enfranchised seldom return to their native country, but continue to reside near their old masters, still acknowledging them as their superiors, and presenting them yearly with a portion of their earnings. The trade of Soccatoo is at present inconsiderable, owing to the disturbed state of the surrounding country. The necessaries of life are very cheap: butchers' meat is in great plenty, and very good. The exports are principally civet and blue check tobes, called *sharie*, which are manufactured by the slaves from Nyffee, of whom the men are considered as the most expert weavers in Soudan, and the women as the best spinners. The common imports are

brought from the borders of Ashantee; and coarse calico and woollen cloth, in small quantities, with brass and pewter dishes, and some few spices from Nyffee. The Arabs, from Tripoli and Ghadamis, bring unwrought silk, attar of roses, spices, and beads. Slaves are both exported and imported. A great quantity of Guinea corn is taken every year by the Tuaricks, in exchange for salt. The market is extremely well supplied, and is held daily from sunrise to sunset. On the north side of Soccatoo, there is a low marsh, with some stagnant pools of water, between the city and the river: this, perhaps, may be the cause of the great prevalence of ague, as the city stands in a fine airy situation."

During the interval between Captain Clapperton's first and second visit, nearly two-thirds of the city were destroyed by a conflagration, said to have been the work of the Ghoober rebels. But an African city is soon rebuilt, and our Traveller was unable to perceive much alteration, if any, in the buildings. Its present appearance is thus described.

"The city is surrounded with a wall about 24 feet high, and a dry ditch. The wall is kept in good repair, and there are eleven gates; one * having been built up at the breaking out of the rebellion. The house of the Sultan is surrounded with a clay wall, about 20 feet high, having two low, tower-like entrances; one on the east, the other on the west. The eastern one is guarded entirely by eunuchs, the harem being on that side. The whole house forms a little town of itself; for within it, are five square towers, a small mosque, a great number of huts, and a garden,

* In the printed work, it is *seven*; but this must be a mistake of the transcriber or printer, as the former account mentions "twelve gates" as the number in 1824.

besides a house, which consists of one single room, used as a place for his receiving and hearing complaints, receiving visiters, and giving audiences to strangers. This room or house is nothing more than what we should call in our country a shed. Two large pillars support a beam, or bundle of long rods, plastered over with clay. These support the rafters, which are of the branches of the palm-tree; on the back part is an imitation of a fire-place, with a fire-screen before it; and on each side are two chairs, which are also plastered with clay, and coloured like mahogany. The ornament or figure on the back of these, is the same as those seen on a number of chairs in England, and corresponds to that on the fire-screen. The walls are ornamented partly in the European, and partly in the African fashion. There are two doors, one in the front towards the right, and the other in the left end of the house, and which leads through a small street of huts to a large hut with two doors: passing through, and within a few yards of it, stands a large, square clay tower, with an entrance in the west side. The interior of this is common in most of the great men's houses in Houssa. It is in the shape of a dome, formed of eight arches springing from the ground; in the centre of which is a large, bright brass basin, acting, as it were, in the place of a key-stone to the arches, which are turned by branches plastered over with clay. If I had not seen them constructing the arches and pillars of a mosque, I should have supposed them to be formed entirely of clay, as the wood in no part appears. The clay serves to keep the white ants from destroying the wood: they are ornamented in their fashion while the clay is wet, an operation performed with the fingers and a small square stick. From the arches, about one-third up, runs a

gallery quite round the interior building, having a railing with pillars of wood, covered and ornamented with clay. There are three steps leading up to this gallery, from which everything in the dome may be seen or heard. Passages also lead from it into small rooms, having each one small window, or square hole; some appearing to be used as store-rooms, and others as sleeping-rooms. The floor of the dome was covered with clean white sand. The height might be, from the floor to the brass basin in the centre of the arches, from 35 to 40 feet. The air inside of this dome was cool and pleasant; and Bello told me, he often used it as a place to read in during the heat of the day. These two apartments are the only two I have seen deserving remark within his inclosure. One night that he sent for me, when it was rather late, I was led by the hand by an old woman through several apartments before I arrived at the one in which he was. As there was no light, I could only judge by the stooping, and ascending and descending through doors and galleries, that I passed through some large rooms, out of one into another.

"The houses of the other great men, and those of his brothers, are nearly the same, but on a much smaller scale. A great number of the poorer sort are fenced round with matting, or the stalk of dourra or millet. Before the west front of the Sultan's inclosure is a large open space, of an irregular form, on the west side of which stands the principal mosque. In this space is also the prison, a building of about 80 feet long, and nearly the same in breadth, covered at top with a flat clay roof, overlaid with boughs. Inside is a deep pit, where those who have committed the greatest crimes are confined. No person is put in prison for debt; only thieves, prisoners of war, (taken

singly,) such as spies, and disobedient slaves, who, on a complaint to the Sultan that they will not work, are sent to prison. Their only food is the bran or husks of millet and dourra, with water; but their friends are allowed to give them food, if they have any. It is a filthy place, and the terror of the men slaves of Soccatoo. The prisoners are taken out, two and two, every day, to work at the walls, or any laborious work which may occur.

"Another house, with the tomb of the Sultan, is further to the west of the mosque, on the north side of a broad street which leads to the western gate. It is occupied by his widows, concubines, and youngest son, called Abdelgader, who is not arrived at a proper age to have a house for himself. The Sheikh's tent is inside of the square inclosure, behind the room he generally occupied when living. It is visited as a holy place by all Mahommedan strangers." *

Of this illustrious personage, the founder of Soccatoo, and the father of its present Sultan, our Traveller gives the following account.

Sheikh Othman Danfodio (*i. e.* the son of Fodio), was styled (like Sheikh El Kanemy) Sheikh of the Koran, from his being perfect master of that book, any part of which he is said to have been able to repeat and explain from memory. He was a proficient in all the learning of the Arabs; could speak all the dialects of Arabic, as well as most of the languages of the Interior; and enjoyed the reputation of being a prophet. He came originally from the woods of Ader or Tadela, and having settled in Ghoober, built a town, where the Fellatahs soon began to gather round him. Owing, however, to his interference with affairs

* Clapperton, pp. 207—210.

of state, he became obnoxious to the Sultan of that country, and was ordered to quit the territory. Upon his refusing to obey the order of ejectment, the natives of Ghoober rose and drove him out with all his people. He now again settled in Ader, not in the woods, however, but built himself a town. Fellatahs soon, from all quarters, flocked to his standard, whom he divided under different chiefs, and giving to each leader a white flag, he bade them go and conquer in the name of God and the Prophet, as heaven had given to the Fellatahs, the only true believers, the lands and riches of all the *kaffir* nations. Every Fellatah was to wear a white *tobe*, and the war-cry was to be *Allahu Akber*. The heathen tribes of Soudan, lulled into a fatal security, were ill prepared to resist the impetuous attacks of an enemy united by confidence in their leader, and animated at once by the lust of plunder and the ardour of fanaticism. Kano submitted without a blow. The people of Ghoober, having taken the alarm, assaulted Danfodio in his town, in Ader, but were repulsed; and the wily old chief attacking them in his turn, killed their Sultan, and overran their country. After this, the whole of Houssa, with Cubbé, Youri, and part of Nyffee, fell under his dominion. The whole of the Interior, from east to west, was terror-struck. Bornou was attacked with success, as was also Youriba; but, in the latter country, the Fellatahs met with more resistance than anywhere else. The Youribanies, being confirmed *kaffirs*, could not be brought to acknowledge the mission of the Sheikh; and, on being invaded, they put to death all Moslem, whether natives or travelling merchants. The Fellatahs, however, took Rakah, Elora (or Affaga), and a great number of other towns, extending their inroads as far as the coast. They once

entered Eyeo, the capital, the greater part of which they burned, giving liberty to all the Mohammedan slaves, and encouraging others to kill their pagan masters, and join them.

No sooner had the Fellatahs fairly established themselves, than Arabs, from both the east and the west, came to congratulate Danfodio on his newly-acquired territory. To those of Tripoli and Fezzan, he made large presents of slaves and camels, sending none away empty-handed. The fame of his conquests was thus spread in all directions. Numbers of Fellatahs from the west came to settle in Houssa: these, the Sheikh located principally in *Zegzeg*, giving them the lands of the negro tribes who had fled to the mountains lying to the south of that province.

"The Fellatahs or Foulahs," continues Captain Clapperton, "before he gathered them under his government, did not live in towns, but were scattered over the greater part of Soudan, attending to their herds and flocks, living in temporary huts, generally in the midst of unfrequented woods, and seldom visiting the towns. This business they left to the women, who attended the markets, and sold the produce of their cattle. The men were reported to live a religious and harmless life, spending a great part of their time in reading the Koran and other religious books. Now and then, a few of their learned men would come forth, and engage themselves for a few years with the Mahometan sultans and governors, until they had collected a little money, with which they purchased a few cattle, and then returned to the woods to their countrymen, who moved about from one province to another, according to the seasons, and the nature and quantity of pasture and water; contented with building temporary huts of straw and rushes, and to be

left in peace. No one indeed thought of disturbing them, or of interfering with their pursuits, they being probably considered as too contemptible and insignificant to excite any fear. Thus dispersed, no one but themselves knew or could guess at their numbers. Melli, or the petty kingdoms of Foota-Torra, Foota-Bondoo, and Foota-Jallo, were the places whence they spread themselves eastward, until they became very considerable, in point of numbers, in all the countries between the above-mentioned places and Waday. Many of them had performed their pilgrimage to Mecca, and others had visited the empires of Turkey and Morocco, as also Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, bringing back with them all the Arabic books they were able to beg or buy."

During the reign of the Sheikh, the Mohammedan code was strictly enforced, not only among the Fellatahs, but also among his Arab and negro subjects; and "the whole country, when not in a state of war, was so well regulated, that it was a common saying, that a woman might travel with a casket of gold upon her head from one end of the Fellatah dominions to another." * At length, in A.H. 1218 (A.D. 1802), the old Sheikh became insane, and his madness took a very unhappy turn. In his paroxysms, he would cry out, that he should go to hell for having put to death so many good Mussulmans. Of this, the Arabs took advantage to extort presents from him, to assuage the manes of their friends. Not so the Fellatahs, whose veneration for their chief was so great, that, when his head was being shaved, the hairs were carefully collected by them, and preserved in cases of gold and

* The same saying was current among the Moors respecting the empire of Morocco in the reign of Muley Ismael.—See p. 344 of our first volume.

silver; and numbers used to come from all parts of the Interior, Negroes as well as Fellatahs, to obtain a sight of him. Sheikh Othman died in A.H. 1232, (A.D. 1816,) when his son, Mohammed Bello, succeeded to the government of Houssa; * but the conquered territories to the westward of Houssa, were given to his nephew, Mohammed Ben Abdallah. The death of Danfodio was the signal for an attempt on the part of the conquered provinces to throw off the yoke; and all the Fellatahs that could be seized, were put to death. Since then, Sultan Bello has retaken the greater part of Ghoober and Nyffee; and Zamfra, Guari, and Cubbé have, in part, submitted, on condition of being ruled by their native chiefs, without the interference of the Fellatahs. †

Sultan Bello is described as a portly and noble-looking personage, five feet ten inches in stature, with a short, curling, black beard, a small mouth, Grecian

* On the death of the Sheikh, Ateeko, the brother of Mohammed Bello, both by father and mother, attempted to usurp the government; his brother having intimated his intention to resign the splendour of sovereignty for a learned and holy life. Ateeko, we are told, "had even the audacity to enter his brother's house, preceded by drums and trumpets; and when Bello inquired the cause of the tumult, he received the first intimation of his brother's perfidy, in the answer, 'The Sultan Ateeko is come.' Bello, nowise disconcerted, immediately ordered the usurper into his presence; when Ateeko pleaded, in vindication of his conduct, his brother's proposed disinclination to reign; to which the Sultan only deigned to reply, 'Go and take off these trappings, or I will take off your head.' Ateeko, with characteristic abjectness of spirit, began to wring his hands, as if washing them in water, and called God and the Prophet to witness that his motives were innocent and upright; since which time, he has remained in the utmost obscurity."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 356. Captain Clapperton says, that Bello confined him to his house for twelve months, and "they are now as good friends as before."—Clapperton, p. 207. Few sultans would have acted with the magnanimity of this Fellatah sovereign.

† Clapperton, pp. 203—207.

nose, fine forehead, and large black eyes. When Captain Clapperton was first presented to him, he was dressed in a light blue cotton *tobe*, with a white muslin turban, the shawl of which he wore over the nose and mouth in the Tuarick fashion. He bade the Captain welcome with much apparent cordiality, and discovered an intelligent curiosity respecting the nations of Europe, making particular inquiries respecting our religious distinctions. He asked Captain Clapperton, whether his countrymen were Nestorians or Socinians: of Protestants, under that name, he had never heard. Among the presents from his Britannic Majesty, the compass and spy-glass excited his attention the most; and he was much gratified on learning that, by means of the former, he could at any time find out the East, and direct his daily prayers to the proper *kebla*. The assurance that we have no slaves in England, excited great surprise. "God is great," he exclaimed, "you are a beautiful people." During his stay at Soccatoo, the Captain was regularly supplied with provisions from the Sultan's table, on pewter dishes with the London stamp. One day, he had a piece of meat served up to him in a white washhand basin of English manufacture. He remained here from the middle of March till the first week in May; when, having been obliged to abandon his intention of reaching the coast by way of Youri, owing to the alleged dangers of the road, he set off on his homeward route through Kano and Bornou, and on the 10th of July, once more found himself at Kouka.

The reception which Captain Clapperton met with from the Sultan of the Fellatahs, on his second mission, was not less kind and gratifying; but war had in the interim broken out between Sultan Bello

and the Sheikh of Bornou, on which account our Traveller was given to understand, that he could not be allowed to proceed to Kouka; and he was required to give up the letter and presents designed for the Sheikh. It was suspected, that the latter might include arms or warlike stores. Upon his refusal, they were taken from him; and this breach of faith on the part of the Sultan, as Captain Clapperton regarded it, had such an effect upon his spirits, that his servant Lander says, he never saw him smile afterwards. Yet, in all other respects, he was treated with undiminished hospitality and consideration; and Bello discovered an honourable anxiety to explain his conduct, and to soothe the irritated feelings of our Traveller.* Not long afterwards, intelligence was re-

* The following letter addressed by Sultan Bello to Captain Clapperton while at Soccatoo, does equal honour to his head and his heart. "In the name of God; and praise be to God, &c., &c. To Abd Allah Clapperton, salutation and esteem. You are now our guest, and a guest is always welcomed by us; you are the messenger of a king, and a king's messenger is always honoured by us; you come to us under our honour as an ambassador, and an ambassador is always protected by us. There is no harm in the King's minister's sending you to the Sheikh Kanemi of Bornou; nor do we see any harm in your coming when thus sent. But when you formerly came to us from Bornou, peace was then between us and the Sheikh; whereas there is now war between him and ourselves; we cannot perceive any blame in our preventing warlike stores from being sent to him. We continue to maintain our faith with you, and are ready to attend to all your wishes, because we consider you as a trusty friend, and one who enjoys a high degree of esteem with us. Do not encroach upon us; we will not encroach upon you. We have rights to maintain, and you have also rights to be respected. And *salam* be to you." (Sealed as usual.) See Quart. Rev., No. lxxviii. p. 521. "It is difficult to conceive," it is added, "why so reasonable and friendly a letter should have failed to subdue the irritation of the Traveller: this can be accounted for only by his ill-health, or by supposing that he was ignorant of its contents."

ceived at Soccatoo, of the total defeat of Sheikh El Kanemy by the governors of Zegzeg, Fudba, and Kano, and of his subsequent retreat with the loss of all his baggage, camels, and tents, 209 horses, and a number of slaves. This news put the Fellatahs into high spirits; and the Sultan redoubled his attentions to our Traveller, discussing with him which would be the best way of his returning to England. But Clapperton's health had long been declining; and on the 12th of March, the date of the last entry in his journal, he was attacked with dysentery. For twenty days, he remained in a low and distressed state, his body gradually wasting away till he was reduced to a mere skeleton. On the 1st of April, he became sensibly worse; and on the 13th, he expired. The body was interred, agreeably to the Sultan's directions, at Jungavie, a small village on a rising ground about five miles to the S.E. of Soccatoo, Lander performing the last sad office of reading the English service over the remains of his generous and intrepid master; and a house was erected over the grave. The fire-arms, powder, flints, and gilt chains belonging to the deceased, were demanded by the Sultan; but Lander was allowed to put his own price upon them; and an order was given him to receive the amount at Kano, as well as what more he might require for his journey. The details of his homeward route have already been given; and it now only remains to collate the notices contained in this most interesting volume, with the information furnished by preceding Travellers, relative to the manners and customs of these Fellatahs, who seem destined to become the most powerful nation in Central Africa.

THE FELLATAHS.

THE ordinary occupations of all classes of the Fellatahs, are described as follows. "They rise at day-break, wash, and say their prayers, count their beads for about half an hour, and then chew a gora-nut, if they have any; after which, they sip a quantity of *senkie* or *furro-furrocoo* (preparations of dourra-flowers, flour, and milk, or water). About ten A.M., they have boiled rice served with a little melted butter. After this, they pay visits, or lounge in the shade, hear the news, say prayers, and count their beads, till sunset, when they take a meal of pudding with a little stewed meat or a few small fish. They then retire to rest. During the spring and harvest, the proprietors of estates ride out to their different slave-villages, to look after their grain, cotton, or indigo-plantations, or to the place where they have their cattle. The wives of the principal people, (who all appear to keep up the number allowed by the Koran,) are occupied in directing the female slaves in their work, cooking their husbands' food, cleaning and spinning cotton, and dressing their hair, teeth, eye-brows, and eye-lashes; which take up no little time. They also take charge of sending the female slaves to market, to sell their spare cotton, grain, *furro-furrocoo*, millet, cakes fried in butter, and fried fish: the latter are usually caught by the younger male slaves. Much time is spent in receiving and paying visits; for they are great gossips, and are allowed more liberty than the generality of Mohammedan women.

"The dress of the men is a red cap with a blue tassel of silk, a white turban, part of which, or a fold, shades the brow and eyes; another fold is taken over the nose, which covers the mouth and chin, hanging down

on the breast; a white shirt, close at the breast, and short in the skirts, a large white tobe, and white trowsers, trimmed with red or green silk, and a pair of sandals or boots: this is the dress of the greater part of the wealthy inhabitants. When travelling, they wear, over the turban, a broad-brimmed straw hat, with a round, low crown. Some who do not affect great sanctity or learning, wear check tobes and blue turbans over the forehead, with the end hanging down behind; the poorer, a white check tobe, white cap and trowsers, and sandals. Some are content with the straw hat only; but all wear a sword, which is carried over the left shoulder. The women have a cloth striped with blue, white, and red, falling as low as the ancles; silver rings in the ears, about an inch and a half in diameter; bracelets of horn, glass, brass, copper, or silver, according to the quality of the wearer; round the neck, beads and strings of glass, or coral; round the ancles, brass, copper, or silver, and sometimes rings on the toes as well as fingers. The fashionable ornament is a Spanish dollar soldered fast to a ring. The poor women have pewter, brass, and copper rings. The hair is generally turned up like a crest on the top of the head, with something like a pig's tail hanging down from each extremity, a little before the ears.

"Some of the Fellatah women have the hair frizzed out at the ends, all round the head; others have the hair plaited in four small plaits, going round the head like a riband or bandeau. This, and all the plaited parts, are well smeared over with indigo or shumri. The razor is applied to smooth all uneven places, and to give a high and fine arch to the forehead; they thin the eye-brows to a fine line, which, with the eye-lashes, are rubbed over with pounded lead ore: this is

done by drawing a small pen that has been dipped in this ore. The teeth are then dyed with the gora-nut, and a root of a shining red colour; the hands and feet, the toe and finger nails, are stained red with henna. A lady, thus equipped, is fit to appear in the best society. The looking-glass is a circular piece of metal, about an inch and a half in diameter, set in a small skin box, and is often applied to. The young girls of the better sort of people, dress much in the same manner as their mothers, after they arrive at the age of nine or ten: before that, they have very little dress, except the binta or apron, scolloped or vandyked round with red cloth, with two long, broad strings vandyked round in the same manner, hanging down as low as the heels behind. This is the dress of the poorer sort of people, until fit for marriage, as also of a great many of the virgin female slaves.

"Their marriages are celebrated without any pomp or noise. The bride, as far as I was informed, is always consulted by her parents; but a refusal on her part is unknown. The poorer class of people make up matters much in the same way; that is, after having got the consent of one another, they ask their father and mother. The dowry given by a man of good condition with regard to riches, may be said to consist of young female slaves, carved and mounted calabashes or gourds, filled with millet, dourra, and rice, cloths for the loins, bracelets, and the equipage of her toilet, and one or two large wooden mortars for beating corn, &c. and stones for grinding, &c.: even these are carried in procession on the heads of her female slaves, when she first goes to her husband's house.

"They always bury their dead behind the house which the deceased occupied while living.* The fol-

* See p. 317 of our second volume.

lowing day, all the friends and relations of the deceased visit the head of the family, and sit awhile with the bereaved party. If the husband dies, the widow returns to the house of her parents, with the property she brought with her.

"The domestic slaves are generally well treated. The males who have arrived at the age of eighteen or nineteen, are given a wife, and sent to live at their villages and farms in the country, where they build a hut, and, until the harvest, are fed by their owners. When the time for cultivating the ground and sowing the seed comes on, the owner points out what he requires, and what is to be sown on it. The slave is then allowed to inclose a part for himself and family. The hours of labour, for his master, are from daylight till mid-day; the remainder of the day is employed on his own, or in any other way he may think proper. At the time of harvest, when they cut and tie up the grain, each slave gets a bundle of the different sorts of grain, about a bushel of our measure, for himself. The grain on his own ground is entirely left for his own use, and he may dispose of it as he thinks proper. At the vacant seasons of the year, he must attend to the calls of his master, whether to accompany him on a journey, or to go to war, if so ordered.

"The children of a slave are also slaves, and, when able, are usually sent out to attend the goats and sheep, and, at a more advanced age, the bullocks and larger cattle; they are soon afterwards taken home to the master's house, to look after his horse or his domestic concerns, as long as they remain single. The domestic slaves are fed the same as the rest of the family, with whom they appear to be on an equality of footing.

"The children of slaves, whether dwelling in the house or on the farm, are never sold, unless their be-

haviour is such, that, after repeated punishment, they continue unmanageable, so that the master is compelled to part with them. The slaves that are sold, are those taken from the enemy, or newly purchased, who on trial do not suit the purchaser. When a male or female slave dies unmarried, his property goes to the owner. The children of the slaves are sometimes educated with those of the owner; but this is not generally the case.

"The male and female children of the better sort of the Fellatahs, are all taught to write and read Arabic, but are instructed separately. The male children of the great are generally sent to another town, at some distance from that where their parents reside, to receive their education; in which case, they usually reside in the house of a friend, and a mallem, or man of learning, attends them. Those of the middle and lower classes generally send their children to the schools, which they attend for an hour at day-break, and another at sunset, reading their Arabic lessons aloud and simultaneously. They are required to get their lessons by heart before the writing is washed off the board on which it is written. The ink thus diluted is drunk by the scholars, when their master writes a new lesson on the board.

"These Africans keep up the appearance of religion: they pray five times a day. They seldom take the trouble to wash before prayers, except in the morning; but they go through the motions of washing, clapping their hands on the ground as if in water, and muttering a prayer. All their prayers and religious expressions are in Arabic; and I may say, without exaggeration, taking Negroes and Fellatahs together, that not one in a thousand knows what he is saying. All they know of their religion is, to repeat their prayers by rote in

Arabic. Of the Fellatahs, about one in ten is able to read and write. They believe, they say, in predestination, but it is all a farce. They believe, however, in divination by the book, in dreams, and in good and bad omens.

"The government of the Fellatahs in Soudan, is in its infancy. The governors of the different provinces are appointed during pleasure; and all their property, on their death or removal, falls to the Sultan. The appointment to a vacancy is sold to the highest bidder, who is generally a near relation, provided that his property is sufficient to enable him to bid up to the mark. All the inferior offices in the towns are sold in like manner by the governors, who also succeed to the property of those petty officers at their death or removal.....In the province of Kano, they have no regular system of taxation. A great deal of marketable property is claimed by the governor, such as two-thirds of the produce of all the date-trees* and other fruit-trees, the proprietor being allowed only the remaining third. A small duty is also levied on every article sold in the market; or, in lieu thereof, a certain rent is paid for the stall or shed. A duty is also fixed on every *tobe* that is dyed blue, and sold. On grain, there is no duty. Kano produces the greatest revenue that the Sultan receives: it is paid monthly, in horses, cloth, and cowries. Adamowa pays yearly in slaves; Yacoba, in slaves and lead-ore; Zegzeg, in slaves and cowries; Zamfra, the same; Hadiga and Katagum, and Zaonima, in horses, bullocks, and slaves; Kashna, in slaves, cowries, and cloth; Ader, or Tadela, in bul-

* "They have not been able to make the date-tree grow at Soccatoo: whenever it gets a little above ground, it rots and dies. They have a great many wild fruit-trees; the principal is the butter-tree. A few fig and pomegranate trees are grown in gardens."

locks, sheep, camels, and a coarse kind of cotton cloth, like what is called by us a counterpane."*

The origin of the Fellatahs is involved in considerable obscurity, but there can be no doubt that they have proceeded from the northward, and that they have, within a comparatively recent period, spread themselves over Soudan. Of their identity with the Foolahs of Western Africa, there is the clearest proof, although the latter appear to have mingled more with the negro tribes.† The original country of the Foolahs is said to be a tract of no great extent along the eastern branch of the Senegal river, situated between Manding and Kasson, Bambook and Kaarta,

* Clapperton, pp. 210—224.

† Professor Vater has given, in his "Mithridates," a vocabulary of twenty Fellatah words, obtained by Dr. Seetzen from a native of Ader, together with the corresponding words in the dialect of the Foulahs on the Senegal, taken from Barbot's description of Guinea. Of these, fourteen appear to be the same in both languages; two are Arabic in one of the dialects; and five appear to differ. A more copious vocabulary of Fellatah words is given by Mr. Lyon, taken down from a young woman of Soccatoo, while M. Mollien has furnished a vocabulary of "Poula" words; on comparing which, among some apparent differences, we find many decisive proofs of identity. In the following specimens, the first word is Fellatah; the second Foulah. Woman, *Debbo; Dembo.* Girl, *Bitadeppo; Bidodeppo.* Sun, *Naanga; Nangua.* Hand, *Jungo; Diongo.* Head, *Hora; Woora.* Teeth, *Nïa; Niguia.* Horse, *Pootchio; Poottioo.* Flesh, *Taïoo; Tao.* Goat, *Baïa; Beaua.* Father, *Babama; Baba.* Brother, *Minia; Minierado.* Milk, *Koossum; Cosson.* To-day, *Ilanda-nundi; Anda.* To-morrow, *Tiango; Diango.* Grass, *Koodoo; Oodo.* Bird, *Soodoo; Sondou.* Knife, *Lab; Laba.* Brass, *Yamgo-daikoo; Daikaoo-alla.* Eat, *Aniami; Niamda.* One, two, three, (according to Seetzen,) *Go, Didi, Tetti;* in Mollien and Park, *Go, Diddi, Tati.* See Lyon, 135—138; Mollien, 372—378. The Fellatah is styled by Balbi, with some propriety, the Italian of Africa. Park says, that the Foulah abounds in liquids, "but there is something unpleasant in the manner of pronouncing it. A stranger, on hearing the common conversation of two Foulahs, would imagine that they were scolding each other."

and which bears the name of Foola-doo, or the country of the Foolahs. "But whether this be really the case," remarks Major Rennell, "or whether they might not have come from the country within Serra Leona, (called also the Foulah country,) may be a question. The Foulahs occupy, at least, as sovereigns, several provinces or kingdoms, interspersed throughout the tract comprehended between the mountainous border of the country of Serra Leona on the west, and that of Tombuctoo on the east, as also a large tract on the lower part of the Senegal river; and these provinces are insulated from each other in a very remarkable manner. Their religion is Mahomedism, but with a great mixture of Paganism, and with less intolerance than is practised by the Moors.

"The principal of the Foulah states is that within Serra Leona, and of which Teemboo is the capital. The next in order appears to be that bordering on the south of the Senegal river, and on the Jaloffs, and which is properly named Siratik. Others, of less note, are Bondoo, with Foota Torra adjacent to it, lying between the rivers Gambia and Falemé; Foola-doo and Brooko, along the upper part of the Senegal river; Wassela, beyond the upper part of the Niger; and Massina, lower down on the same river, adjoining to Tombuctoo on the west."*

It appears, however, that these Foolah states are not much older than the Fellatah empire of Takroor or Houssa. Major Gray tells us, that the Foolahs, according to their own account, have had possession of Foota Jallon not above sixty years. This country, which lies between Sierra Leone and the Gambia,

* Park's Travels, Appendix by Rennell, vol. i. pp. 453—4. *Siratik*, according to Golberry, is the name, not of the territory, but of the sovereign.

having Teembo for its capital, when in possession of the Jallonkeas, the aboriginal inhabitants, bore the name of Jallonk, which has been softened into Jallon and Jallo; and the prefix Foola is a corruption of Foolah or Foolata. "The Jallonkeas," continues Major Gray, "are now subject to the Foolahs, who conquered the country under the direction of a family from Massina, consisting of the father, two sons, and a few followers. One of the sons was a Mohammedan priest, and gradually gained such influence among the Jallonkeas, that he converted many of them to his own faith, and, by means of his wealth, strongly attached them to his interest. A few years enabled them to make so many converts to their religion, and their riches procured them so much favour, that they planned and carried into execution the subjection of the Jallonkeas, (at least, of such as would not embrace the Mohammedan faith,) and the usurpation of the supreme government. The first exercise of their power was, to oblige those who still adhered to paganism to pay them a yearly tribute, or quit the country which for ages had been their own. From that family is descended the present *almamy* (sovereign.) Karamoka Alpha was the first *almamy* of Teembo, and was surnamed *Moudoo*, or the Great, being at the same time acknowledged as the chief Imam and defender of their religion. He was succeeded by his son, Yoro Padde, surnamed Soorie, at whose death the regal power was assumed by Almamy Saadoo, who was deposed by Alpha Salihou."* This sovereign "distinguished his reign by a succession of predatory excursions against several kaffir tribes of the neighbouring states, many of whom he destroyed, plundered, or rendered tributary. He was succeeded by Abdullahi

* Gray's Travels, pp. 37—39.

Ba Demba;" on whose deposal, Abdoolghader, the reigning *almamy* in 1817, obtained the throne. Although possessed of the chief power, the *almamy* cannot, however, decide upon any affair of importance without the consent of his chiefs.

M. Mollien, who visited Teembo in 1818, gives the following account of the same people under the name of Poulas.

"Tradition relates, that the Poulas formerly inhabited fertile regions in the northern part of Africa, perhaps Numidia. They were shepherds and rovers. The form of the huts which they still build, proves that they were accustomed to live in tents. The Joloffs also inhabited that part of the African continent, but were, I should imagine, a more stationary people. When the Saracens made themselves masters of those countries, the Joloffs and Poulas, affrighted at the invasion of those ferocious conquerors, traversed the desert, and settled in the tracts they now occupy. The Serreres, a negro nation, were then masters of it. At the sight of men mounted on camels and horses, they fled towards the south-west, where they formed other states, which still exist under the names of Baol and Sin. The Moors, however, followed the Poulas to the south of the Senegal, and drove them from the countries of which they had taken possession. The Poulas, who had till then fled before their enemies, would not quit for ever a fertile tract, to bury themselves in barren deserts. They began, therefore, to think of recovering the conquests from which they had been dislodged, and engaged to pay to the Moors a tribute of ten measures of millet for every chief of a family, and to embrace the Mahometan religion. This is now the only religion tolerated in the country, and the tribute is punctually paid every year.

"This great nation of the Poulas, or men of a red colour, is almost become extinct. These people, having contracted marriages with the Joloffs and Serreres, have produced a race of mulattoes called Torodos, from whom the province of Toro, in Foota, derives its name; which has even been extended to the whole country, because these Torodos have made themselves masters of it, and driven out the red Poulas, by whom it was formerly occupied. The latter, dispersed in the deserts of the kingdoms of the Bourb Joloffs, Cayor, and Salum, still lead there the roving life of their ancestors. A very small number of them, however, have retained their colour. The red Poulas and the Torodos speak the language of their forefathers, but mingled with Serrere and Joloff words. The Serreres are evidently the most ancient inhabitants of this part of Africa. Their language, which is extremely simple, is probably one of the oldest, and their wild manners have not undergone any change.

"The Poulas, likewise, made an irruption into the regions situated more to the east; for they occupy Massina and several districts beyond Tombuctoo; Kassoun, where they speak the Mandingo; Wasselon, where they are Pagans; Sangarari, Bondou, and Fouta Jallon, which is the extent of their conquests to the south. They have every where united with the black people whom they have conquered; and thus, their race has almost entirely disappeared, and given place to another, composed of reddish or black men, who have fixed dwellings, and have partly adopted the negro manners."*

Major Denham describes the Fellatahs bordering on Mandara, as "a very handsome race, of a deep copper colour, who seldom mix their blood with that of

* Mollien, 157–9.

the negroes. They bear some resemblance to the Shouaas, although they are quite a distinct race."*

Captain Lyon, speaking of the Fellatahs, says: "Their complexion being of a much lighter hue than that of the other tribes, they call themselves white: their colour resembles that of our gipsies in England. Many female slaves are brought to Mourzouk from their nation, and are very handsome women."† The young woman from whom this Traveller obtained his vocabulary of Fellatah words, was of a fair complexion, and had an intelligent countenance. They call themselves, he says, *Fellan;* and he expresses his conviction that they will be found to be the Foulah of Park. The description given by the latter Traveller of the Foulahs ("or Pholeys") residing near the Gambia, assigns to them a complexion for the most part tawny, with small and pleasing features, and soft, silky hair. "They are," he adds, "much attached to a pastoral life, and have introduced themselves into all the kingdoms on the windward coast, as herdsmen and husbandmen, paying a tribute to the sovereigns of the country for the lands which they hold." The Foulahs of Bondou, who are of a more yellow complexion than in the southern states, "are naturally," he says, "of a mild and gentle disposition. They evidently consider all the negro natives as their inferiors, and when talking of different nations, always rank themselves among the

* Denham, vol. i. p. 288. A Fellatah from Conally, a populous town to the west of Jennie, on the Quorra, conversed with ease with a Fellatah slave from Musfeia, although their native towns are nearly 500 miles apart.

† Lyon, p. 134. Their calling themselves white, may explain the circumstance mentioned at page 308 of our second volume; that of a Fellatah girl accosting Captain Clapperton as belonging to her own nation. Jobson also describes the *Fulbies*, (meaning Foolahs), as "a tawny people, much like to those vagrants among us called Egyptians."—Murray, vol. i. p. 184.

white people.....The industry of the Foulahs in the occupations of pasturage and agriculture, is every where remarkable. Even on the banks of the Gambia, the greater part of the corn is raised by them; and their herds and flocks are more numerous and in better condition than those of the Mandingoes; but in Bondou, they are opulent in a high degree, and enjoy all the necessaries of life in the greatest profusion. They display great skill in the management of their cattle, making them extremely gentle by kindness and familiarity. On the approach of night, they are collected from the woods, and secured in folds, called *korrees*, which are constructed in the neighbourhood of the different villages. The Foulahs use the milk chiefly as an article of diet, and that not until it is quite sour. The cream which it affords, is converted into butter, by stirring it violently in a large calabash.* This butter, when melted over a gentle fire, and freed from impurities, is preserved in small earthen pots, and forms a part in most of their dishes: it serves likewise to anoint their heads, and is bestowed very liberally on their faces and arms. But, although milk is plentiful, it is somewhat remarkable, that the Foulahs, and indeed all the inhabitants of this part of Africa, are totally unacquainted with the art of making cheese. The heat of the climate, and the great scarcity of salt, are held forth as unanswerable objections; and the whole process appears to them too long and troublesome to be attended with any solid advantage. Besides the cattle, which constitutes the chief wealth of the Foulahs, they possess some excellent horses, the breed of which seems

* The butter of the Fellatahs is highly praised by Clapperton. See page 308 of our second volume.

to be a mixture of the Arabian with the original African.

"With the Mohammedan faith is also introduced the Arabic language, with which most of the Foulahs have a slight acquaintance.*.....In the exercise of their faith, they are not very intolerant towards such of their countrymen as still retain their ancient superstitions. Religious persecution is not known among them, nor is it necessary, for the system of Mohammed is made to extend itself by means abundantly more efficacious. By establishing small schools in the different towns, where many of the Pagan, as well as Mohammedan children are taught to read the Koran, and instructed in the tenets of the Prophet, the Mohammedan priests fix a bias on the minds, and form the character of their young disciples, which no accidents of life can ever afterwards remove or alter. Many of these little schools I visited in my progress through the country, and observed with pleasure the great docility and submissive deportment of the children, and heartily wished they had better instructors and a purer religion."†

M. Golberry, who explored the regions of the Sene-

* In the Foolah vocabulary given by Vater, we have the Arabic words, *Allah, God;* and *Szemma*, Heaven. And in that of Mollien, we have *Iblis*, and a few others of Arabic derivation. But it may be questioned, whether their knowledge of Arabic extends beyond these few theological terms.—See p. 8 of this volume.

† Park, vol. i. pp. 16; 57—60. It is a vulgar error, that Mohammedism has propagated itself only by means of the sword. Its progress in Malabar is ascribed by Governor Duncan chiefly to "the zeal of its more early proselytes in converting the natives, as well as in purchasing or procuring the children of the poorer classes, and bringing them up in that faith."—Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 7. Mohammedism has employed the sword to exterminate; it has been indebted for its diffusion, to its commercial spirit and literary institutions; but its perpetuation must be ascribed to other than mere secondary causes.

gal in 1785—1787, gives the following description of the same people.—"The legitimate Foulahs are very fine men, robust, and courageous; they have a strong mind, and are mysterious (reserved) and prudent; they understand commerce, and travel in the capacity of merchants as far as the Gulf of Guinea. Their women are handsome and sprightly. The colour of their skin is a reddish black; their countenances are regular, and their hair is longer, and not so woolly as that of the common negroes. Their language is altogether different from that of the nations by whom they are surrounded; it is more elegant and sonorous. These Foulahs of the kingdom of Teemboo, have preserved in part the religion of the Fetishes, together with the practice of every species of superstition: with this, they mix the religion of Mohammed, which has been communicated to them. The colony of Foulahs, which, under the name of Foules or Poules, people the borders of the Senegal, between Podhor and Galam (Kajaaga), are black, with a tincture of a reddish, copper colour: they are, in general, handsome and well-made; the women are pretty, but proud, sensible, indolent, and affectionate. All the Foulhas of the Senegal are zealous Mohammedans. They are intelligent and industrious; but, from their habitual commerce with the Moors of Zahara, they have become savage and cruel.....The features of both the Foulahs and the Mandingoes appear to have more affinity with those of the blacks of India, than with the negroes."*

Captain Clapperton tells us, that the Fellatahs are, in features, as well as in the manner of wearing the turban, very like to the inhabitants of Tetuan in Morocco; and Mollien describes the Imaum of Teembo

* Golberry, by Mudford, vol. i. pp. 72, 73.

as a Poula whose features and complexion exactly resembled those of a Moor. The *Kadi* of Katagum, the former Traveller tells us, was a Fellatah, of "a coal-black complexion, with a hook-nose, large eyes, and a full, bushy beard;" while his guide from Kano to Soccatoo was a "fair-complexioned Fellatah."* Dr. Winterbottom, in his account of the native Africans of Sierra Leone, describes the Foolahs as for the most part of a lighter complexion than their neighbours on the coast; "but, though less black than some of their neighbours," he adds, "the Foolah complexion can only be regarded as an intermediate shade between the darkest African and the Moor." He afterwards speaks of it as a dark mahogany colour.

The fact appears to be, that the complexion of the Fellatahs and the Foolahs, like that of the Tuaricks† and the Hindoos,‡ varies to a degree for which it is not easy to account by any mixture of race, peculiar habits, or difference of local situation. Captain Clapperton found tribes of Fellatahs nearly white, in different parts of Borgoo and Youriba. Tribes of red or copper-coloured people are met with in the midst of black nations, and occupying tracts of the same elevation. The country of the Foolahs is, however, for the most part, high and mountainous; and it is in such districts that the copper-coloured races are generally found. Thus, the Jallonks, whom they are said to have conquered, and with whom they appear to have blended, are described by Mollien as a race of reddish complexion, but differing from the Foolahs in features, having the nose broad and flat, with a fe-

* Denham, vol. ii. pp. 227, 250, 304. Mollien, 205.

† See page 159, 167, of our second volume.

‡ See MOD. TRAV., India, vol. iii. p. 212. The olive, copper-colour, and black varieties all occur among Hindoos of the same caste, and under the same latitude.

rocious look, and being of low stature.* The Mandingoes, on the other hand, whose original country, according to Golberry, is the mountainous tract between the sources of the Gambia and the town of Kong, are described as having a black complexion, with a mixture of yellow; which nearly answers to Park's description of the Foolahs. "Their features," the French Traveller adds, "are regular; their character generous and open, and their manners hospitable; their women are pretty and amiable; they are zealous professors of the religion of Mohammed, though they retain many of the practices of Fetishism, and some superstitious customs."† These "Hindoos of Africa," as Major Rennell styles them, are described by Park in terms not less favourable. "The Mandingoes," he says, "are, in particular, a very gentle race, cheerful in their dispositions, inquisitive, credulous, simple, and fond of flattery. The men are commonly above the middle size, well-shaped, strong, and capable of enduring great labour: the women are good-natured, sprightly, and agreeable."‡ Their complexion is not described, but he always speaks of them as negroes; yet, in their features, they are clearly distinguishable from the negro race; and if the representation of Golberry, which assigns them a yellowish black complexion, be correct, they would seem better to answer to the White Ethiops of the ancients, according to Major Rennell's explanation of the word,‖ than the

* Mollien, p. 296. † Golberry, vol. i. p. 73.

‡ Park, vol. i. pp. 255, 19.

‖ By that term, Major Rennell thinks, Ptolemy meant to describe a people "*less* black than the generality of the Ethiopians." He places the *Leucæthiopes* "in the situation occupied by the Foulahs; that is, in the parallel of 9° N.; having to the N. the mountains of *Ryssadius*, which separate the courses of the *Stachir* and *Nia* rivers (Gambia and *Rio Grande*.)"—Appendix to Park, vol. i

copper-coloured Foolahs, who clearly appear to have emigrated from the north, and could not have been ranked among the nations of Nigritia.

The black Foolahs, M. Mollien, we have seen, imagines to be a mixed race, descended from a union of the red Poulas with genuine negroes. In that case, however, their hair and features, as well as their complexion, would betray their affinity to the negro race, which does not appear to be the fact. "Like all the mulatto races," he says, "the black Poulas equally despise the negro, and detest the red or primitive Poula, from whom they originally sprang." But this animosity, no doubt, originates in very different causes, since Fellatahs of every variety of complexion appear to live together in harmony. Nor is it necessary to have recourse to the supposition of a mixture of blood, to account for the darker colour of these Poulas. Bishop Heber remarks, that the Portuguese natives of Bengal form unions among themselves alone, or, if they can, with Europeans. Yet, the Portuguese have, during a residence of three hundred years in India, become as black as Caffres.* And, in like manner, all the northern races, even without intermarrying with the Hindoos, in a few generations, assume the deep olive tint, little less dark than the negro, which seems natural to the climate. The leading characteristic of the genuine Foolahs seems to be their pastoral habits. "The Poulas," says Mollien, "breed great numbers of horned cattle, which constitute their chief property. Such is the attention which they pay to these animals, that, notwithstanding the enormous price of salt, they

p. 457. But there is no reason to believe that this was the original country of the Foulahs.

* Heber's Journal, vol. i. p. 68.

give it to their oxen, for the purpose of fattening them. The Poulas have also many asses: their horses are small, but excellent in point of speed..... The Poula is industrious: his hut is well-built; his clothes are woven with care; he ornaments them with figures in a delicate taste. His productions of iron and leather are well made, although inferior to those of the Moors. Every village has its weavers, shoe-makers, and blacksmiths. I have seen sandals made in a really elegant manner, of red morocco of a brilliant tint; and the mechanism of their locks, although simple, shews that the smiths are not deficient in ingenuity. Their stirrups, silver bells, earrings, and other trinkets, display some talent in the workman. The art of weaving is considerably advanced: they have arrived at the manufacture of muslin, coarse indeed, but useful. The manner in which they manufacture their earthenware, is very simple. After having shaped their vessels, they place them one upon another in the middle of a field, covering the whole with straw, to which they set fire; and this gives them a sufficient degree of baking. The country is, in general, well cultivated; and on the banks of the Senegal, the Poulas have, in some places, even the patience to encircle each ear of millet with a wisp of straw: without this precaution, the birds, especially the paroquets, whose number is infinite, would destroy their crops.

"The black Poulas," continues this Traveller, "are of ordinary stature and well proportioned. Some wear their hair long; others cut it quite close. They wear very wide drawers and a long tunic with large sleeves; their head is covered with a small cotton cap; and they are almost all armed with muskets. The women are pretty and well-shaped, with oval faces

and delicate features; their feet are small, but their legs somewhat bowed: they are seldom so stout as the negresses. They load their hair with ornaments of yellow amber and coral, and their necks with gold or glass beads. Over the head, they throw a muslin veil. Some wear a jacket with sleeves, as well as a loin-cloth.....They are not slaves, like the Joloff women, but wives, and, in reality, mistresses of the house. They obey, but only when they please; and their husbands are often obliged to give way to them.

"The Poulas, since they became Mohammedans, have renounced the favourite amusements of other blacks, dancing and music. I saw no other instruments among them, than a kind of Jew's harp, the sound of which cannot be pleasing to any but an African ear. The *griots* (priests or bards) of this country, confine themselves to the recitation of prayers, the melody of which resembles the chanting of our Psalms. All the Poulas are engaged in trade, but we can scarcely give the name of merchants to any but those who carry their goods from one country to another; and these are more enlightened than the rest of their countrymen. As a natural result of their distant travels, they have a great esteem for Europeans."*

Teembo, the capital of the Foolah kingdom of Foota Jallon, is situated at the foot of a high mountain, about 160 miles to the N.E. of Sierra Leone, and contains, according to this Traveller, about 9000 souls. There is a spacious mosque and three forts, in one of which is the palace of the *almamy*, consisting of five large huts. The fortifications are of earth, and are falling to ruin: in several places, they have loop-holes. All the huts are built with taste; the courts

* Mollien, pp. 163–169.

are planted with papaw and banana-trees. "Timbo," adds M. Mollien, "must be a very ancient city: all the neighbouring country bears the same name. Hence sprang the present masters of Foota Jallon; for the provinces comprised under that name, have been conquered, and were not originally subject to them. Timbo is the residence of the King and the army. I was informed, that as many as a thousand horses are to be seen there. The inhabitants are rich. All the women have silver bracelets and large gold ear-rings, and wear clothes of blue Guinea stuff, which is a sign of great luxury among these Africans. Timbo, being a military post, has not much trade: arms and contributions have enriched it. It enjoys, however, the privilege of the exclusive traffic with Kissin-Kissin and Bengala, while Labbé, the great city of the empire, trades with Kakandé and Dianfou on the river Nunez." *

Labbé, (or Laby,) which lies about 200 miles due E. of Kakandé, (Kacundy,) was visited by Messrs. Watt and Winterbottom in 1794, in their way to Teembo, from which it is distant seventy-two miles. It is two miles and a half in circumference, and contained, they imagine, about 5000 inhabitants. From this place, there was said to exist a free communication with Timbuctoo, through the kingdoms of Baliah, Bowriah (Boori), Manding, Sego, Susundoo (Sasanding), and Jenné; a journey of four months. The country between this town and Kacundy is for the most part extremely fertile, abounding remarkably

* Mollien, pp. 255, 6. The inhabitants retained a recollection of the journey made by Watt and Winterbottom to Timbo in 1794, in the disguise of Shereefs. "Their stratagem being discovered, they were detained fourteen days in this capital, and were then compelled to return to Sierra Leone, the Poulas being unwilling to let them penetrate further eastward."

in cattle. A considerable intercourse subsists between the higher parts of the Rio Nunez and the interior districts; and from 500 to 600 Foolahs were often met in the course of a day's journey, carrying large burdens of rice and ivory, to exchange for "that greatest of all luxuries" in these countries,—salt.*

The kingdom of Foota Jallon is said to extend about 350 miles from E. to W., and 200 from N. to S. It is mountainous throughout, and the soil is for the most part stony and dry; but about one-third of the country is fertile, producing rice and maize, which are cultivated by the women.† Their cattle, consisting of horses, mules, asses, sheep, and goats, are pastured on the high lands, which contain considerable

* Murray, vol. i. p. 130. "What are you taking with you on the road to pay your expenses?" said the King of Falaba to Major Laing when proposing to proceed to the Niger. On his enumerating the articles in reply, "What," exclaimed the good-humoured monarch, "have you no tobacco?"—"No."—"No salt?"—"No."—"*Alla Akbar!* to think of travelling through Kooranko without tobacco and salt! They would turn you back, and would give me a bad name. They would say, I sent a white man to make fools of them. No, my white stranger, you cannot walk that country without tobacco and salt."—Laing, p. 277.

† "Fouta Diallon, properly so called, is bounded on the N. by the mountains of Tangué; on the E. by Balia and Sangarari; on the S.E. by Firia and Solimana; on the S. by Kouranko and Liban; on the W. by Tenda Maié, and several countries inhabited by the Mandingos and the Jolas or Biafares. This country is covered with mountains throughout its whole extent; they form the second plain in proceeding from the sea-coast to the E.....and may be considered as the last links of a much more lofty chain situated to the S.E. Almost all the valleys of Fouta Diallon are but immense reservoirs which supply the sources of the rivers. In walking over them, the earth resounds under your feet....When the first day of the rains is over, the weather continues dry for seven days; it then rains for six months, day and night. The rains proceed from the S. to the N. The rivers are not full till the maize has reached its complete growth. Fouta Diallon then resembles an immense lake."—Mollien, pp. 291—4.

quantities of iron-stone. They dig and manufacture a species of iron, which is very malleable. The mines, which are wrought by women, are extremely deep, with many long galleries, in some places high and wide, and with openings for the admission of air and light. At Laby, the inhabitants work in iron, silver, wood, and leather, as well as manufacture narrow cloths. The Mohammedan religion is professed, and there are mosques and schools in every town. On an emergency, these Foolahs, it is added, can bring into the field 16,000 cavalry. They were in the practice of making war on the *kaffir* nations, in order to obtain slaves for the European factories, as they could procure European goods in exchange for no other articles than those human chattels.*

The Poula of Foota Jallon, Mollien says, "is serious, sometimes melancholy: he has principles of politeness which astonished me, because they would lead us to infer that these people had already made great progress in civilization. Their knowledge of astronomy is confined to marking the hours of the months by the changes of the constellations. The Great Bear is called the Elephant. The Poula is dexterous, and takes pains with everything that he does: his productions even evince taste. His magazines are spacious. His huts, better constructed than any in this part of Western Africa, are large, airy, and closed by wide doors. Neatness prevails in the interior. These Poulas are excellent potters: it might be supposed from the appearance of their vases, that they were varnished. I have admired the elegance of their wooden porringers, which look as if they had

* Mollien, pp. 332—4. The slaves, Mollien says, are obtained chiefly from Kankan, "a flat country inhabited by Mahometan Mandingoes.

been turned, but which are made only with the hatchet. Their works in leather and their poniards are far from equalling those of the Moors, but they have no rivals in the fabrication of bows: they also excel in the use of them. The poison in which they dip them, and which is a species of *echites*, produces terrible effects." *

"Sangaran, a flat country ten days' journey from Timbo, is inhabited by Pagan Foulhas." † This must be the Sangara of Major Laing, who describes it as a country of considerable extent, beyond the Niger, rich in cattle, horses, pasturages, and corn-fields. The inhabitants, who are subdivided into numerous petty tribes, are warlike and enterprising: their chief weapons are the bow and the spear. They are tall and well-looking, and are famous for their manufacture of cloth.‡ We have already adverted to the circumstance of pastoral Fellatahs of light complexion being found as far eastward as Borgoo, who, in like manner, are said to be not Moslem, but Pagan.§ It would appear, therefore, that the Foolah tribes have only in part submitted to the laws of the Koran; but whether their religion is the Fetishism of the negro nations, does not appear to have been ascertained.

We have thus collected all the information which we at present possess respecting a people extending

* Mollien, pp. 297, 8. Several of these circumstances mark their affinity to the Fellatahs of Major Denham.

† *Ibid.* p. 301.

‡ Laing, pp. 371, 2. In the MS. account of Takroor, there is a description, apparently, of the same country, under the name of *Sangree*. "It is extensive, very fertile, and well peopled. Its inhabitants are remnants of the Sonhaja, the wandering Arabs, and the Felateen. They profess the Mohammedan faith, and their princes ruled them always with equity."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 456.

§ See page 347 of vol. ii.

from the Senegal to the Niger, who, next perhaps to the Tuaricks, seem the most interesting of all the African nations. Under what great division of the human family they must be classed, our imperfect knowledge does not enable us to determine. In complexion and features, they seem to approach the nearest to the Mauritanians. Their language is, however, strikingly different from the harsh and guttural Ertana or Berber tongue, and not less remote from the Arabic. It seems to have nothing in common with either the Joloff or Mandingo languages on the one hand, or with the Kanowy and Youribanee on the other. It is singular, that a tradition should exist, which refers the origin of some of the tribes inhabiting Melli or the Foolah country, to the Persians.* To that nation, the Fellatah can bear no affinity; but all further speculation respecting their origin must, in the present state of our knowledge, be no better than random

* "Next to Sanghee, on the west side, and north of Barghoo, the country of *Malee* is situated. It is a very extensive province, and inhabited by the Soodan, who, it is said, originated from the remnants of the Copts of Egypt. Among its inhabitants are found some of the Towrooth, the Falateen, the Arabs, the Jews, and the Christians. It is likewise supposed, that their origin was from Sarankaly, or the Persians. It contains a gold mine, and has an anchorage or harbour for ships sent by two Christian sovereigns since former periods. This country has always been in a flourishing state from time immemorial. It embraces the province of Banbara, which is very extensive, and contains rivers, forests, and a gold mine. The Soodan who inhabit it are very powerful, and to this time are infidels. Near to Banbara, there is the province of the Towrooth, and that of Foota, which are extensive, and inhabited by their own people and by those of Sarankaly, or Persians. The Towrooth nation, it is said, originated from the Jews; others say, from the Christians; and others make them to be the descendants of the Soudan of Banbara."—Denham, vol. ii. p. 456. The word here rendered Persians, is, probably, *Ajem*, which is applied by the Arabians to the countries of the African coast opposite to Arabia, from Souakin to Barbara.—See Burckhardt, p. 316.

conjecture. All that appears certain, is, that they are not the aboriginal inhabitants of the tracts they now occupy; that the course of their emigrations has been from the north-westward; that their original habits are pastoral; and that they are altogether distinct from any nations of the negro family. To these particulars may be added, with great apparent probability, that they have, within a comparatively recent period, risen into consideration and power, and only since they have embraced the Mohammedan faith, which is gradually effecting the downfall of all the *kaffir* empires. The process by which this revolution has been carried forward, seems to be this. The spirit of commercial adventure, which is not less native or powerful in the Moor and Arab, than in the Christian merchant, first brings a few enterprising Mohammedans into contact with the *kaffir* nations. The "true believers," in the humble guise of peaceful traders, are for a time content to secure the protection of the Pagan sovereigns into whose dominions they have penetrated; and thus they become the pioneers of civilization. After a time, their growing wealth gives them influence in the city or community to which they have attached themselves; and they draw round them others of their countrymen or professors of the same faith. Mosques and schools now rise, the fruit and sign of their growing wealth; and priests and learned men share in the harvest of mercantile industry. At length, perhaps, the king, or the chief minister, becomes a Mussulman, while the infidels and the Moslem still continue to live peaceably together; till some sheikh, or maraboot, or almamy, availing himself of his spiritual authority for purposes of ambition, proclaims himself the head and leader of

his nation, and obtains an easy conquest over the feeble barbarous despotisms or petty states of the negro countries.*

The Mohammedan faith does not, however, appear to have established itself at any time, as the exclusive or dominant religion of the natives of Soudan; and the extent of its prevalence is tolerably well ascertained by the corresponding diffusion of the Arabic language. In the vocabularies of the Bornowy and the language of Waday, a number of Arabic words occur, chiefly relating to the subjects of religious belief or natural productions.† In the Fellatah, there appear to be very few Arabic words. The Moorish Arabic is spoken in Senegal, and, together with the Kissour language, at Timbuctoo.‡ The latter city, situated near the northern extremity of

* Speaking of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Galam, Major Gray says: "These people, from a state of paganism, are progressively embracing the Mohammedan faith.... Some towns are wholly inhabited by priests, who are by far the most wealthy and respectable members of the community."—Gray, p. 266. M. Mollien makes the same report respecting the kingdom of Cayor. Mohammedism, he says, "is making daily progress, and will soon become the only religion of the country of Cayor. The court alone remains attached to a paganism more favourable to the passions." The public schools kept by the Maraboots, and frequented by all children, the great influence possessed by the Mohammedan priests, whose persons are held in superstitious reverence, and the prevalence of circumcision even among the pagan Joloffs, are assigned as the chief causes of the rapid extension of Islamism among these people.—Mollien, p. 61.

† See Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 446. *Allah* has been of course adopted, but not, it would seem, to the exclusion of the native word for the Deity, which is, in Bornouese, *Kamandé*; in Waday, *Kalak*; in Fellatah, *Diomirao*.

‡ A vocabulary of the Timbuctoo dialect is given by Lyon, p. 146. M. Caillé calls it the Kissour; and he has brought home a vocabulary, which we have not had an opportunity of comparing with that of the former Traveller.

Nigritia, was, in fact, at one time, tributary to the Emperor of Morocco. But, as a mercantile language, the Arabic has never been in use in Soudan.

The name of Soudan (that is, Nigritia or the Black Country) properly denotes, according to Captain Lyon, only the country near the great river, where it runs east and west; extending from the borders of Timbuctoo, westward, to Kano, eastward. The name is also given to the river, implying the black water; and it seems not unlikely that the river, rather than the complexion of the people, originally gave its name to the country. By the Arabs, it is also styled *Ber-el-Abeed*, the land of slaves. All the natives agree in calling it Houssa or Haousa, and the language of the country is called the Haousa tongue. It bears no resemblance to the Fellatah.* Afnoo is another name applied to the same country, but seems to be properly that of a city considerably to the N. of Timbuctoo. The geographical account compiled by order of Sultan Bello, comprises not merely Soudan, but the whole of Central Africa, from Dar Foor to Bambarra inclusive, under the appellation of *Belled-el-Tak-roor*. The city of that name (the Tocrur or Tekrour of Edrisi and Ibn-el-Vardi) appears to have been the seat of a powerful empire in the twelfth century, and the centre of the commerce afterwards transferred to Timbuctoo. Edrisi describes it as standing on the southern bank of the Nile (the Niger), two days' journey from Salla, as well by the river as by land, and forty days from Segelmessa. The country in which it stands, he calls Meczara. Salla is described as a populous city on the north side of the Nile, abounding with the best merchandises of the

* Lyon, p. 149.

negroes.* "This place," continues the Arabian Geographer, "is in the dominion of the King of Tocrur, who is a mighty prince, having many servants and soldiers, of known fortitude, power, and justice, with a country well secured, and exposed to no fears. His chief seat and place of residence is the city Tocrur..... which is larger than that of Salla, and more abounding with commerce. The remotest inhabitants of the West bring thither *shells*† and brass, and carry from thence gold and bracelets for the legs. The diet at Tocrur and Salla is a kind of large-grained millet, fish, and a preparation of milk: their cattle are chiefly camels and goats. The common people wear hair garments and woollen caps, but the dress of the nobi-

* "Sala is a place three days from Tembuctoo, on the Nil, to the eastward."—Lyon, p. 148.

† These must be the cowrie-shells, the currency of all the countries between Mandingo and Bornou, as it was formerly that of India. Ibn Batuta, in the fourteenth century, mentions them, in his account of the Maldive Islands, under the name of *wada*. "This," he says, "is the *wada* which is so abundant in India; it is carried from these islands to the province of Bengal, and there also passes instead of coin."—Lee's Ibn Batuta, p. 178. Major Rennell says: "I am informed from authority, that about 100 tons of kowries are annually shipped from England alone to Guinea. These are originally imported from the Maldive Islands into Bengal; and from Bengal into England. In Bengal, 2400 (more or less) are equal to one shilling; but, in the inland parts of Africa, they are about ten times as dear, varying from 220 to 280; being cheaper at Tombuctoo, which is about the *centre* of the kowry country; dearer at Manding, which is the western extremity of it. Hence, they are probably carried in the first instance to Tombuctoo, the gold-market, and thence distributed east and west."—Park's Trav., App., vol. i. p. 451. The fact of a sea-shell from Bengal forming the currency of Central Africa, and exchanged against gold, a century before the Portuguese had doubled Cape Non, is highly curious, indicating a commercial connexion between India and Africa, through the medium of Malay and Arab traders.

lity is a cotton vest and a mantle."* Berissa, situated eastward on the Nile at the distance of twelve stages, and at the same distance from the great city of Ghana,† was also subject to the King of Tocrur. The sovereign of Ghana was a Mohammedan of the purest Arabian pedigree, and the inhabitants also were reported to be Moslem; but the religion of the sovereign

* In Murray, vol. ii. p. 520.

† "In Ghana are two cities, situated on the two opposite shores of what they call a fresh-water sea; and it is the largest, most populous, and wealthiest in all the negro countries; and thither the rich merchants resort, not only from all the neighbouring regions, but also from the remotest parts of the west.... The king hath a palace, which is a strong and well-fortified structure on the bank of the Nile, with apartments adorned with various sculptures, paintings, and glass windows. The aforesaid palace was built in A.H. 510 (A.D. 1100). And it is certain that there is in the palace of the king, an entire lump of gold, not cast, nor wrought by any instruments, but perfectly formed by the Divine Providence alone, of thirty pounds weight, which has been bored through and fitted for a seat to the royal throne ... He (the king) generally wears a habit of satin, or a black mantle, after the Arabian fashion, with drawers, and leathern sandals.... The country of Ghana is joined on the western side with the kingdom of Meczara; on the E., with that of Vancara; on the N., with the broadest desert lying between the countries of the Blacks and Barbary; on the S., it joins to the Infidel's country, to wit, that of Lamlam and other inhabitants."—Murray, vol. ii. pp. 523, 4. See also Ibn al Vardi, *Ib.* 530. The inhabitants are stated to have long boats on the river; and the king is described as having numerous troops with elephants, cameleopards, and other animals, to adorn his state. Major Rennell, in the absence of better information, places Ghana in latitude 16° 10′ N., longitude 13° 2′ E., which would be in the heart of the desert of Tintuma. We seem to have the name in Kano, the present emporium of Haussa. But there can, we think, be little doubt, that Old Birnie is the Ghana of Edrisi, and that the Gambarou has been confounded with the Quorra.—See p. 233 of our second volume. The site of this once famous capital, which seems better to have deserved the name of city than any other in Central Africa, answers very nearly to Rennell's longitude, but is in the parallel of 13°. Meczara must be Soudan.

of Tocrur is not specified, and he was probably an infidel. Early in the fifteenth century, the city is described by another Arabian geographer as inhabited partly by Moslem, partly by infidels. "The former," it is added, "rule; and the king is a Mussulman."* It seems to have then greatly declined from its former importance. Ibn Batuta, the great Mohammedan traveller, who explored these countries in the preceding century, makes no mention of Takroor among the cities on the Niger, but speaks of Timbuctoo as a city of merchants, subject to the Sultan of Mali.† At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the latter city appears to have become the principal mart of the gold trade of Melli, Bambouk, and Mandingo.‡ It never seems, however, to have been the seat of a powerful empire; and the exaggerated accounts of its splendour and extent, have evidently arisen from the vague ideas connected with this mysterious emporium of the hidden treasures of the African El Dorado,—the *Belled el Tibbr*, or land of gold.

* The city is described by this writer, Ibn al Vardi, as large, but without walls; and contrary to Edrisi's account, the inhabitants are stated to be without clothing, except the higher ranks of Moslem, who wore cloaks.—See Murray, vol. ii. p. 532. It is probably the *Tucurol* of the early Portuguese navigators.

† "I travelled from Mali," says Ibn Batuta (Feb. 1353), "and came to a gulf which branches out of the Nile, and upon the banks of which there were very large beasts" (hippopotami).... "After some days, I arrived at the city of Tambactu, the greater part of the inhabitants of which are merchants from Latham, which is a district of Mali. Here is also a black magistrate, on the part of the Sultan of Mali. I next arrived at the city of Kawkaw (Kauga?), which is large and one of the most beautiful in Soudan. They here transact business with the cowrie, like the inhabitants of Mali."—Lee's Ibn Batuta, p. 241.

‡ See Description of the Gold Trade of Tombuctoo, from the Italian of Cadamosto, A.D. 1507.—Murray, vol. ii. p. 533.

TIMBUCTOO.

THE whole mystery, however, which has so long hung over this place, is now at an end. The accounts given by Adams and Sidi Hamet, though suspected of inaccuracy, served greatly to abate the high-raised expectations of Moorish magnificence, which had previously been entertained respecting this city.

The account given of this city by the latter, a Moorish merchant, is as follows :—

"Timbuctoo is a very large city, five times as great as Swearah (Suera or Mogodore). It is built on a level plain, surrounded on all sides with hills, except on the south, where the plain continues to the bank of the same river, which is wide and deep, and runs to the east. We were obliged to go to it, to water our camels; and there we saw many boats made of great trees, some with negroes in them paddling across the river. The city is strongly walled in with stone laid in clay, like the towns and houses in Suse, only a great deal thicker.* The house of the king is very large and high, like the largest house in Mogadore, but built of the same materials as the walls. There are a great many more houses in the city built of stone, with shops on one side, where they sell salt, and knives, and blue cloth, and *haicks*, and an abundance of other things, with many gold ornaments. The inhabitants are blacks, and the chief is a very large, grey-headed, old, black man, who is called *Shegar*, which means sultan, or king. The principal part of the houses are made with large reeds, as thick as a man's arm, which stand upon their ends, and are covered with small reeds first, and then with the

* Adams stated, that the city has no walls, nor any thing resembling fortification.

leaves of the date-tree; they are round, and the tops come to a point like a heap of stones. Neither the *Shegar* nor his people are Moslem; but there is a town divided off from the principal one, in one corner, by a strong partition wall, with one gate to it, which leads from the main town, like the Jews' town, or *Millah*, in Mogadore: all the Moors or Arabs who have liberty to come into Timbuctoo, are obliged to sleep in that part of it every night, or to go out of the city entirely. No stranger is allowed to enter that Millah, without leaving his knife with the gate-keeper; but, when he comes out in the morning, it is restored to him. The people who live in that part are all Moslem. The negroes, bad Arabs, and Moors are all mixed together, and intermarry, as if they were all of one colour; they have no property of consequence, except a few asses; their gate is shut and fastened every night at dark, and very strongly guarded both by night and by day. The *Shegar*, or king, is always guarded by one hundred men on mules, armed with good guns, and one hundred men on foot, with guns and long knives. He would not go into the Millah, and we saw him only four or five times in the two moons we stayed at Timbuctoo, waiting for the caravan:—but it had perished on the desert; neither did the yearly caravan from Tunis and Tripoli arrive, for it had also been destroyed.

"The city of Timbuctoo is very rich, as well as very large; it has four gates to it; all of them are opened in the day-time, but very strongly guarded and shut at night. The negro women are very fat and handsome, and wear large, round gold rings in their noses, and flat ones in their ears, and gold chains and amber beads about their necks, with images and white fish-bones, bent round, and the ends fastened together,

hanging down between their breasts; they have bracelets on their wrists and on their ancles, and go barefoot. I had bought a small snuff-box, filled with snuff, in Morocco, and shewed it to the women in the principal street of Timbuctoo, which is very wide. There were a great number about me in a few minutes, and they insisted on buying my snuff and box:—one made me one offer, and another made me another, until one who wore richer ornaments than the rest, told me, in broken Arabic, that she would take off all she had about her, and give them to me for the box and its contents. I agreed to accept them; and she pulled off her nose-rings and ear-rings, all her neck-chains, with their ornaments, and the bracelets from her wrists and ancles, and gave them to me in exchange for it. These ornaments would weigh more than a pound, and were made of solid gold at Timbuctoo; and I kept them through my whole journey afterwards, and carried them to my wife, who now wears a part of them.

"Timbuctoo carries on a great trade with all the caravans that come from Morocco and the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. From Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. are brought all kinds of cloths, iron, salt, muskets, powder and lead, swords, or scimitars, tobacco, opium, spices and perfumes, amber beads and other trinkets, with a few more articles. They carry back, in return, elephants' teeth, gold dust, and wrought gold, gum senegal, ostrich feathers, very curiously worked turbans, and slaves; a great many of the latter, and many other articles of less importance. The slaves are brought in from the south-west, all strongly ironed, and are sold very cheap; so that a good stout man may be bought for a *haick*, which costs in the empire of Morocco about two dollars.

The caravans stop and encamp about two miles from the city, in a deep valley, and the negroes do not molest them. They bring their merchandise near the walls of the city, where the inhabitants purchase all their goods in exchange for the above-mentioned articles; not more than fifty men from any one caravan being allowed to enter the city at a time, and they must go out before others are permitted to enter. This city also carries on a great trade with Wassanah, (a city far to the south-east,) in all the articles that are brought to it by caravans, and gets returns in slaves, elephants' teeth, gold, &c. The principal male inhabitants are clothed with blue cloth shirts, that reach from their shoulders down to their knees, and are very wide, and girt about their loins with a red and brown cotton sash or girdle. They also hang about their bodies, pieces of different coloured cloth and silk handkerchiefs. The king is dressed in a white robe, of a similar fashion, but covered with white and yellow gold and silver plates, that glitter in the sun. He has also many other shining ornaments of shells and stones hanging about him, wears a pair of breeches like the Moors and Barbary Jews, and has a kind of white turban on his head, pointing up, and strung with different kinds of ornaments. His feet are covered with red morocco shoes. He has no other weapon about him than a large white staff or sceptre, with a golden lion on the head of it, which he carries in his hand. His countenance is mild, and he seems to govern his subjects more like a father than a king. All but the king go bareheaded. The poor have only a single piece of blue or other cloth about them. The inhabitants are very numerous; I think six times as many as in Swearah, besides Arabs and other Mohammedans in their Millah, or separate town, which

must contain nearly as many people as there are altogether in Swearah.* The women are clothed in a light shirt, or under-dress, and over it a green, red, or blue covering, from the bosom to below the knees; the whole girt about their waists with a red girdle. They stain their cheeks and foreheads red or yellow on some occasions; and the married women wear a kind of hood on their heads, made of blue cloth or silk, and cotton handkerchiefs of different kinds and colours, and go barefooted.

"The king and people of Timbuctoo do not fear and worship God like the Moslem; but, like the people of Soudan, they only pray one time in twenty-four hours, when they see the moon; and when she is not seen, they do not pray at all. They cannot read or write, but are honest. They circumcise their children like the Arabs. They have no mosques, but dance every night, as the Moors and Arabs pray."†

* Mogodore is stated to contain above 36,000 souls, that is, 30,000 Moors, and 6,000 Jews. This calculation would make Timbuctoo to contain 216,000 inhabitants; an obvious exaggeration.

† Riley's Tombuctoo, pp. 363—9. From Timbuctoo, Sidi Hamet proceeded, with about 200 other Moslem, to a large city called Wassanah, a place he had never before heard of. For the first six days, they travelled over a plain within sight of the Joliba, in a direction a little to the S. of E., till they came to a small town, called Bimbinah, where the river is turned more to the S. E. by a high mountain to the E. They now left the river, and pursued a direction more to the southward, through a hilly and woody country (Borgoo ?) for fifteen days, and then came to the river again. The route wound with the river for three days in a S. E. direction; and then they had to climb over a very high ridge of mountains, thickly covered with high trees, which took up six days: from the summit, a large chain of high mountains was seen to the westward. On descending from this ridge, they came immediately to the river's bank, where it was very narrow and full of rocks. For the next twelve days, they kept on in a direction generally S. E., but winding, with the river almost every day in sight, and crossed many small streams flowing into it. High

The information collected by Captain Lyon, was to the same effect. Several of the merchants agreed, that Timbuctoo is not more extensive than Morzouk. "It is walled; the houses are very low, and, with the exception of one or two small streets, are built irregularly. Huts of mats seem to be in greater numbers than the houses.* Timbuctoo is governed by a sultan, who has but little power. The people are all blacks, and dress like the natives of many parts of Soudan; the better class in shirts and trowsers, while the poorer order are nearly naked. Gold, cotton cloths, leather, and arms, are the principal manufactures. Kabra, which is its port, is situated about 12 miles to the south of it. It is, more properly, a collection of store-houses than a town; the few people residing there, being employed to take care of the cargoes of vessels.

mountains were plainly seen on the western side. They then came to a ferry, and beyond that travelled fifteen days more, mostly in sight of the river; till, at length, after fifty-seven days' travelling, (not reckoning the halts,) they reached Wassanah. This city stands near the bank of the Joliba, which runs past it nearly S. between high mountains on both sides, and is so wide that they could hardly distinguish a man on the other side. The walls are very large, built of great stones, much thicker and stronger than those of Timbuctoo, with four gates. It took a day to walk round them. The city has twice as many inhabitants as Timbuctoo; the principal people are well dressed, but all are negroes and kaffirs. They have boats made of great trees hollowed out, which will hold from fifteen to twenty negroes; and in these, they descend the river for *three moons* to the great water, and traffic with "pale people, who live in great boats, and have guns as big as their bodies."—Riley, pp. 370—7. This great water is supposed to be the Atlantic; and, as the distance of three moons must be not less than about 2500 miles, it has been supposed that the Niger must communicate with the Congo. If so, it must be, doubtless, by intermediate rivers. But the account requires to be corroborated by more distinct information.

* A private letter from Major Laing, (the last received from him,) states, that Timbuctoo had every way answered his expectations, except as to its size, which does not exceed four miles in circumference.

The Joliba, or Nil, is here very broad, and flows slowly past from the westward. In the dry season, a camel may pass over it without swimming; but, after the rains, it becomes very deep, rapid, and dangerous."*

The first European traveller who succeeded in penetrating to Timbuctoo, was the unfortunate Major Laing, who reached that city in 1826, and resided there for two months, but was assassinated, on his homeward route through the desert, by an Arab chief, who had undertaken to escort him in safety as far as Arawan.† An enterprising Frenchman, M. Caillé, has been more fortunate. Setting out on the 19th of April, 1827, from Kakondy, the tomb of Major Peddie and of Major Campbell, M. Caillé crossed the Senegal at Bafila, and afterwards the Joliba, and proceeded to Kankan, the chief town in the country of the same name, which is enriched by the vicinity of the gold mines of Bourri. Here he resided for some time, and then accompanied a caravan of Mandingo merchants about 200 miles E. beyond the Soulimana, to the village of Timé, where he arrived on the 3rd of August. At this place, he was detained for five months by a dangerous illness, which he attributes to the inclemency of the climate, and the hardships he had undergone in crossing the steep

* Lyon, pp. 145, 6.

† M. Caillé states, that the only chance of escaping death is by professing Mohammedism; and that Major Laing fell a victim to his scruples. His fate, he says, was a familiar topic of conversation at Timbuctoo, where his refusal to abjure his religion, created some interest, as it lead to his destruction. This does not appear to have been the case. From the Shiekh, Seid Ali Boubokar, Major Laing met with a very hospitable and kind reception at Timbuctoo; and if Barbooshi, his murderer, acted by orders, they were probably dictated by mercantile jealousy on the part of the Foulah lord of Massina, who had directed the Shiekh to expel the Christian from the country.

mountains of Foota Jallon. On the 9th of January, he again set forward in a northerly direction, and after passing by more than a hundred villages, fell in with the Joliba, at Galia, on the 10th of March, and crossed an arm of it, to proceed to Jenné. At this place he stayed thirteen days, and then embarked upon the Great River in a large bark, which formed part of a mercantile flotilla. It was the season when the water is low. In some places, the river was a mile in breadth, in others, much narrower; and the rapidity of its current varied accordingly. It is sometimes divided by islands, and receives several tributary streams. At length, on the 19th of April, he arrived at Kabra, the port of Timbuctoo, and, on the next day, made his entry into that town. Here he remained till the 4th of May, when he availed himself of the opportunity of joining a caravan of 800 camels, which was setting out for Morocco. On the 23d of July, he reached Tafilet; and on the 14th of September, arrived in safety at Tangiers, where the French Consul provided for his security, and succeeded in saving him from the danger which he would have incurred, had he been recognized under his Mohammedan disguise. The narrative of his travels has not yet been given to the public; but the Geographical Society of Paris, from the report of whose proceedings these particulars are extracted, have conferred on this fortunate Traveller the well-earned prize offered to the first person who should arrive at Timbuctoo from Senegambia. "It is a great thing," remarks the Special Committee appointed to examine M. Caillé's claims, "for a man to have at length succeeded in dissolving the species of enchantment which appeared to strike every European who has attempted to reach this mysterious point of the *Dioliba* (*Joliba*). The service

rendered to science by M. Caillé, will obtain him the thanks of its friends, if they are not entirely consoled by his success for the deplorable loss of Major Laing." *

With reference, however, to the commercial importance of Timbuctoo, it has justly been remarked, that the circumstance which has been the foundation of its importance to the traders of Barbary, and consequently of much of its fame among us,—its frontier situation on the verge of the desert, and at the northern limit of the negro population,—will of necessity have a contrary operation, now that more direct and securer channels for European enterprise into the Interior from the south-western coast, have been opened by the enterprise of recent Travellers.†

It is understood, that M. Caillé's report respecting the course of the Joliba, tends to confirm the accuracy of Major Laing's observation respecting the position of its source. Although the latter did not actually reach the spot, the point from which it issues was shewn to him, at the distance of only a good day's march; and he considers that it may, with little fear of error, be placed in latitude 9° 25′ N., longitude 9° 45′ W., the elevation being about 1600 feet above the level of the Atlantic. At its source, the river bears the appellation of *Tembie*, which signifies water, in the Kissi language. It runs due N. for many miles, to Kang-kang (Kankan), the course being marked by a ridge of hills which branch off at right angles from the chain running eastward from Sierra

* Literary Gazette, Jan. 3, 1829. M. Caillé has brought home drawings of two mosques and other buildings in this famous capital, taken at the imminent risk of discovery and punishment.

† "Timbuctoo produces no gold, it being only the great market where all the *Gaffles* (*Kafilas*) from the N. and E., meet those of the S. and W."—Clapperton, p. 202.

Leone. On entering Kang-kang, the river takes a more easterly direction, and assumes the names of *Ba-ba* and *Joli-ba* (*i.e.* large river), which it preserves to Sego, Jinne, and Timbuctoo.* The name of *Quorra* (*Quolla, Kowara*), which it afterwards assumes, appears to have the same meaning. From Sego to Boussa, the general course of the river is known; and so far, Mr. Park ascertained that it was navigable. It continues to flow in a S.S.E. direction as far as the parallel of 8°, where, without reckoning its windings, it has already reached a distance of nearly 1500 geographical miles from its source: its extreme northern point is in about latitude 15°. But, supposing the slope of its bed to be equal to that of the Ganges and the Amazons, (and it is probably not so rapid as either,) that is to say, four inches in a mile, this would still leave an elevation, at Funda, of about 1000 feet, which would admit of a sufficient inclination to enable its waters to reach Sennaar, and join the Abyssinian Nile.†

One of the most remarkable features in African geography, is the fact, that the only known rivers north of the line, except those which flow down the declivities of Atlas, appear to have their origin between the parallels of 11° and 8°; and that those of Soudan, which ultimately reach the Mediterranean, originate in the same groupe of mountains with those

* Laing, pp. 325—8.

† See Quarterly Review, No. xliv. p. 479. The writer of this article fixes upon 2800 feet as the elevation which would be required for the source of the Niger, to carry it through Soudan and Egypt into the Mediterranean, with a current equal to that of the Ganges or the Amazons. But, as neither the current of the Niger nor of the Nile is of equal strength to that of the Indian and American streams, even this elevation, if is added, would not be required. Add to which, Major Laing's estimate of the height of its source can be considered only as an approximation, and is probably under the truth.

which discharge themselves into the Atlantic. Soudan may be described as a vast oblong basin, shut in between the high table-land of the desert on the north, and the granite mountains which stretch across the whole continent on the south; its head, on the west, formed by the cluster which fills up the Foolah and Mandingo countries; while the highlands of Abyssinia, presenting a groupe corresponding to those of Senegambia, form the termination of the basin on the east. Here, however, instead of the elevated plains of the Sahara, the collected waters find a longitudinal valley, presenting a gently inclined plane towards the north; through which that portion which escapes evaporation, is poured into the Mediterranean.

It appears to be now ascertained, that the three great rivers of the western coast, the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande, have all their sources very close to each other, in a groupe of mountains a short distance to the N.W. of Teembo in Foota Jallon;* while that of the Joliba is within one degree of latitude to the south, and less than two degrees to the east. M. Mollien's account represents the Gambia (called the *Ba Diman*) and the Rio Grande (*Comba*), as springing from the same basin amid high mountains. On quitting this basin, these rivers pursue their course towards opposite points, and both finally discharge themselves into the Atlantic, at the distance from each other of fifty leagues. The

* According to Mollien, who places the source of the Ba Fing, the middle branch of the Senegal, in latitude 10° 10′ N., longitude 11° 18′ W.; that of the Falemé, in latitude 10° 20′ N., longitude 11° W.; that of the Gambia, in latitude 10° 30′ N., longitude 11° 15′ W.; and that of the Rio Grande, in latitude 10° 37′ N., longitude 11° 17′ W. The correctness of M. Mollien's statements are confirmed by M. Caillé, who crossed his route,

Comba, after receiving the *Tomine* or *Dongo*, assumes the appellation of *Kaboo*.* On the other side of the same mountains, are the sources of the Falemé and the Senegal, but at some distance apart, and separated by a branch of the great chain of Fouta Jallon. The former, at its source, and during great part of its course, bears the name of *Tené* or *Tenyah*.

The following is M. Mollien's description of the sources of the Gambia and Rio Grande. On leaving the village of Toulon, his guide led him in a western direction by bye-paths in the lofty mountains called *Badet*. "We at length," he continues, "arrived at the summit of one of these heights: it was entirely bare, so that we could discover below us two thickets, the one concealing from view the sources of the Gambia, the other those of the Rio Grande.....Continuing in a western direction, we rapidly descended the ferruginous mountain, the summit of which we had been traversing since sun-rise, and arrived in a beautiful valley. On the right and left appeared small villages; the ground was covered with high and thick dry grass; not a stone was to be seen on it. Two thickets, which shaded the sources, the objects of my search, rose in the midst of this plain, which drought had despoiled of its verdure. At the moment that I saw the Rio Grande, it slowly rolled along its turbid waters. At about 300 paces from the source, they were clearer, and fit to drink. Its source gushes from the bosom of the earth, and runs N.N.E., passing over rocks. Ali informed me, that, in the rainy season, two ravines hollowed in the neighbouring hill, then dry, which terminate at the source, conduct thither two torrents, which increase its current. At

* The name of Kaboo is also given to the country between the Rio Grande, the Gambia, and the Geba river.

some leagues distance from the place where it springs from the ground, and beyond the valley, the river changes its direction, and runs to the west.

" Proceeding S.S.E. in the same meadow, Ali stamped upon the ground, and the earth echoed in a frightful manner. 'Underneath,' said he, 'are the reservoirs of the two rivers: the noise thou hearest, proceeds from their being empty.' After walking about 1300 paces, we reached the wood which concealed the source of the Gambia. I forced my way through the thorny bushes which grew between the trees, and obtained a sight of it. This spring, like the other, was not abundant: it issues from beneath a kind of arch in the middle of the wood, and forms two branches. One, running S.S.W., stops at a little distance on account of the equality of the ground: the other runs down a gentle declivity, and takes a S.S.E. direction. At its exit from the wood, and even 600 paces further, it is only 3 feet broad..... The valley in which the sources are situated, forms a kind of funnel, having no other outlets than the two defiles by which the rivers run off. Man has never dared to use the axe in the woods which overshadow these two springs, because the natives believe them to be inhabited by spirits. Their reverence for these places is carried to such a pitch, that they are careful not to enter them; and if any one had seen me penetrate within them, I should infallibly have been put to death.* From the situation of these two sources, in a

* Major Laing states, that the source of the Niger, which is looked upon in the negro world as the largest river in the universe, is the object of similar veneration. "It is said, that, although not more than half a yard in diameter at its source, if any one was to attempt to leap over it, he would fall into the spring, and be instantly swallowed up; but that a person may step over it quietly without danger; also, that it is forbidden to take water from the

basin between high mountains covered with ferruginous stones and cinders, and almost entirely destitute of verdure, I am led to conjecture that they occupy the crater of an extinct volcano. The ground which resounded under my feet, probably covers one of the abysses whence the fiery eruptions issued." *

The sources of the Falemé are near the village of Courbari, to the S.E. On leaving that village, our Traveller had to wade through a morass, up to his waist in water, and then to force a path through the woods. "After proceeding for an hour to the N.N.W.," he says, "we arrived at the source of the Falemé, called *Tené* by the Poulas. I should never have discovered it without a guide; for, at this moment, it was very low. It is situated, like the sources of the Gambia and Rio Grande, in a basin surrounded with mountains. The Falemé rises at the foot of a hillock, situated to the west, in an open spot. It runs to the south, and at a very short distance enters a very thick wood. At 900 paces lower, it receives the river *Boié;* then, making a curve, it turns northward, and enters Dentilia. The mountains which encircle the funnel whence it issues, contain iron mines; and the neighbouring villages carry on a great trade in that metal. Some of these mountains, like those in the neighbourhood of the Gambia, are composed of bare, ferruginous rocks;

spring, and that any one who attempts it, will have the calabash wrested from his hand by an invisible power, and perhaps lose his arm."—Laing, p. 326.

* Mollien, pp. 233—6. "The appearance of the mountains of Niokolo and Bandeia," this Traveller says, "proves this country to be volcanic. Earthquakes are very frequent; one had been felt two months previously to my arrival, the shocks of which had extended to Teembo. The mountain to the north of Bandeia, which is covered with ashes, is often shaken."—*Ib.* p. 226.

ashes of the same kind appear in the cavities of their summits, and clumps of trees are seen at intervals." * About a league from its source, the Falemé is nearly 80 paces broad, running over a bed of sand and flints.

Lastly, the source of the Senegal is thus described. "We halted for the night at Dalaba, a village (on the bank of the Senegal) inhabited by Mandingoes from Kankan.....Proceeding to the north, we traversed a fertile plain watered by the Senegal, and crossed the river, the shallow current of which flowed over a bed of sand and flints. We then began to climb a very steep mountain. We were still far from the summit, when Ali, suddenly stopping, shewed us on our left, at a little distance from our track, a thicket of tufted trees, which concealed the sources from our view. Stealing along the mountain, I reached this thick wood, into which the rays of the sun had never penetrated, and crossed the Senegal, which could not be so much as four feet broad. Ascending the stream, I perceived two basins, one above the other, from which the water gushed forth; and still higher, a third, which was only humid, as well as the channel that led to the basin immediately below it. The Negroes consider the upper basin as the principal source of the river. These three springs were situated about the middle of the side of the mountain. In the rainy season, two ponds, at equal distances above the upper source, supply it with water by two deep channels. The Senegal, called *Baleo* (Black River) in the Poula language,† and *Bafing* in Mandingo, which has the same signification, or *Foura*, which means simply

* Mollien, pp. 245, 6.

† In Captain Lyon's vocabulary of Fellatah words, Black is *Balaijiu*; River is *Lana*; Water, *Ghium*. *Baleo* is given by Mollien in his vocabulary, as the Foolah word for Black.

the river, runs at first from N. to S.; then passes at a little distance to the S. of Timbo, and afterwards pursues a western direction." *

The Senegal, owing to its bearing among the natives the name of Black River, was long mistaken by European geographers for the Niger of the ancients. It was reserved for Mungo Park to discover, in his first journey, the true Niger in the Joliba; as well as to make us acquainted with the Mandingo countries lying between that river, the Senegal, and the Gambia. It was on the 21st of July, 1796, as he drew near to Sego, the capital of Bambarra, that this lamented Traveller beheld with infinite pleasure the great object of his mission,—"the long sought for, majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward." † Although Major Houghton had collected information which left little doubt of its having a course "towards the *rising* sun," no European had ever obtained ocular demonstration of the fact; and Mr. Park had left England under the belief that it ran in the contrary direction. The furthest point eastward, which he reached in his first journey, was Silla, a town on the eastern bank, two short days from Jenne. The fatal termination of his second expedition has already been noticed. It is not a little remarkable, that he should have perished in the very stream whose secret he was the first to unravel.

The plan and limits of this work will not admit of our giving in detail the personal narratives of the

* Mollien, 261—3. This Author's florid style and occasional rodomontade awaken suspicions of his accuracy, which are, perhaps, unfounded. His general veracity and correctness seem to be admitted.

† Park, vol. i. p. 190.

various Travellers to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of Western Africa. Interesting as is the story of their adventures, the topographical information they supply is, for the most part, too vague and even contradictory to answer the purpose of scientific geography; and a general description of these negro countries is all that seems due to their intrinsic importance. We begin with the groupe of countries to which modern geographers have given the name of

SENEGAMBIA.

THAT part of the western coast of Africa, usually distinguished by this name, comprised between the parallels of 8° and 20°, is for the most part flat and sandy, and exposed to the most intense heats that are known in any part of the globe. The heights which form Cape Verd, and some hills near Joal, alone break this uniformity; the left bank of the Sierra Leone river also presents a very considerable elevation, forming the prolongation of the mountains which extend from the interior. The whole of this region, proceeding from the coast eastward, presents three distinctly marked divisions. The first, which is 35 leagues broad opposite to Arguin, and which narrows to the south till it terminates on the coast at Cachao, is composed of a flat and sandy soil, almost without stones, and may be considered as the prolongation of the Sahara.* The second, which is 40 leagues wide, and ends at the mouth of the Rio Nunez, consists of a soil half sandy, half argillaceous, very smooth, and almost without stones. The third, extending as far as the

* The elevation of the Sahara, however, both on the north and south, is stated to be much above the level of the cultivated country.—See Riley, p. 379. Whether there is a descent from the Sahara to the western coast, does not appear to be ascertained.

first terrace of the mountains, is 60 leagues broad, and terminates at the river of Sierra Leone: the soil is argillaceous, hilly, and stony.

From this line, which is winding, and which, as it runs north, curves towards the west, the country is mountainous for the space of 10 degrees from east to west. The mountains rise in parallel terraces, forming chains which increase in height as they advance towards the south, or as they approach the 7th degree of west longitude, becoming lower further to the east. They attain their greatest known elevation between the 8th and 10th parallels. It was a little above the latter parallel, that M. Mollien discovered the sources of the three great rivers he was instructed to explore. The declivity of this mountainous country is generally steeper to the east than to the west, and in the southern, steeper than in the northern part. Its extent to the south has not been ascertained. One of its terraces, however, ends on the coast at Sierra Leone; and the declivity on the western side is considerably to the S. of latitude 10°. The whole of this elevated region abounds with metals, especially with iron and gold.*

We are indebted chiefly to the enterprises of the French for our knowledge of the Senegal, of which river they were long the sole masters as high as the cataract of Feloo; and at the mouth of which they fixed the capital of the factories they possessed from Arguin to Sierra Leone. Copious descriptions of this part of Africa have been furnished by Father Labat† and other French missionaries; but the latest and

* Eyries in Mollien, pp. 359, 60.

† Compiled chiefly from the Memoirs of André Brue, director of the French African Company.

most popular account is by M. Golberry, of whose work we shall avail ourselves.

The course of the Senegal, from its mouth to the rock Feloo, the boundary of French navigation, is nearly 280 leagues, although the distance in a direct line is not more than 160 leagues. No river, perhaps, in the world, has more tortuous and circuitous windings. Owing to the very slight inclination of the level, the smallest inequality in the surface,—a forest more impervious than usual, a bank of rocks, or a vein of compacter soil, is sufficient to change its course, so that the river frequently seems upon the point of recurring to its source. While the Gambia can be navigated only when the floods have subsided, the Senegal is navigable only in the rainy season;* and the voyage has always proved so detrimental to the health of those who have performed it, that one-third of the Europeans have perished in the attempt. Sand-banks and rocks embarrass the navigation; enormous trees and portions of the bank are continually borne down by the current; frequent hurricanes and storms are encountered, followed by dead calms; and the burning atmosphere, when not violently agitated, becomes dreadfully oppressive. But for these perils and inconveniences, the voyage would be, to the naturalist, in the highest degree interesting: the banks present a rich variety of the noblest productions of the vegetable kingdom, while the extensive forests abound with all kinds of wild animals; troops of forty or fifty elephants may often be seen; and in the shal-

* Adanson, however, found the river at its greatest ebb, from 20 to 30 feet deep, as high as Podor, a factory 60 leagues up the river. The salt-water is not felt more than 30 leagues up; but the influence of the tide reaches to Podor. The greatest rise of the tide at the mouth of the river, is 2½ feet.—Murray, vol. i. p. 272.

lower parts of the river are a vast number of hippopotami and caymans of prodigious size. The latter are sometimes seen in parties of 200 or 300, and, when floating on the surface of the river, might be mistaken for trunks of trees. The largest seen by Adanson, the celebrated naturalist, were from 15 to 18 feet in length. He saw also a gigantic species of serpent, 22 feet long and upwards: it devours chiefly lizards, toads, and locusts, the scourges of the country, and is on this account considered as a blessing.

The mouth of the Senegal is obstructed by a very dangerous bar. About three leagues up the river is the Isle of St. Louis, on which stands the capital of what has been denominated French Africa.* It is a narrow sandy island, devoid of vegetation; but abundance of provisions are obtained from the main land. The number of white inhabitants in 1787, did not exceed sixty persons; and the total population of the island was not above 6000. The town is composed of thatched houses; there are barracks and a hospital, but they are wretchedly constructed; and Fort St. Louis itself is ill-planned and of no strength. The situation is, moreover, extremely unhealthy. Sixty leagues up the river is Fort Podor, situated in the large and fertile island of Morfil: it was built for the protection of the gum trade, and for the purpose of maintaining a connection with the Moorish tribes

* Besides Fort St. Louis and Podor on the Senegal, the French had, at one time, the forts of St. Joseph and St. Pierre in the interior of Galam; the island of Goree (or Barsaghish, near Cape Verd; Albreda and Joal on the Gambia; Bintam on the Celebes River; and the Island of Bissaos. All these settlements are now abandoned; and the Island of St. Louis is reduced to a factory under military government, the returns of which, in 1801, gave a population of 10,000 inhabitants, consisting chiefly of slaves.—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 217.

who inhabit the southern part of the Sahara. The distance from the confines of the desert to this point of the river, in a direct line, is about 7 leagues, but, following the windings of the stream, nearly 40. The gum-fair was principally held on the borders of the river, about half-way between Podor and Fort St. Louis; and the particulars of this traffic, as detailed by Golberry, are not a little curious.

Previously to the commencement of the seventeenth century, the gum of Arabia was the only sort in request: it was brought to Marseilles by way of Egypt. The Dutch were the first who introduced into Europe that of the Senegal; but it was not till the close of that century, that its superior qualities became generally recognised. The gum-tree of the Senegal is of the acacia genus, of which there are numerous varieties. Adanson is stated to have brought home no fewer than forty different species, which are found between the parallels of 20° and 14°. The five principal, however, are the red gum-tree called *Nebueb*; the red one of *Gonake*; and the white gum-tree, called *Suing*; which three he classes under the genus *acacia vera*; while the white gum-tree called *Uerek*, and the white species called *Ded*, belong to a distinct genus. The *Uerek* and the *Nebueb* are the most numerous, as they are the most valuable. They are abundantly propagated in the white and moving sands which form the soil of the countries bordering on the sea-coast, from Cape Blanco to Cape Verde, and also on the northern bank of the Senegal, from the factory called the Desert, to Galam. Three large forests, composed principally of these trees, are found near the southern extremity of the Sahara, which are known under the names of *Sahel*, *Al Fatak*, and *El Hiebar*. The gum-tree of

the Senegal is, in general, not more than 18 or 20 feet high and about 3 feet in circumference, having a stunted and ugly appearance; the branches are thorny; the leaves alternate, very small, of a dry, dirty green; the flowers, white and very short; the trunk smooth, dry, and of a dark green.

The Moorish tribes who frequent the western bank of the Senegal for the purpose of disposing of this gum, are distinguished by the names of Trarshaz (Trazarts), Brachknaz, and Welled El Haghi, or Darmanko. To these tribes, the possession and commerce of the southern countries of the Sahara, as far as the longitude of Galam, appear to have belonged for many centuries. They are said to occupy seven oases, the three principal of which have become each the centre or capital of one of the tribes.* The territory of the Trarshaz, who occupy three of these oases, extends from the shores of the Atlantic, along the eastern and northern banks of the Senegal, as far as the lake of Cayar on the east, their northern limit being unknown and probably indeterminate. During the fine months, they encamp in the environs of the Senegal, on the banks

* Some malcontents of these three tribes have formed themselves into a wandering horde, who live by pillage and rapine. These vagabonds are scattered over the coast of the Atlantic, between Cape Bojadore and the *merigot* (or creek) of the Maringouins. This ferocious horde watch for shipwrecks; their spies are planted along the whole extent of coast, above 100 leagues in length, and correspond by signals; and the unfortunate wretches who fall into their hands, are immediately imprisoned and sold as captives to neighbouring hordes. In fact, the whole coast is occupied by piratical hordes, who find customers in traders from Morocco. Saugnier was wrecked off the mountains of Wadi Nun, and was enslaved by the Mongeart and Monselemins. De Brisson, being wrecked a little to the N. of Cape Blanco, fell into the hands of the Labdesseba Arabs. Riley was wrecked near Cape Bojadore; Adams, a little to the S. of Cape Blanco.—See Murray's Hist. vol. i. ch. iv, x, xi.

of the Endereer creek and the lake Cayar; retiring in the rainy season, with their flocks, horses, and camels, to their three oases. Their principal one is named Hoden, which they call their country; it is a little below the parallel of 20°, but its precise situation is unknown. This tribe is exclusively in possession of the forest of *Sahel*, which consists entirely of white gum-trees; it is situated 20 leagues E. of Portendick, and 25 leagues N. E. of the Senegal. They have also some salt-mines. The territories of the *Brachknaz* and *Darmanko*, who are of the same stock, extend from that of the Trarshaz eastward, to Ludamar: they possess four oases and the forests of *Al Fatak* and *El Hiebar*, as well as several salt-mines. That of *El Hiebar*, consisting chiefly of red gum-trees, is further to the north than the others; being 32 leagues from Podor, 30 leagues from Portendick, 60 from Arguin, and 25 from the river St. John, which falls into the sea near Cape Mirik. In the forest of *Al Fatak*, which is not above 30 leagues from Podor, the white species predominates. Besides these three forests, there is a fourth, consisting chiefly of the *Ded* species, in the midst of the Sahara, some leagues to the north of Lake Goumal; and a fifth, on the right bank of the Senegal, 14 leagues N. E. of Galam.

About the beginning of December, the three Moorish tribes quit their retreats in the vast solitudes of the Sahara, leaving behind them the aged, decrepid, and very young, and their black slaves; and proceed to their respective forests, where they encamp for about six weeks, to collect the gum. This is packed up in immense sacks, made of tanned ox-hides. When all is ready, the chiefs ride forward in advance to the banks of the Senegal, to strike a bargain with the gum-merchants for the sale of the year's produce. The price

being agreed upon, they return to the main body, to announce that the market may now commence. All at once, the immense solitude of the desert is covered with an innumerable multitude of men and women, horses, camels, oxen, and goats. The air rings with their wild hubbub, and a scene commences, which has no parallel in mercantile transactions. The quantity of gum brought to the French factories in the years 1785, 1786, and 1787, amounted, each year, to 800,000lbs.; besides which, nearly half that quantity was conveyed to Portendick, where it was purchased by the English. The annual produce of the three forests, therefore, was not less than 1,200,000lbs.; and M. Golberry says, that a much larger quantity might be procured. The Moors took in exchange, blue Indian calicoes.

From the time that the Moors quit their oases, and encamp round the gum-forests of the Sahara, the lower classes, this Traveller says, subsist almost entirely on this gum, till their return from the Senegal. Six ounces have been found sufficient to support a man for twenty-four hours. Those who can afford it, dissolve it in milk. Combined with the gravy of meat, it is also formed into a kind of lozenge, which will keep for more than a year; and a preparation of it, mixed with mill-dust, or maize, is sometimes given by the Moors to their horses and camels.*

Between Podor and Galam, a distance of nearly 130 leagues, the country on the south-western bank of

* Golberry, vol. i. ch. 6. The Author asserts, that he knew a young Englishman, residing on the Gambia, who was cured of a violent pectoral complaint, by living entirely for three months upon this gum dissolved in milk. The nutritive properties of gum-arabic are equally well known; and other gums are eaten by the Arabs.—See Mod. Trav. Arabia, pp. 172—175.

the Senegal is occupied by the Foolahs, and bears the name of Foota-Toro. They have also many settlements on the northern bank. The greater part are subject to a Maraboot, who has the title of *Siratik*. The Galam territory begins at 30 leagues S. of the island of Bilbos. This country, the proper name of which is Kajaaga, is inhabited by the Serrawoolli, or Serracolet negro tribes, who are governed by many petty princes, nominally subject to the king of Galam. About eight leagues below Galam, at the village of Tafalisga, the Senegal receives the Falemme, which may be navigated during the rainy season by vessels of sixty tons. The French India Company had a fortified factory at Galam, which was at one time of considerable importance. The ruins only of Fort St. Joseph are now visible. About 16 leagues higher up, is the cataract of Feloo. The rock of that name intersects the whole breadth of the river, occasioning a fall which is said to be 80 feet in height. During the dry season, the bed of the river above the rock is nearly dry; but, when the rains commence, the waters rush down with great violence, and the roar may be heard at ten leagues' distance.

Of the present state of Kajaaga, or Galam, Major Gray gives the following account:—

"The kingdom of Galam extends from within a few miles of the cataract of Feloo on the east, where it is bounded by Kasson, (about 40 miles W. of the Falemmê,) to the N. Geercer creek, which divides it from Foota. On the S., it is bounded by Bondoo; and is at present composed of a string of towns on the south or left bank of the Senegal. It formerly extended several miles in the direction of Bondoo, Foota, and Bambouk, but has of late years diminished to its present insignificant state, in consequence of dissen-

sions among the different branches of the royal family, and the encroachments of their enemies. It is divided into upper and lower: the river Fa-lemmê (small river) is the line of separation. The upper is governed by the *Tonca* of Maghana; the lower, by the *Tonca* of Tuabo; those towns being the capitals to their respective divisions, and neither acknowledging the supremacy of the other; although formerly, and of right, it belonged to Maghana, near which town are the ruins of Fort St. Joseph. The succession to the crown is not hereditary: it descends in a regular line to the eldest branch of a numerous family called *Batcheries*, who are the undisputed chiefs of the country.

"The face of the country is very mountainous, and much covered with wood, a large proportion of which is well adapted to common uses. Its vegetable productions are the same as those of Bondoo, from which country it differs in nothing save its proximity to the river, and its partial inundation during the season of the rains.* The commerce, like that of Bondoo, consists in the exchange of the productions of the country for European goods. These are again exchanged with their neighbours of Kaarta, Kasson, and Bambouk, for gold, ivory, and slaves, who are in their turn sold to the French vessels from Senegal. Their dress and manner of living are also nearly the same as those of the people of Bondoo. The former is made rather larger in the same shape; and the latter is more frequently seasoned with fish, with which the river abounds. They are proverbially fond of animal

* Mollien says, the country is one of the most fertile in Western Africa. Millet, rice, maize, tobacco, cotton, and indigo grow there almost without culture. Yet milk, cattle, and fish form the principal food of the inhabitants.

food, which, although arrived at a higher degree of keeping than would please the palates of our most decided epicures, would not be rejected by them. I have seen a dead hippopotamus floating down the river, and poisoning the air with its putrid vapours, drawn to shore by them; and such was their love of meat, that they nearly came to blows about its division. From a state of paganism, these people are progressively embracing the Mohammedan faith; but many still despise its tenets, disregard its ceremonies, and indulge freely in the use of strong liquors. Some towns are wholly inhabited by priests, who are by far the most wealthy and respectable members of the community. There is a mosque in every town, and the times of worship are strictly attended to by the priests and their converts. From the long existence of a state of commercial intercourse (which has been but partially interrupted by Foota) between these people and the inhabitants of Senegal, arises a degree of respect which is invariably paid by them to all Europeans who visit their country; and although the exorbitant demands of the chiefs for presents (now called customs) sometimes cause altercations and temporary quarrels between them, they must, nevertheless, be considered as more friendly to Europeans, than any other of the surrounding tribes *.....Their amusements, animals, household furniture, and musical instruments, are the same as those of Bondoo; but the people themselves are neither so lively in their man-

* Mollien says: "The Serracolets are, perhaps, the most intelligent and skilful of all the Negroes in commercial affairs. Their passion for traffic is such, that their neighbours say, by way of derision, that a Serracolet would rather buy an ass to transport his merchandise, than have a wife whose expenses would diminish his income. All European travellers agree in describing them as extremely hospitable."—Mollien, p. 288.

ners, nor so apparently active in their occupations as those of that country. A Serrawolli is seldom seen to run; a grave and sober deportment, and an apparent indifference to all matters, characterize these people. In stature, they are large, and in make more robust, yet less elegant, than the Foolahs. Their colour is a jetty black, which they are at much pains to preserve (particularly in the dry season) by using a profusion of rancid butter. The women are, if possible, more fond of gaudy articles of dress than their neighbours, and will make any sacrifice at the shrine of finery." *

To the south of Kajaaga and east of Bondoo, is the country of Bambouk, the "Peru of Western Africa;" from which the greater part of the gold that finds its way to the coast, is understood to be obtained. Of this country, more celebrated than known, M. Golberry's account is as follows.

The country of Bambouk, to the S. of the Senegal, and 10 leagues distant from its left bank, lies between the parallels of 14° 15′ and 12° 30′ N., and the meridians of 10° 36′ and 9° 16′ W. The Falemmé, which joins the Senegal at Tafalisga, forms the western boundary. Its real extent is not more than 36 leagues from N. to S., by a medium breadth of 28; which gives a superficies of little more than 1000 square leagues. This territory is divided into three independent states, Bambouk, Satadoo, and Konkoodoo. Each has its peculiar chief, but the *Siratik* of Bambouk enjoys an honorary superiority; † hence, this kingdom has given its name to the whole territory. The mountains of Tabaoura, which form a

* Gray, pp. 264—270.

† *Siratik*, we are told, is the regal title of the sovereign of Bambouk, as it is in the countries of the Foolahs, the Serrawollies, the Kassons, and in Bondoo.

chain from 38 to 40 leagues in extent, occupy a considerable portion of this country. They produce many springs; and two principal rivers have their source here, both of which are denominated *Colez*. The Western Colez, the Rio d'Oro of the Portuguese, has a course of nearly 30 direct leagues, and joins the Falemmê at the village of Nayé Mow: the Eastern or Guyamon Colez enters the Senegal at Bukayakoulou. Estimating the elevated and sterile regions at a third of the surface of the country, there will remain 667 square leagues, which may be ranked among the most fertile of soils. The country ought, therefore, to be very populous; and it is said to contain at least 400,000 inhabitants; but M. Golberry deems this a very exaggerated estimate, and supposes that Bambouk cannot furnish more than 60,000 souls. The natives, indolent and voluptuous, leave uncultivated the most fertile lands, in order to unite in villages near the gold-mines, and on the banks of rivulets which carry down mud and sands impregnated with the "precious bane." Thick forests, several leagues in extent, are abandoned to wild oxen and cows, who have proceeded from cattle escaped from the herds; and they speak of a formidable race of black oxen, very dangerous to the hunters, who consider an offering of one of these wild animals very acceptable to the Demon master of the gold-mines. There are also extensive plains covered with the gigantic herbage known by the name of Guinea-grass, which attains the height of six or seven feet. The *baobab*, the calabash, and various species of acacias and palm-trees, flourish in this country; and from its flowering shrubs, the bees extract a mild and luscious honey. These insects are particularly fond of the calabash and the tamarind-tree.

The temperature of Bambouk, this Traveller affirms to be, throughout the year, the hottest on the globe, and the air is particularly insalubrious. The rains last for four months; but, instead of refreshing the air, they only render the climate the more oppressive. All the rivers then overflow their banks, and the low lands remain for a long time covered with water. The excessive heat and insalubrity of this burning region, form its chief defence against the cupidity and enterprise of European nations. According to the oral information, however, which he was enabled to collect, Bambouk has more than once been overrun by invaders. The present race of inhabitants appear to be chiefly of Mandingo origin. Their language is said to be a jargon, composed of the Manding, Foolah, Yolof, and Moorish dialects. Like the Mandingoes, they have professedly embraced Mohammedism, but they will not suffer a Maraboot or priest to exist in their country, owing to a conspiracy in which these Mohammedan Jesuits are said to have been detected, which had for its object, to get the sovereign authority into their own hands.

The first introduction of Islam into this country, is stated to have been about A. D. 1100, when a Mandingo warrior, called Abba Manko, animated by the love of conquest, and zeal for the propagation of the true faith, quitted his country at the head of a powerful army, attended by numerous Maraboots and young women, and after ravaging all the countries along the right bank of the Gambia, entered Bambouk. Part of the inhabitants were proselyted, and part massacred; and Abba Manko, the conqueror, took possession of the throne. At his death, after a reign of thirty years, his dominions were divided among his three sons; the eldest succeeding to the possession of Bambouk and the

richest mines; the two others to the lordships of Satadoo and Konkoudoo. And though the male posterity of Abba Manko has long been extinct, the *Siratiks* of the latter district still acknowledge the supremacy of the king of Bambouk.

The second remarkable era in the annals of the country, is the Portuguese invasion of Bambouk, which took place, according to the native mode of calculation, in the ninth century of the Hejira. The Portuguese are said to have rendered themselves masters of the whole country and all its gold-mines; but they afterwards quarrelled among themselves: many fell in these affrays, and many perished from debauchery and disease; till, at length, being reduced to a very few, the Bamboukians conspired against them, and massacred them all in one day. Every person who has visited them, assures us, that they entertain the most invincible hatred towards the Portuguese. There are yet to be seen in Bambouk, the ruins of ancient forts and houses built by the invaders; and many Portuguese words are found intermingled with the dialect.

The third epoch in the history of Bambouk, is the conspiracy of the Maraboots against the native princes. If this took place, as Golberry states, more than three hundred years ago, it must have occurred towards the middle of the tenth century of the Hejira, or about a hundred years after the Portuguese invasion. These Mandingo Maraboots were, it is said, very numerous in the country; and, tempted by the gold-mines, they had laid a plan to depose all the native chiefs, and to usurp the sovereign authority. Their machinations being discovered, all the Maraboots were seized and massacred in one night; part of their families shared the same fate, and the rest were expelled the kingdom. Since that period, they have not suffered a

Mohammedan priest to enter the territory; and if one were detected, he would be instantly put to death. Owing, however, to their being without any religious teachers, they have relapsed into a state of ignorance, superstition, and stupidity, which places them far below the level of the other Mandingo nations, and renders them incapable of turning to account the natural resources of the country. They are described as extremely pusillanimous, and suffer much from the inroads of the Kasson negroes, who live upon the borders of the Senegal, above the cataract of Feloo. Their only resource upon these invasions, is to retreat, with their families, herds, and most valuable effects, into the difficult recesses of the mountains, into which the Kassons dare not follow them. The *Siratiks* have little power; the actual government of the country being chiefly in the hands of the *farims*, or hereditary heads of villages, who appear to correspond to the Indian potails and the Syrian sheikhs.

The gold-mines of Bambouk, M. Golberry says, "are national property;" by which he means, that they are not claimed by the Siratiks, but are worked by any of the inhabitants of the adjacent villages. The gold-washing is carried on during the eight months of dry weather, and ceases when the rainy season commences. The richest mine hitherto discovered, is that of Natakon. Nearly in the centre of an angle formed by the mountains to the S. E. of Bambouk, is the village of Tabaoura, situated upon the left bank of the Rio d'Oro, which has its rise near the foot of the adjacent mountain of Tabaoura, the highest in the country. About three leagues lower down the river, on the same bank, is Natakon, the largest and richest town in the kingdom. At three-quarters of a league to the westward of this place, is a small, insulated,

round-topped hill, not more than 300 feet high, and about 3000 paces in circumference at its base; it is about half a league distant from the foot of the mountains which form the Tabaoura chain. A spring of fresh water descends the western declivity of this mount, and after irrigating three-fourths of its base, enters the Rio d'Oro at the village of Natakon. The whole of this hillock (*monticule*) is an alluvial formation, consisting of a fat, argillaceous earth, with a quantity of emery sand, pulverized emery, grains of iron ore, and gold in lumps, grains, and spangles. "There is not a cubic foot of the hill, the soil of which is not loaded with gold." To obtain the rich deposite, the natives have perforated the hill in all directions, with pits about 6 feet in diameter, and from 30 to 40 feet in depth. The auriferous earth is met with about four feet below the surface; and the deeper they go, the more abundant is the gold. At the depth of 20 feet, small lumps are found, weighing from two to ten grains, with lumps of emery, and splinters of lapis lazuli. These pits, being dug perpendicularly, without any precaution to prevent the sides from falling in, not unfrequently give way and overwhelm the miners; but their superstition and fatalism, our Traveller says, prevent any attempt to obviate such accidents.* What Milton fables, these poor negroes

* M. Mollien cites the following account of these mines from the "*Voyage au Pays de Bambouk*," 8vo. Paris, 1789; written by a traveller named Coste:—"The most important mine is that of Natacoa, situated in a hill 300 feet high, and from 1000 to 1200 paces in circumference: its summit resembles a dome. The hill is placed in the centre of an immense plain, at a distance from the hills of Tabaoura. The pits dug by the negroes are to the number of 1200. They are from 20 to 25 feet deep; at the surface, they are 12 feet in circumference; they are formed with a gentle slope, and with steps for descending; but, as the sides are not supported by planks, they frequently fall in, and bury the la-

literally believe, "that riches grow in hell." They suppose, that the proprietor and manufacturer of this gold, is the devil, who fabricates it in caverns at an unknown depth in the heart of the earth, by means of his slaves; that of these, a certain number perish every year; and that the falling in of the pits is only an expedient to which he has recourse for replacing the workmen he has lost. Impressed with this opinion, they are afraid to rescue the sufferers, lest they should displease their infernal patron, and lead him to remove his gold-manufactory to some other country. When such accidents happen, the family of the deceased make an offering to the Prince of Darkness, of a black cow, or some other cattle, to propitiate his favour towards their relative.

The plain of Natakon, which is nearly seven leagues in length, is irrigated by a great number of streams from the surrounding mountains, all of which bring down portions of emery impregnated with gold. This circumstance, M. Golberry remarks, authorises the supposition, that the mountains of Tabaoura conceal the real source of all this mineral wealth within their interior recesses; and he supposes, that the alluvial hill is only an "emanation" from the main mass, the effect of some physical convulsion.

The mines of Semayla, situated about 40 miles to the N., at the foot of the western branch of the Tabaoura mountains, and 5 leagues to the west of the Rio d'Oro, are of a somewhat different description. The hill in

bourers. The further they proceed with the pits, the more gold they find." It is believed, that "certain death awaits the proprietor who, on opening a new mine, should fail to sacrifice a black cow to the gold, which is supposed to possess the power of sorcery." The working of the mines is stated to be now almost at a stand.—Mollien, p. 192.

which the gold is found, is not absolutely insulated, like that of Natakon, its western part being joined to the mountain; and it is composed of compact rock. At two or three feet below the surface, is found a reddish sandstone, very hard to cut, mixed with a considerable quantity of calculous emery and pieces of red marble. To obtain the precious ore, the miners are obliged to reduce these substances to a powder, by pounding them in large mortars, made of a very hard wood which grows in the neighbourhood. At the depth of 30 or 40 feet, they meet with a solid *stratum* of red marble, which stops their further proceedings. It is at this depth, however, M. Golberry supposes, that the real mine may properly be said to commence, as the pieces of red marble that have been taken from this mine, prove that gold is mixed with it in a very large proportion.* The bed of the rivulet of Semayla, formed of red sand mixed with clay, is full of emery impregnated with gold. The women employed in the gold-washing, dig a hole under the water, which is shortly filled with the sand: this, they withdraw in their calabashes, and the gold, after a slight washing, remains at the bottom of the vessels.

The third mine of Bambouk is that of Nambia, situated at the back of the western chain of the

* M. Palays, a mineralogist employed by the French African Company to examine these mines, found, that 10 lbs. of crude matter from this mine, yielded as much gold as 40 lbs. of earth taken from the pits of Natakon: 80 lbs. of crude earth procured from the latter, yielded 144¼ grains of gold. The sandstone of Semayla is, probably, of the species denominated quartz-slate, similar to the auriferous formation of Minas Geraes. In many respects, this description of the mines of Bambouk reminds us of the gold mines of Villa Rica, which are in like manner worked by negroes. Mr. Mawe compares the appearance of the *Morro* of Villa Rica, perforated in all directions, to a honeycomb.—See MOD. TRAV., Brazil, vol. ii. p. 51, *et seq.*

Tabaoura mountains. It is contained in a hillock excavated in pits, like the others; and, at its foot, there runs an auriferous rivulet. The gold of Nambia is paler than that of Natakon or Semalya, and is preferred as being much more ductile and malleable.

To the east of the Rio d'Oro, in a valley formed by the eastern branch of the mountains of Tabaoura, is found a fourth mine, that of Kombadyria (or Combadiréré), from which much gold is procured, though in smaller quantities than from the two principal mines of Bambouk. The soil of the hill, like that of Natakon, is a rich alluvion, charged with grains of iron, calculous and pulverized emery, loadstones, and ferruginous pyrites, all mixed with gold. The bed of the Kombadyria stream also contains a considerable quantity of the precious ore. In many other places to the west of the Tabaoura mountains, and in different parts of the kingdom of Bondoo, gold is found in smaller quantities; and M. Golberry says, "it is an incontestable fact, that, in this part of Western Africa, over a surface of more than 1200 square leagues, gold is everywhere distributed in larger or smaller quantities." There are also many iron-mines, which are worked by the Bamboukians: the metal is of a very ductile quality, and "sonorous like silver." The latter metal would probably be detected on analysis; and M. Golberry expresses his conviction, that platina would also be found. The only goldsmiths in the country are the blacksmiths, by whom, during the working season, the gold extracted from the pits is daily melted down, and then made into ear-rings. Their only implements are, an earthen chafing-dish, a pair of bellows, and a large and a smaller hammer. With their small hammer, they work the gold in a cold state, and fashion it into trinkets surprisingly

delicate, considering their rude tools. All the gold bartered in the country, is made up in the shape either of ear-rings or other ornaments.*

The greater part of the gold obtained from the mines of Semayla, Nambia, and Combadiréré, Mollien says, is exchanged with the Moorish traders for *salt*.† That necessary of life is denied to the country which teems with mineral wealth; and the poor Bamboukians, the envied possessors of this fiery region, where Nature's own laboratory supersedes the toil of the alchemist, are exposed to all the miseries of war, famine, and pestilence, as the consequence of the predatory inroads of their mere warlike neighbours. In vain, for them,

> "Afric's sunny fountains
> Roll down their golden sands."

* Golberry, vol. i. ch. xi.

† "During my stay at Kamalia' (in Manding), says Mr. Park, "the gold collected by the different traders at that place, *for salt alone*, was nearly equal to 198*l.* sterling; and as Kamalia is but a small town, and not much resorted to by the trading Moors, this quantity must have borne a very small proportion to the gold collected at Kancaba, Kancaree, and some other large towns. The value of salt in this part of Africa, is very great. One slab, about two feet and a half in length, by 14 inches in breadth and two inches in thickness, will sometimes sell for about 2*l.* 10*s.*; and from 1*l.* 15*s.* to 2*l.* may be considered as the common price. The negroes weigh the gold in small balances, which they always carry about them. They make no difference, in point of value, between gold dust and wrought gold." "At Boori, in Jallonkadoo, about four days S. W. of Kamalia, the salt-market is often supplied, at the same time, with rock-salt from the Great Desert, and sea-salt from the Rio Grande; the price of each, at this distance from its source, being nearly the same."—Park, vol. i. pp. 297, 291. Gold is found in considerable quantities throughout every part of Manding, and in greater abundance in Jallonkadoo, especially about Boori. It is obtained chiefly from the beds of the streams and torrents, and is called *sanoo munko*, gold dust, and *sanoo birro*, gold stones. Salt, however, not gold, is wealth in these countries. "In the inland parts," says Mr. Park, "the poorer class are so very rarely indulged with this precious article, that to say a man eats salt with his victuals, is the same as saying, he is a rich man."—Park, vol. i. p. 273.

Ignorant, degraded, and indolent, they are unable to avail themselves of the natural riches of the country, so as to establish a beneficial commerce; and the intolerable heat of the climate deters all foreigners from settling in a country where life goes out beneath the blaze of a tropical sun.

THE YOLOFS.

RETURNING to the coast, to the south of the Senegal river, and extending as far as the northern bank of the Gambia, westward of Foota Toro and Woolli, is the country of the Yolofs (Joloffs, Jaloofs, Uolofs, Waloofs); comprising the empire of the *Bourò-i-Yolof*, and the states of Brack (or Wal), Cayor, Sin, and Salum.* All these were at one time united under the Yolof emperor, called the *Barò* or *Bourò*, whose dominions formed the most extensive empire in this part of Africa.

The kingdom of Cayor, the sovereign of which has the title of *Damel*, formerly included Cape Verd and the small island of Goree,† which was fortified and embellished by the French. Its western limits, according to Golberry, are the last five leagues of the left bank of the Senegal, adjoining to the mouth of

* This nation, Golberry says, occupies, unmolested, the territory comprised between the ocean and the banks of the Senegal, as far as Podor, the southern limits of the Foolahs, the western bank of the Falemmé, and from the sources of that river in a line which, following the northern banks of the Gambia for the distance of 20 leagues, terminates at the sources of the river Salum.

† "The island of Goree, situated in lat. 14° 17′ N., and separated from the main land by a channel of 1500 fathoms in breadth, is a rock about 600 fathoms long, by a breadth somewhat less, and very irregular. From the dark, basaltic colour of this rock, from its constituent parts, and from heaps of rubbish found in some parts of its base, it cannot, I think, be doubted, that Goree has been separated from Cape Verd by a volcanic eruption." The rock rises nearly 300 feet above the level of the sea.—Golberry, vol. ii. p. 39.

that river, and all the extent of coast comprised between the bar and Point Serene, situated in lat. 14° 44′ N. It is bounded, on the N., by the territory of Wal, or Brack; eastward, by the dominions of the Bourb Yolof; and on the south, by the petty states of Sin and Salum. Extending 50 leagues from N. to S., by an average breadth of 40 leagues, it comprises a surface of about 2000 square leagues, with a scanty population of not more than 180,000 souls. Cayor, the capital, is a large village 40 leagues from Goree, and 20 from St. Louis. The little territory of Baol, comprising about 200 square leagues, was, in 1786, taken possession of by the Damel, on the decease of its sovereign.

The little state of Sin, which joins Cayor on the south, has 10 leagues of coast, and a territorial surface of 140 square leagues, with a population estimated at 60,000 souls. On its shores are three anchorages, which were much frequented by the French; one at Point Serene, another at the village of Faghioup, and a third at the port of Joal, formed by the mouth of the river of that name. This is the best, but the bar will not admit of the entrance of ships drawing more than ten feet water. All others must anchor at more than 1800 fathoms from the coast.

The kingdom of Salum, with which that of Sin was formerly incorporated, is situated on a small river of the same name, which discharges itself into the Atlantic, in lat. 13° 44′.* The tide flows as far as Kahan (or Cahon), the residence of the Bourb Salum, 20 leagues from the sea; and vessels can anchor about a league below, in "six fathoms of mud." The river

* The Salum has been mistaken for a branch of the Gambia, but M. Golberry says, it can have no communication with it, At 30 leagues from the sea, it is a mere brook.

is extremely muddy, and its banks are covered with water-melons, which render the air particularly oppressive and insalubrious. A considerable trade was, however, at one time carried on with this place. The kingdom of Salum, M. Golberry says, extends 60 leagues from E. to W., with a mean breadth of 25 leagues, comprising a surface of 1500 square leagues, with a population of nearly 300,000 souls.*

M. Mollien, who traversed Cayor and the kingdom of the Bourb-Yolofs, in 1818, represents the ground as rising imperceptibly from the sea-coast eastward as far as the frontier of Foota Toro. "Throughout this tract, the soil is an extremely fine sand, without the least appearance of stone; but, at the depth of 30 or 40 fathoms, is found a *stratum* of ferruginous stones, resting on calcareous rock. The ground ceases to rise on entering the deserts which separate the Yolof country from Foota Toro, so that the latter appears to form the first plain of this part of Africa, in proceeding from west to east."† Of the Bourb-Yolofs, this Traveller gives the following account.

* Golberry, vol. ii. ch. 17. The kingdoms of Salum and Sin, and those of Barra, Kolar, and Badiboo, on the right bank of the Gambia, were formerly united under one chief, before the Mandingoes extended their conquests in that direction.

† Mollien, p. 85. "Respecting the interior of the Jaloof country," another authority states, "the soil is mostly sandy, yet fruitful; there are no high mountains; but, taking the course from the Senegal eastward, where the principal king of the Jaloofs resides, if a judgement may be formed from the gradually increasing depth of the wells, it is one continued rise. At Senegal, the wells are, in depth, about 20 fathoms; at Worko, the king's town, upwards of one hundred. There, when a well is to be sunk, a whole village, or more, are employed; and as the natives are not acquainted with the practice of walling, and the soil is loose, they are obliged to make the well exceedingly wide. During the operation, several lives are generally lost by the falling in of the sides."—Report of Committee for Promoting African Instruction. In Fouta Toro and Bondoo, Mollien found the depths of the wells as great as in Cayor, being as much as 40 fathoms.—Mollien, p. 152.

"The government of the Bourb-Yolofs, like that of all the neighbouring kingdoms, is feudal. The monarch, nevertheless, possesses despotic authority, which he owes, like all other African sovereigns, to the great number of his slaves. The country contains more Pagans than Mohammedans. The latter are held there in high consideration, in consequence of the mildness and toleration which they affect. The religion of the pagan Yolofs is pure fetishism: a tree, a serpent, a ram's horn, a stone, scraps of paper covered with Arabic characters, or any objects equally insignificant, are deities with them . . . . . In this part of Africa, both Pagans and Mohammedans place their children under the tuition of the Maraboots. The reverence of children for their fathers is unbounded; but they pay little respect to their mothers . . . . Two pieces of cotton cloth, one fastened round the waist, the other thrown over the shoulders, constitute alike the dress of the men and the women." In Cayor, however, the chiefs, in addition to these, wear wide yellowish trowsers and a cotton shirt. Necklaces and bracelets, of gold or silver, are the only distinctions of the women of higher rank; and, whether slaves or mistresses, they all labour for their common master. Polygamy is universal. The food of the Yolofs is not less simple than their dress: *cuscussou*, and milk or fish, are their only dishes; and they make but two meals a day, at sun-rise and sun-set. Their huts are constructed of rushes, with a door of straw, and might be mistaken for immense bee-hives. They are compactly built, so as to afford shelter from rain; and the pliant materials withstand storms by yielding to their fury. Every Yolof, however poor, has at least two huts,—one to serve as a sleeping-room, the other for a kitchen. The furniture consists of a few mats, on which they sleep,

a caldron of iron, or more generally of earthenware, a few calabashes, and a wooden mortar for pounding millet. Beyond the precincts of their villages, are seen large rush baskets, elevated on stakes, in which they keep their grain; and such is the respect paid to the right of property, that these stores are never violated.

Wamkrore, the capital of the Bourb-Yolof, is a large village in an open plain. The sable monarch, when M. Mollien was presented to him, was found seated on a sheep-skin under a tree; his head bald and uncovered, and his white tunic, the sign of royalty, falling to rags. Nothing distinguished him from other negroes, except that his subjects saluted him on their knees. Our Traveller's present to his Majesty was a grain of amber and ten heads of tobacco; for which, after some consultation with his favourite attendant, the king munificently presented to him a pair of stirrups. Such is the magnificence of the Emperor of all the Yolofs!

M. Golberry describes the Yolofs as the most handsome negroes of Western Africa. They are, he says, robust and well-made, with regular features, and their ingenuous countenances inspire confidence. They are distinguished from all the other black nations of Western Africa, to the north of the Line, by a fine, brilliant, pure black complexion; a noble and impressive form; a character disposed to benevolence and virtue; and a high opinion of the purity and remote antiquity of their origin.* They have some

* Golberry, vol. i. p. 74, vol. ii. p. 94.—These negroes are remarkable, says this Traveller, for a certain air of importance and haughtiness, originating in a pride which they feel at the superiority and antiquity of their race. If addressed as a negro, the Yolof will reply, "Me no negro, me a Yolof."—Ib. chap. i. p. 76. Burckhardt makes a similar statement respecting the people of

traits, however, in common with the negro nations. Their hair is crisped and woolly; they have thick lips and a nose "rather round;" they are careless and idle, but honest, hospitable, generous, faithful, and brave. Their language is poor, but soft and agreeable, and easy to learn. Their numerical system is a perpetual repetition of the first five numbers, and it becomes very complicated after ten.*

In many respects, there is a marked national difference between the Yolofs and the other tribes of Senegambia. "Generally," says Mr. Singleton, describing the inhabitants of St. Mary's Island on the Gambia, "the Jaloof is rather tall, plump, of fine-turned limbs, with short, curling hair, and shining, jet-black skin. The Mandingoes are mostly of a spare make, not quite so clean, or of so bright a black; and their hair is somewhat less curled than that of the Jaloofs." Between these two nations, there exists a strong mutual antipathy. The Yolofs (or Jaloofs) are a domestic people, little known beyond their own territories, and their language is not spoken by any other tribes. The Mandingo is widely diffused, as that people not only inhabit a greater extent of country, but travel much as traders. Among the Yolofs, the women attend to their households: the Mandingoes send their women into the field. But the most remarkable peculiarity of the Yolofs, is their having among them the distinction of caste.† Besides the "good Yolofs," as the

Berber:—"We are Arabs, not negroes," they say, founding the distinction on the softness of their skin, not its colour, as *black* is not a term of reproach.—Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 200. According to Golberry, *Yolof* means black.

* Golberry, vol. ii. p. 97. Kilham's Specimens.

† "Every nation," says Mollien, "has its prejudices. One of those which the Joloffs have preserved to this day, and which is

hidalgos of this race style themselves, there are four resident castes, who are looked down upon as inferior classes: the *Tug*, or smiths; the *Oodae*, shoemakers and workers in leather; the *Moul*, fishermen; and the *Gaewell*, "singers and fiddlers," or, in more poetical phrase, bards. Strange to say, the latter are the *pariahs* of the nation. No good Yolof will marry into either of these castes; but the *Gaewell* is the only one who are refused interment. They are not even suffered to live within the towns, but must reside towards one certain point on the outside. They must neither keep cattle, nor drink sweet milk. If one of this caste dies near the water, his corpse is thrown into it; if at a distance, it is deposited in the hollow trunk of the monkey-bread tree; for the natives say, that where a *Gaewell* is buried, nothing will grow. Yet, though thus despised, they are, at times, much in request. "The good Yolof loves to hear the praise of his ancestors; and, when intoxicated, will condescend to hear a *Gaewell sing* the honours of his family. If the minstrel flatters his employer to satisfaction, his reward is not only certain, but often considerable. In time of war, the *Gaewell* has another harvest. In the field, or on the march, the king listens to their songs in honour of his predecessors, or of his own past exploits, as chiefs of former times attended to the bards. It is the duty of a *Gaewell*, too, in case the army should be repulsed, to urge them to return to the charge; but here, if he exceed the wishes or the courage of the chiefs, or even of the

common to most of the neighbouring negro tribes," (an assertion of questionable accuracy,) "is so thorough a contempt for blacksmiths, weavers, shoemakers, and *griots* (musicians), that even a slave will not marry a woman descended from a family which has exercised one of those professions."—Mollien, p. 59.

soldiers, he may pay for his temerity the price of his life."*

These bards or public singers are found, as a distinct class, throughout the countries of Senegambia. M. Mollien found them in Foota Toro, where they are called *diavandos*. "Though doomed by their profession to contempt," he states, "they have nevertheless contrived to render themselves formidable by the influence which they have gained over the public opinion, by means of eulogies or satires, of which they are equally lavish. They speak with great facility, are proficients in the Arabic language, and zealous Mohammedans. Their traffic in praises and invectives, procures them considerable wealth. If one of these men demands a horse or a musket from the king, he dares not refuse him. A Poula, however, will not give his daughter in marriage to a *diavando*. Nor is this the only class of persons consigned to contempt; but the line of demarcation is not so strong here as in Hindostan. To appearance, there are no distinctions. The *griots* (musicians), blacksmiths, weavers, and shoemakers, live and eat with the other negroes, but never connect themselves with them by marriage."†

* Report of the Committee for promoting African Instruction. London, 1822. It is curious to trace the unexpected traits of resemblance between tribes of very different origin. The half Mussulman, half heathen Bheel of Malwah, presents a counterpart, in several respects, to these negro *rajpoots*; especially, in his fondness for hearing the warlike deeds of his ancestors rehearsed by his *bhât*, or bard. But the *bhât* is held in higher reverence in Western India. When a bard of reputation visits a Bheel chief, he receives presents that have no other limit than the ability of the donor. It may be added, that the *chumar*, or shoemaker caste, is one of the most degraded in India, as it is among the Yolofs; and the Bheel is ranked by the Hindoos only above the *chumar*.

† Mollien, p. 162. In Fouta Toro an among the Moors, this Traveller says, there exists also a species of freemasonry. In villages where persons of this fraternity reside, they perform the functions of conjurors, and are called *Almousseri*.

Among the Mandingoes, there are two classes of minstrels. The most numerous, Mr. Park says, are the singing-men, called *jilli-kea*, one or more of whom may be found in every town. "They sing extempore songs in honour of their chief men, or any other persons who are willing to give solid pudding for empty praise. But a nobler part of their office is, to recite the historical events of their country. Hence, in war, they accompany the soldiers to the field, in order, by reciting the great actions of their ancestors, to awaken in them a spirit of emulation. The other class are devotees of the Mohammedan faith, who travel about the country, singing devout hymns, and performing religious ceremonies, to conciliate the favour of the Almighty, either in averting calamity, or ensuring success to any enterprise. Both descriptions of these itinerant bards are much employed and respected by the people, and very liberal contributions are made for them."*

Besides these castes, there exists among the Yolofs, a singular tribe of distinct race and language, called *Laoobies;* between whom and our gipsies, there seem to be many points of resemblance. Mr. Singleton was informed, "that they speak the Mandingo language;† that they have no settled place of abode, but are continually moving about, resting in the bush, without even a tent to cover them; yet, if they find a forsaken hut, they scruple not to inhabit it so long as they abide in the neighbourhood. They are very filthy in their persons, and not nice in their food. They depend partly on hunting for their subsistence, and partly on their manufactures, such as the mortar and pestle, buckets, bowls, and stools, all cut out of solid

* Park, vol. i. p. 272.

† Mollien says, "the Poulah." They probably speak the language of the country they settle in,

wood. The ax and the spear are their only weapons; and with the latter, they are dexterous in despatching the elephant, the tusks of which animal they sell or exchange for corn." To these particulars, may be added, on the authority of M. Mollien, that they are idolaters, and, what is not a little remarkable, professed fortune-tellers. Each family has its chief, and the whole nation acknowledge a king, who alone communicates with the government under which they may reside, and to which they pay a kind of tax or tribute for the privilege of residing in the territory. This system procures for them exemption from military service, and secures them against all vexation. Although their appearance would indicate abject poverty, they are said to possess considerable wealth. They are, in general, ugly, as well as slovenly. Their women are, nevertheless, extremely fond of finery, and are generally covered with amber and coral beads, the presents of the Yolofs, by whom their transient favours are in even superstitious request. They generally travel upon asses. Upon coming to a village where they think it likely they shall find a demand for their wooden wares, they choose a well-wooded spot, fell some trees, form huts with the branches, and work up the trunks. Both men and women pass their leisure time in smoking, ranged round fires made with the dung of their flocks.*

To the S. E. of the Yolof country is the Mandingo kingdom of Oulli, or Wpolli, extending along the northern bank of the Gambia between Salum and Bondoo. It is bounded by the small river Wallia and the state of that name, on the N.W. and W.; by

* Mollien, pp. 90, 91.

Foota Toro on the N.; by Bondoo on the N.E.; and on the E. by the Simbani wilderness. The country everywhere rises into gentle acclivities, which are generally covered with extensive woods;* and the towns are situated in the intermediate valleys. Each town is surrounded with a tract of cultivated land, sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants. The soil is everywhere fertile, except near the tops of the ridges, where the red iron-stone, covered with stunted shrubs, indicates the boundary between fertility and barrenness. The chief productions are cotton, tobacco, and esculent vegetables, all raised in the valleys, while the rising grounds are appropriated to grain. The inhabitants, as in most of the Mandingo nations, are divided into Mohammedans, who are called *bush-reens;* and *kaffirs*, who are also called *sonakies*, *i.e.*, men who drink strong liquors. The latter are by far the more numerous, and the government is in their hands. The revenue is derived from occasional tributes and transit duties on goods transported across the country, which are levied at every town.

Medina, the capital of Woolli, is a respectable walled town, containing, according to Major Gray, about 250 huts, and from 800 to 1000 inhabitants.† Outside the wall, which is of clay, is a strong stockade about five feet high, giving to the place the appearance of a large fortified redoubt. The town is beautifully shaded with large trees of the fig and palm species, and has a pleasing appearance from without; but to this, its interior ill corresponds, being filled with mud

* In the Mandingo vocabulary given by Park, *Woolla* means wilderness. *Mandingue*, according to Mollien, also means forest in Yolof. *Oolli*, in that dialect, signifies hot.

† Gray, p. 80. Park says, "it may contain from 800 to 1000 houses." But this is, perhaps, an error of the press or pen.

huts irregularly jumbled together, between which are heaps of filth. The house of the *mansa* or king, which is nearly in the centre of the town, is separated from those of his subjects by a mud wall about 9 feet high. Those of some of the chief men are similarly inclosed, but the walls are not so high. Two wells of tolerable water supply the inhabitants with that prime necessary in sufficient abundance. The surrounding plain has been cleared to the extent of about half a mile, and is, for the most part, under cultivation. All the inhabitants of Medina, (notwithstanding the Arabic name of the capital,) are *sonakies;* but, at a short distance to the south, is a large *bushreen* town, called Barra Cunda, containing from 1000 to 1500 inhabitants. It is surrounded with a slight stake fence, interwoven with thorny bushes. This is the only defence that, in this country, the followers of Mohammed find it necessary to adopt, as they never engage in war, and suffer no other molestation from an invading army, than being compelled to furnish provisions, with which they are in general abundantly supplied. The *bushreen* are both more industrious and more abstemious than the *kaffirs*, a large proportion of whose produce is consumed in the purchase of inebriating liquors. The dress of the *sonakies* also is neither so good nor so cleanly as that of the Mohammedans; and what with smoking, drinking, and dirt, the former are altogether, Major Gray says, a filthy people.*

Medina lies in the direct route taken by Major Houghton and Mr. Park, from Pisania on the Gambia to Sego and the Niger. On leaving the Woolli territory, it enters Bondoo, which is, in like manner,

* Gray, pp. 80—82. Park, vol. i. pp. 33—35.

covered for the most part with woods; but the land is more elevated, and towards the Falemmé, rises into considerable hills. In natural fertility, it is not surpassed by any of those countries. The hills are rocky, and for the most part covered with low, stunted trees, fit for no other use than fuel. But the valleys, in which the walled towns and villages are situated, are to a certain extent cleared; and the soil is a light sand, mixed with a brown vegetable mould, well adapted for cultivation. Innumerable beds of torrents intersect them in all directions, which are filled by the rains, and pour their waters into the Falemmé. Great numbers of tamarinds, *baobabs*,* rhamnus lotus, and other fruit-trees, are beautifully scattered over these valleys; and in the vicinity of the villages are always seen a number of cotton and indigo plantations. Besides these, the inhabitants cultivate four varieties of grain, rice, water-melons, gourds, onions, sorrel, tobacco, red-pepper, and pistachios.

Bondoo lies between the parallels of 14° and 15° N., and longitude 10° and 12° W.; being bounded, N. by

* Improperly called the African calabash-tree and the monkey's bread-tree, the Adansonia digitata of botanists. Golberry says, it belongs to the genus *malva*. The fruit is called by the Yolofs, *boui*; by other tribes, *goui*. Adanson measured several trees, which were from 65 to 68 feet in circumference; and Golberry describes a *baobab* which was 104 feet in circumference, and contained within its prodigious stalk, "a cavern 22 feet high, and more than 20 in diameter," which was used as a place of assembly by the natives. He assigns to it an age "perhaps contemporary with the earliest time subsequent to the deluge." It certainly attains both a wonderful age and an astonishing growth, and is justly styled the most monstrous of vegetable productions. The flowers, which are white, and, when expanded, nearly 4 feet in length, contract at night. The negroes take great pleasure in assembling, before sunrise, round the baobabs that are in blossom, to watch their waking; upon which they salute it with "*diarakio raffet signare*," good day, sweet lady.—Golberry, vol. ii. ch. 16.

Kajaaga; E. by the Falemmé and Bambouk; W. by Foota Toro, Woolli, and the Simbani woods; and S. by Tenda and Dentilla. It greatest extent from E. to W. does not exceed ninety miles, and sixty from N. to S. From its central situation, between the Senegal and the Gambia, it is a great thoroughfare; and a large proportion of the inhabitants are Moslem. The country is under the dominion of the Foolahs; but the trade is conducted chiefly by Mandingoes and Serawoollies, who have settled in the country. They carry on a considerable traffic with Gedumah and other Moorish countries, bartering their corn and blue calicoes, of native manufacture, for salt; which they exchange again, in Dentilla and other districts, for iron, *shea*-butter,* and small quantities of gold-dust.†

The capital of Bondoo, when Mr. Park travelled, was a town called Fatte-conda; but, in 1820, the residence of the *almamy* was at Boolibany, a small town, the inhabitants of which did not exceed 1800 souls, consisting chiefly of the relatives, slaves, trades-

* The *shea*-tree, from which the vegetable butter is procured, very much resembles in appearance the American oak, but belongs, Mr. Park says, to the genus *sapotæ*. The fruit is somewhat like an olive, the kernel being enveloped in a sweet pulp under a thin green rind. The kernel, being first dried in the sun, is boiled, and the butter it produces, besides the advantage of its keeping through the year without salt, (a remarkable enhancement of its value in countries where salt is so scarce and precious,) is whiter, firmer, and of a richer flavour, Mr. Park says, than the best butter made from cow's milk. These trees grow spontaneously in great abundance in Bambarra, and are a principal object of care and attention, as the butter forms a main article of their inland commerce. They are said not to be found further west than Tambacunda, in Tenda.—Park, vol. i. pp. 198, 341.

† Park, vol. i. p. 55. Gold, ivory, and slaves are also brought by the people of Bambouk, Kasson, and Foota *Jallon*; and European articles are supplied from the factories on the Gambia. —Gray, p. 180.

men, and other immediate followers of the monarch. It stands on an extensive plain, at the foot of a range of rocky hills, having to the west, the dry bed of a torrent, which, in the rainy season, conducts a considerable stream into the Falemmé. The town is surrounded with a strong clay wall, 10 feet high, and 18 inches thick, pierced with loop-holes, and with projecting angles at short intervals; there are five gates, surmounted with small embattled turrets, which have likewise loop-holes; and the place has altogether more the appearance of being respectably fortified, than any town in this part of Africa. The streets of the town are narrow, irregular, and dirty. The houses or huts are of various descriptions; some square and flat, composed of rough timber and clay; others round, with walls of the same description, surmounted with a conical thatched roof; and a third class, huts entirely composed of wood and dry grass. There is an indifferent mosque, the walls of clay, with a rough timber roof, supported in the centre by three strong forked stakes about 18 feet high, and projecting over the walls so as to form a rude piazza, resting upon forked stakes about 5 feet high. Public prayers are performed in it five times a day with great apparent devotion. The Almamy's residence, as well as those of the other members of his family, has an exterior wall about 13 feet high, inclosing an area of about an acre, which is divided, by low clay walls, into several small courts. Within these are the chambers of the women and the magazines. The exterior walls are lined, nearly all round, with a range of square clay hovels, serving as cooking-places, stables, slave-rooms, and store-houses; all with flat roofs, where, in case of attack, a number of armed men can be placed under cover of the walls, which form a parapet.

At a short distance to the S.W. are the ruins of a town nearly as large as Boolibany, of which it originally formed a part; but it was destroyed by a Kaartan army. When Major Gray visited the place in 1820, the ground, for a considerable distance, was thickly strewn with the whitened bones of those who had fallen in the conflict.* This war was provoked by an act of aggression on the part of the Bondoo sovereign, who avails himself of his Mohammedan commission to attack and plunder the adjacent countries. Woolli, Tenda, Dentilla, and Bambook, are generally the scenes of these marauding expeditions, the chief object of which is to obtain slaves for the Galam market. Owing to the frequency of these incursions, most of the frontier towns in those states have been abandoned by the natives, and have subsequently been occupied by the Bondoo people, who have of late years been extending themselves considerably in those directions. Many of the natives of Yani (or Katoba), Yolof, and Woolli, have settled in Bondoo, and have embraced the Mohammedan faith. Their towns are chiefly on the western frontier, and are distinguished by their superior wealth and productive cultivation. The most effective division of the Almamy's force is composed of the Yolofs and Woolli people, who are proverbial for bravery. The whole disposable force of Bondoo is estimated by Major Gray at between 500 and 600 horse, and from 2000 to 3000 foot.† The Yani people are chiefly

* Gray, pp. 124—128.

† "When the Almamy finds it necessary to call this army to the field, he repairs with his own immediate followers to some village at a short distance from the capital, and there beats the war-drum, which is repeated by each village; and in this manner, the call to arms is circulated over the country." The drum is a large wooden

Maraboots, who are consequently exempt from military service, but pay a large yearly tribute, and are sometimes called upon for extraordinary contributions. The revenues, which are solely the property of the *Almamy*, consist of a tenth of all agricultural produce; a tenth of the salt imported; a custom or transit duty on all European goods; an annual tribute from the Senegal Company's vessels trading in the river, and from the French factory at Baquelle; and presents of all descriptions, and to an unlimited amount, from all persons who have any favour to ask or business to transact with his majesty.

The religion of Bondoo is Mohammedan, but its precepts are less strictly attended to than in some of the other states of Western Africa. There are mosques of some kind in every town; many of them, however, are nothing more than small square spaces inclosed with stakes, and kept cleanly swept. In all of them, prayers are publicly said five times a day. There are also schools in almost every town, in which the reading and writing of Arabic are taught. The pupil is in all cases the servant of his teacher, who may employ him in the most menial capacity. When not at their lessons, the scholars go about begging, or sewing together the country cloth for any who may want to employ them: their gains are brought home to the master, who is always a Maraboot, and are appropriated to his use.

It is remarkable, that the useful arts are held in much higher esteem in Bondoo, than in any of the countries to the westward, and there is little trace of

bowl, nearly three feet in diameter, covered with three skins: one is said to be that of a human being, another a hyena's, and the outer one a monkey's, which is covered with texts from the Koran!—Gray, p. 169.

caste. The smiths, carpenters, curriers, and other mechanics, Major Gray says, are by far the most respectable of the several classes that he had met with in any of the countries he had passed through; so much so, that the ministers, favourites, and officers of the Almamy were chosen chiefly from among them. Although the population is of a very mixed character, the Foolah customs and manners predominate, and that language is exclusively spoken. This Traveller confirms the favourable description of that race, given by other authorities.* Their prevailing complexion here, is a light copper colour, with a form of face approaching nearer to the European than in any of the other tribes of Western Africa, the Moors excepted. "The women, in particular," he says, "who might vie, in point of figure, with those of the most exquisitely fine form in Europe, are of a more lively disposition and more delicate form of face, than either the Serrawollies, the Mandingoes, or the Joloffs. They are extremely neat in their persons and dress, and are very fond of amber, coral, and glass-beads of different colours, with which they bedeck their heads, necks, wrists, and ancles profusely; gold and silver, too, are often formed into small buttons, which are intermixed with beads on the head, and into rings and chains worn on the

* See pp. 59—62 of this volume. To the testimonies there cited, may be added the account given of "the Pholeys" (Foolahs) of the Gambia by Moore, who collected more information respecting this part of Western Africa, than any Traveller prior to Park. He is never weary of extolling their hospitality, mildness, humanity, industry, and courage: "to have a Pholey town in the neighbourhood, is by the natives," he says, "reckoned a blessing." Their villages formed a species of independent republic governed by their own chiefs.—See Murray, vol. i. p. 202.

wrists and ancles. They always wear a veil thrown loosely over the head: this is manufactured by themselves from cotton, and is intended to imitate thin muslin, at which they have not by any means made a bad attempt. The other parts of their dress, with a few exceptions of silk and printed cotton which they obtain from the coast, are entirely of their own manufacture. They are exceedingly fond of perfumes of every kind, particularly musk, attar of roses, or lavender; but they can seldom procure these, and therefore substitute cloves, which they pound into powder, and mix up with a kernel having something the flavour of a Tonquin bean, which they likewise reduce to powder, and, with a little gum-water, form it into beads about the size of a common garden pea. These they string, and hang round the neck. They sometimes string the cloves themselves, and wear them in the same manner; but the way they prefer wearing them, is sewed up in small bags made of rich coloured silk, a number of which are hung round the neck. The hair, which is neatly braided into a profusion of small plaits, hangs down nearly to the shoulders, and is confined (together with the strings of amber, coral, and beads which decorate it) round the forehead, with a few strings of small beads by the young girls, and, by the married, with a narrow strip of silk, or fine cotton cloth, twisted into a string about as thick as a finger. To complete their dress, a pair of large gold ear-rings dangle almost to touch the shoulders. In consequence of their great weight, these would tear the ears, were they not supported by a little strap of thin red leather, which is fastened to one ear-ring by a button, and passes over the top of the head to the other. The walk of these ladies is

peculiarly majestic and graceful; and their whole appearance, although strange to a European observer, is far from inelegant.

"The dress of the men, with the exception of being smaller and more convenient, is precisely the same as that of the people at Kayaye (on the Gambia).* Blue and white are the favourite colours. With the rich, the manufacture of the country is replaced by India bafts and muslins, both which are embroidered neatly with different coloured silks or worsted round the neck, and down the back and chest. The cap, which is always white, is of a very graceful form, and is also embroidered, but with white only. The Maraboots and men advanced in years, wear white turbans with red or blue crowns; and, occasionally, a hat made of a sort of rush or grass, having a low conical crown with a broad rim. When on horseback, or going to war, the large sleeves of their gowns are tied together behind the neck, being brought over the shoulders; and the bodies, which would otherwise be extremely inconvenient from being very loose, are secured round the middle with a girdle, which, at the same time, confines their powder-horn and ball-bag on the right side, and their *grigri*, or amulet-case, on the left. These are all suspended by strong cords of red, yellow, or green silk or worsted, and are crossed in the same manner as the belts of our soldiers. A dirk, about nine inches or a foot long, hangs at the right side from the running string

* Kayaye is a small town inhabited by a mixture of Mandingoes and Soosoos,—"a shrewd, active race, subject to the king of Katoba, and professing the Mohammedan religion, which secures protection to the trader. Caravans from the interior frequently stop there on their way to the settlements on the coast, and dispose of their goods to the masters of some of the small trading vessels from St. Mary's."—Gray, p. 51.

or strap, which, at the same time, serves to tighten the trowsers above the hips. A single or double-barrelled gun completes their equipment in general: some of the princes and chiefs, however, add a sword, confined at the right side by their girdle, and one or two pistols, which hang dangling in their leather holsters, variously coloured, at the pummel or front horn of their saddle. One leather bag to contain water, and another, a small store of dried *couscous*, for their own provision, together with a nose-bag and a fetter of the same material for their horse, make up the catalogue of their marching baggage. These are all fastened, by leather straps, to the back part of the saddle: this is at best but a bad one, being chiefly composed of pieces of wood, tied together with thongs of raw cow-hide, which, when wet, stretches so as to allow the wood to come in contact with the horse's back, and wound it in a shocking manner." *

We must now again return to the coast, and complete our topographical description of the maritime countries of Western Africa. The mutual boundaries of Senegambia and Guinea are left to the caprice of geographers; but, after passing the mouth of the Gambia, the coast assumes a new character, and the country is divided among various petty states, which dispute with one another their obscure existence. Our best account of this tract of country is supplied by the African Memoranda of Captain Beaver, of whose description we shall avail ourselves.

"That part of the western coast of Africa lying between the Gambia and the Rio Grande, and comprised between the parallels of 11° and 13° 20′, is not formed by the main land, but by a long chain of low,

* *Gray*, pp. 185—189.

fertile islands, separated from the continent by narrow but navigable branches of the sea. On the northernmost of these islands is Cape St. Mary, which forms the southern headland to the entrance of the river Gambia. Hence, the coast runs nearly south, along five islands, for about 24 leagues, to Cape Roxo; whence it takes nearly an E.S.E. direction along four other islands, for about 45 leagues; when we arrive at the island of Bulama, situated at the mouth of the Rio Grande. Thus, between the mouths of these two rivers, the sea-coast is formed by ten islands in an extent of 69 leagues, or rather more than 200 geographical miles.

"The continent between these two latitudes, is bounded on the north by the river Gambia, which is navigable by large vessels for nearly 80 leagues, and by small ones, to the falls of Barraconda, more than 300 miles from its mouth.* The Rio Grande is its southern boundary, which is navigable by ships to Bulola, 72 miles from its entrance: how much higher, by boats, is not exactly known.† The Gambia and high mountains are the eastern boundary (of this region), as the islands before-mentioned are its western limit. Few countries of equal extent seem better adapted for commerce and for defence;

* "While the Senegal is navigable only in the rainy season, the Gambia cannot be navigated except in the dry season. Forty-gun frigates can go up 37 miles, and large merchant vessels, 180. The rains give it an enormous increase of depth, but, at the same time, such inordinate rapidity, that no vessel can stem the current. This river, though exceedingly deep and wide, has only a course of 610 miles."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 209.

† "The Abbé Demanet and the African Pilot assert, that this river is navigable for 150 leagues, which I am very much inclined to doubt; because the tide, as I was informed at Bulama, flows no higher than Bulola, only 24 leagues up the river, which, at that place, at low water, is only 3 fathoms deep."—Beaver.

three sides, and the largest part of the fourth, being embraced by the sea and two great rivers, and the remainder guarded by high mountains. Numerous rivers, rivulets, and creeks, dividing, intersecting, and watering its western part, and thus facilitating its communication and commerce, seem to point it out as a most eligible spot for European colonization.

"To the southward of these continental islands, is a cluster of other islands, running in nearly a parallel direction, and separated from them by a channel, generally speaking, about five leagues in breadth. These last are called the Bijuga Islands, and form, with the former, one immense harbour, from Cape Roxo to Bulama, of nearly 150 miles in length; but I shall now confine my observations to the before described territories, nearly surrounded by two great rivers and the sea.

"The northern part of this territory is inhabited by various tribes or nations, who are chiefly fixed near the winding shores of the Gambia; the western chiefly by Feloops, the southern and eastern by many different nations. The nameless island whose S.W. point is known by the appellation of Cape Roxo, which forms the salient angle of the two coast lines leading to the Gambia and the Grande, is inhabited by the people called Feloops.* They have the reputation of being a brave and an independent people. This island is formed by the rivers Casamanza and Cacheo, both navigable for decked vessels. It is about fifty miles in

* The Feloop negroes, according to Golberry, occupy a country of 25 leagues in length by 15 in breadth, upon the banks of the river Casamanza, and on the upper course of the Vintain. "The country they inhabit, is well covered and very fertile; they rear cattle, which they defend with much courage against the lions, leopards, and bears, which are common in their forests."—Golberry, vol. ii. p. 294. Mr. Park states, that their country abounds with rice, goats, poultry, bees' wax, and honey. From the latter, they make an intoxicating sort of mead."—Park, vol. i. p. 4.

length. The Portuguese had formerly a factory upon it; but what trade they now carry on there, is by means of canoes and small craft, navigated by *grumetas* from Bissao. It has internal communication with the Gambia by the Pasqua river, a little above James Fort, and again by the Casamanza, one hundred miles above it.

"Cacheo is the next island to the S.E., which is formed by the river of that name and Jatt's river. On this island, the Portuguese had also formerly a very considerable factory. They now carry on some trade there by means of small vessels from Bissao; but no native Portuguese reside upon it. It is about forty-five miles in length, and is inhabited by Papels. North of this island are a people called Banyans, inhabiting the continent and several little islands formed by various branches of internal rivers and creeks.

"South of Cacheo is Jatt's Island, embraced by arms of the sea; a beautiful little island, about seven leagues in length, and inhabited by a people called Manjacks.

"To the S.E. of Jatt's Island are the islands of Bassis and Bissao; both together are about sixty miles long: they are fertile and populous, inhabited by Papels. On the latter island, the Portuguese have a considerable factory and a strong fort.

"North of these islands is a large one, nearly a hundred miles in length, inhabited principally by Balantes; but its eastern extremity is occupied by Mandingoes, and its western by Papels.

"N.E. of Bissao, is another island, on whose eastern side the river Geba loses itself in the sea, occupied also by Balantes; and to the E. of this island is a large peninsula, part of the continent, occupied by the Biafaras.

"Geba lake, part of that river,* and the bordering

* The Portuguese settlement of Geba is 160 miles up the river of that name, 60 leagues N.E. of Bissao. It is a mere village of mud

territories in the north and east, are occupied by the Mandingoes.

"One is astonished at the great variety of tribes or nations which are to be met with on the sea-coast of Africa. Almost every island is inhabited by a different nation; almost every rivulet separates distinct tribes. During our residence on the island of Bulama, we had communication by our open boats, which never went more than seventy miles from us, with seven distinct nations: the Manjacks, Papels, Balantes, Mandingoes, Biafaras, Naloos, and Bijugas.

"The Naloos* occupy the sea-coast between the mouths of the Rio Grande and the Nunez, and carry on a great deal of trade with the Portuguese at Bissao, from their principal town of Tombaly. The Nunez is navigable for large ships to Kacundy, about 70 miles from its mouth; between which place and Bulola on the Grande, there is frequent land communication, as those rivers approach each other very near at those places. Bulola is inhabited by a mixed race, though chiefly Biafaras.

"Ignorant myself of all the native languages, it

huts, without a fort; and the soldiers are negroes. "Bounded on the south by a marshy river, and on the east by mountains, it is, perhaps," M. Mollien says, "one of the most unhealthy spots on the face of the globe." The surrounding country, which bears the name of Kaboo, is very fertile, and yields rice, millet, maize, and a little cotton and indigo. It is inhabited by a mixture of nations, chiefly pagan Mandingoes, whose language prevails.—Mollien, pp. 321—3.

* These are evidently the "*Naloubés*" of Mollien, whose territory, he says, is separated from that of the Biafares by the Rio Grande; but he gives no further account of them. Malte Brun describes them under the name of Naloës, as a "negro race, so completely mingled with the descendants of the original Portuguese, as not to be distinguishable from them. Their pursuits are agricultural and pastoral, and their country is exceedingly fertile."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 227.

is impossible for me to say, whether these people speak really different languages, or only different dialects of the same; but my *grumeta* interpreters always declared to me, that their languages were essentially different. There is a kind of Portuguese *patois*, which may be called the commercial language of the sea-coast, current with them all. These various tribes have a general resemblance; but a little observation will readily enable one to discriminate the people of one tribe from those of another. The Manjacks are of middling stature, generally ill-featured, and exceedingly revengeful. The Papels, of which nation were the greater number of my *grumetas*, are of common stature, tolerably good-looking, and are an industrious, faithful people; but the Portuguese, who for nearly two centuries have had an establishment upon their island of Bissao, contrive always to sow dissensions among them, and so keep them ever at war with each other. Of this establishment, I will here give a short account.

"On the east side of that island, nearly opposite to the isle of Sorciéres, the Portuguese have built a large, regular, square fort, with four bastions, on which are mounted nearly fifty guns. The garrison always consists of about three hundred soldiers, who are generally, if not always, convicts.* Though we do not know the precise time when the Portuguese

* "The fort has certainly been built since the year 1703, because in that year, on account of the decline of their commerce, and the establishment which the French had made upon the same island, they found their profits so unequal to the maintenance of their establishments, that they demolished the fort, and abandoned the island to their more active and enterprising rivals in commerce." Mollien says, the fort of Bissao was built only sixty years ago: it is very spacious, but could not resist a European attack. It stands in latitude 11° 18′ N. A Franciscan convent formerly existed there, but it is now in ruins.—Mollien, p. 333.

re-established themselves on this island, yet we know that, with little intermission, they have been fixed there for nearly two hundred years; possibly more. Of their formerly numerous fortifications, this is now the only one they have left in this neighbourhood; and their trade and consequence are greatly diminished. The present trade is confined to four annual ships, which arrive from Lisbon, (having in their way stopped at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, to procure certain cotton cloths, the manufacture of that island, and which are here in great estimation,) with cargoes adapted to the purchase of slaves; and they carry hence, besides ivory, wax, and hides, about two thousand of them every year to Brazil, whence they return to Portugal with sugar, tobacco, rice, and other productions of that colony.

"The merchants of Bissao procure this number of slaves by means of a class of natives called *grumetas*, who have generally been brought up from infancy in their houses, and who are an honest, industrious, and faithful class. They navigate all their small craft, whether canoes, or decked schooners and sloops; and carry on, for their principals, all the commerce of the country. The merchant, who seldom quits his own habitation, sends them with goods to the value of a certain number of slaves, either to Zinghicor, Cacheo, Geba, or any other place, where they make their purchases, and then return to their employers, who are seldom cheated or deceived by them; never, I believe, if their own conduct has been to them upright and just. Most of these slaves are procured from the Mandingoes at Geba; some from the Cacheo and Casamanza rivers; very few from the Biafaras, or the Bijugas, but many from the Naloos. All these, however, would not supply their demand, if they had not found out

means of procuring a great number from the Papels, on whose island they are fixed. This island, though little more than forty miles long, is, unfortunately for its inhabitants, governed by no fewer than thirteen kings, who are seldom, if ever, altogether at peace. These petty wars, instigated and cherished by the Portuguese, furnish them with a considerable number of slaves. But, so hateful has the conduct of that nation been, that none of it ever venture to visit the interior of the island, and, indeed, are not safe out of the reach of their own cannon."*

Of these various nations, some further account may be collected from the pages of the French Travellers. We shall begin with the Feloops, of whom M. Golberry gives the following description.

"The Feloops go nearly naked, except a very small apron. They bind the upper part of the arms and the part near the wrist, the upper part of the thighs, the knees, the legs, and the ancles, with laces of leather, so tight that the intermediate parts are unnaturally distended. They scarify their face and body, and imprint on them all kinds of fantastic figures. Their hair is very woolly and curly, but longer than that of negroes in general: they gather it together on the top of the head into a tuft, which stands erect, and is five or six inches in length. Their beard also, which they let grow, they collect and twist so that it projects many inches from the chin. They are covered with *grigris* (charms). Their colour is a deep black, but their skin is rough. Their features are tolerably regular, and have more affinity with those of the blacks of India than with those of the negroes. In stature, they are small and

* Beaver, pp. 316–322.

short, but are strong and nimble runners. Their physiognomy is gloomy, and they are taciturn in their manners. They converse but little with their neighbours, and they are very jealous of their women, who, however, are not handsome. They always carry quivers filled with poisoned arrows; these quivers are placed transversely on their backs, fastened to a strong leathern shoulder-belt. In their left hand, they hold a bow six feet in length, and they carry likewise four or five lances, which they throw with great dexterity.....Although savage, dull, and not communicative, their neighbours do not complain of them, and the Feloops pass for good people; but they are warlike, and, if offended, avenge themselves with ferocity.

"Though the Feloops communicate very little with the factories on the Gambia, yet, their intercourse is very considerable with the Portuguese establishments on the Casamança and on the other rivers to the southward, as far as the Nuno-Tristao (Nunez); and I have been assured, that these negroes frequent them habitually and familiarly." *

The language of the Feloops, this Traveller says, is rude; they speak very quick, and their pronunciation is indistinct and guttural. Mr. Park has given their numerals, which are peculiar, and, like those of most of the African nations, proceed by fives. "In their traffic with Europeans," he tells us, "the Feloops generally employ a factor or agent of the Mandingo nation, who speaks a little English, and is acquainted with the trade of the river. The broker makes the bargain, and, with the connivance of the European, receives a certain part only of the pay-

* Golberry, vol. ii. pp. 294—6.

ment, which he gives to his employer as the whole: the remainder (which is very truly called the 'cheating money') he receives when the Feloop is gone, and appropriates to himself as a reward for his trouble." * Under these circumstances, the Europeans have no inducement to learn the Feloop language; the Mandingo being the general medium of commercial intercourse. Mr. Park characterises the Feloops as "a wild and unsociable race." The striking difference of their physiognomy, language, and manners, from those of the surrounding tribes, gives some interest to the question of their origin. The total population of this tribe is estimated by Golberry at 50,000 individuals. They occupy between sixty and seventy villages, the most distant inland being at the sources of the Casamanca, in woods from which they rarely emerge.

Of the various nations who are in the practice of trading with the Portuguese of Bissao, M. Mollien gives the following account.

"The Bisagoes occupy the Archipelago of the same name at the mouth of the Rio Grande, and that part of the continent contiguous to it. They are the bravest and most powerful of the negro tribes in all this part of Africa. Almost all of them have muskets or lances, which they use with much address. Obeying an infinite number of petty despots, instead of one tyrant, they have a thousand. I saw the whole family of a minister of one of these monarchs arrive at Bissao, which, by one of those capricious freaks so common among African princes, was sent to be sold at the European settlement: it consisted of thirteen persons.

* Park, vol. i. p. 5.

The diet of this people is extremely simple: a few bananas or palm-nuts appease their hunger during the short voyages they make from their islands to the main. They spend much of their time in fishing, and trade in tortoise-shell. A deer-skin serves them for clothing; interwoven rushes form the garments of their women. The muscular strength of arm, the harsh features, and the quick movements of the Bisagoes, prove that they are fit for combat. In a canoe, the fragility of which renders it every moment liable to be swallowed up, they brave the dangers of a sea voyage. Tobacco and brandy are the only articles of barter by which they are tempted. Zealous friends of the Portuguese, they bear an implacable hatred against other European nations.*

"The territory of the Papels, extends from the river Geba to that of Cacheo. These people are brave, like the Bisagoes: they use no other weapon than a very long sabre, which they use with great dexterity against their enemies, even though provided with fire-arms. Large herds of oxen constitute the chief wealth of the Papels: they fatten their cattle with rice straw. They are all Pagans, and visit the island called (by the French) *Ile Sorcière*, opposite Bissão, for the purpose of sacrificing oxen to their deities. On the death of their relatives, the women cover their heads, which are always shaved, with wet clay. Several less numerous tribes are inclosed in the territory of the Papels; among others, the Birames and

* M. Mollien tells a somewhat incredible story of their seizing an Englishman who had gone among them to buy provisions, and attempting to smoke him black, that they might be able to sell him for a slave. Not the least improbable part of the story is, that the poor man was rescued from his perilous situation by the Portuguese.

the Mandiagoes,* who hire themselves to the Portuguese as sailors, and work till they have earned sufficient to return to their own country to settle. All these tribes clothe themselves with the skins of beasts or with cotton cloths. Their wretched appearance gives them a savage look, ill calculated to induce the traveller to visit their country, which is almost always inundated. Not having any horses, they ride upon their small oxen, the strength and docility of which are surprising. The Papels have withstood the power of the Portuguese longer than any other nation in this part of Africa. The valuable presents they have received from them, have softened their naturally ferocious character.

"On the frontiers of the Papels dwell the Balantes, whose language is entirely different.† The Portuguese have little communication with this cruel and savage people. Their industry is confined to the sale of salt, from which their ignorance prevents their deriving much profit. The Balantes are still more ugly than the Papels: the features of the women are as coarse as those of the men. A girdle of reeds is their only covering. The Bisagoes eat dogs: the Balantes regard rats as so exquisite a dainty, that their children are forbidden to touch this dish, which is reserved for the palates of adults and princes. There are as many chiefs as villages among these Pagan tribes, who, differing in language as much as in manners, are incessantly at war with one another.

"On the banks of the Geba river, opposite to

* These must be the Manjacks of Beaver, the inhabitants of Jatt's Island.

† To Captain Beaver, the Balantes did not appear to differ perceptibly from their neighbours the Papels; but he had no intercourse with them.

Bissao, are the Jolas or Biafaras, whose territory extends inland as far as Koli, on the frontier of the Basarés, a nation reported to be cannibals. The Biafaras are indisputably the handsomest negroes on this part of the coast. Their manners perfectly resemble those of the Mandingoes, from whom they differ, however, in religion and language. They wear large drawers and a tunic with wide sleeves, and are covered with *gris-gris*. They are intelligent and industrious. The great quantity of cotton grown in their country, enables them to manufacture much cloth, which they sell to their neighbours. Their whole commerce is carried on by the Rio Grande, at Bilola, whither they take many slaves. If trade, by enriching them, has softened their manners, it has deprived them of that masculine courage which is the offspring of poverty, for they are said to be cowards. The continual incursions which the Papels make upon them, incessantly expose them to the loss of the property they have acquired by their industry, but which they know not how to preserve by their valour." *

Captain Beaver speaks of this negro tribe in similar terms. "Of all the people that we had communication with on the coast of Africa," he says, "the Biafaras are by far the most mild, peaceable, and inoffensive. In their persons, they are rather tall, but of a slender, feminine make; and they have a wonderful propensity to talking. Instead of the robust, compact bodies of their neighbours, the Bijugas, they exhibit in their persons what would probably be termed by our damsels, the genteel figure of Africa."

The Bijugas above-mentioned are the Bisagoes of Mollien. According to Captain Beaver, they bear not

* Mollien, pp. 340—344.

the smallest resemblance, except in colour, to the surrounding nations; and they are, of all the African tribes on this coast, the most uncivilized, faithless, and warlike. They are distinguished, among their neighbours, by the appellation of wild men. His description of them is as follows.

"The Bijugas are above the middle size, muscular, bony, and well-proportioned; they have the appearance of great strength and activity. Their noses are more elevated, and their lips less thick than their neighbours; their teeth good, which are sometimes filed to a sharp point like the teeth of a saw; their hair woolly, and shaped into every fanciful form that can be imagined, from wearing the whole of it, to none. What they do wear, is generally dressed with red ochre and palm-oil, as ours is with powder and pomatum. Every Bijuga is a warrior; his amusement, the chase; his delight, war. Not so far advanced in civilization as their neighbours, they are ignorant of weaving cotton into cloth: a deer or goat-skin is, therefore, the only dress of the men. In their arms, they are more splendid. A long buccaneer gun, kept in the most perfect order, is carried in the right hand; a solingen sword, about four feet long, and as sharp as a razor, (not figuratively speaking, for it is sometimes employed as one,) is slung on the left shoulder, the hilt of it coming close under the arm. In his left hand, he holds a round, convex shield, formed of interlaced withes, covered with buffalo's hide. The same hand grasps a spear. Except a few days in the year, when he prepares the ground for, and sows rice, war and the chase are his sole occupation; and he is never without his arms, to keep which in the most perfect order, is his greatest pride. No

people understand the use of them better than they do. With their gun, they seldom miss their object; and, with their spear or *assagaye*, I have seen them strike a reed about ten inches long, and not thicker than a tobacco-pipe, at the distance of twenty yards; and in the use of the broad sword, they are more active and expert than any people whom I have ever seen. When they attack, they first discharge their guns, kneeling, and supporting the left elbow on the left knee; they then throw it down, and, advancing to a proper distance, covering themselves with their shield, they launch their *assagaye*, and then have recourse to their sword. They approach squatting, with their shield nearly covering their whole body: its convex form is admirably adapted to turn off the enemy's shot; indeed, a musket-ball will not penetrate it.....They war with every body, and always plunder the weak; but there is one nation, against which they are particularly inveterate, no living person remembering even a tradition of peace between them. This nation, the Biafara, is held in such sovereign contempt by them, that, regardless of numbers, wherever they meet, they attack them. The island of Bulama was for a long time the chief object of contention between these hostile nations; till at length, the Biafaras, tired and worn out with the continual attacks of their martial neighbours, evacuated the island, and retired to Ghinala, up the Rio Grande. Here, however, they would not be safe, if, happily for them, the Bijugas were not far behind all their neighbours in their knowledge of the adjacent shores, and in the management of boats. This is the more remarkable, as an insular situation has always been supposed favourable to early improvement in the navigation and

management of boats and small vessels. Yet, these people, although all their predatory incursions are made on the water, have not yet learned to use a sail; notwithstanding that all the boats that visit their islands, or that are navigated by the neighbouring nations, use sails as well as oars; and they have never yet ventured so far up the Rio Grande as Ghinala.

"As to their confined notions of religion, I believe that they are the same as those of their neighbours; but they have one peculiarity,—and that is, sacrificing a cock, prior to their undertaking any thing serious, or sanctioning any weighty measure; such as the undertaking an expedition for plunder, selling one of their islands, or even entering into trade with a person whom they have not known. Should a white stranger go to their island, with a view to forming any connexion with them, they would previously sacrifice one or more cocks; and from the examination of the gizzard, I was given to understand, they pretend to ascertain whether the motives of his visit are good or evil." *

M. Golberry represents these islands as of volcanic formation; adding, that vestiges of volcanic phenomena are to be traced all along the coast from Cape Blanco to Cape Palmas, more particularly between Cape St. Mary and Cape Verga. Nothing, Captain Beaver says, can be more erroneous than this representation, both the islands and the continent being, in this part, composed of a fine, dark, rich mould, without either rock, stone, lava, or scoriæ, and scarcely any where more than 60 feet above the level of the sea. They

* Beaver, pp. 334—338. "It is singular," adds the Writer, "that the presents I received (at Bulama) from the women of Bellchore and Jalorem (two petty chiefs), and the king of Suoga, were always cocks, and generally perfectly white ones."

are evidently alluvial, having, in the course of ages, been formed by the deposite of the Rio Grande and the neighbouring streams, on the large sand-bank which forms their base. None of them are more than half a dozen leagues in length; they rise gradually from the shore towards the interior, are extremely fertile, and richly clothed with wood. The island of Bulama, which is to the east of the Bijuga groupe, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, is between seven and eight leagues in length, its breadth varying from two to five, and the land rising gradually to about 50 feet above the sea. With the exception of some natural savannahs and the cleared grounds, the island is covered with wood of various species, from the majestic oak and close-grained iron wood, to the soft, porous *pullam*, or cotton-tree. Immense herds of elephants and buffaloes, monkeys, and four species of deer, inhabit these woods. Indigo grows wild, and the sugar-cane and cotton-shrub flourish here, as well as on the adjacent continent; yams also, which, next to rice, form the principal food of the natives, grow wild on this island; besides which, the sweet cassada or manioc, maize, ground-nuts, and an indigenous species of ground-pea, are consumed in considerable quantities. There are moreover, plantains, bananas, guavas, papaws, water-melons, pines, oranges, limes, and other fruits, and a species of vine, producing a purple grape exceedingly sour.*

The advantageous position of this island for commerce, had not escaped the notice of the French; and so early as 1700, M. de la Brue, Director-General of the French Senegal Company, had pointed it out as an eligible spot for a colony. The first attempt to esta-

* To these, Malte Brun adds, the coffee-shrub and the tea-shrub.

blish a European settlement upon it was, however, made in 1792, by a philanthropic association of English gentlemen, whose ultimate object was to promote the civilization of Africa. The history of this ill contrived and ill executed, though well intended expedition, is given at length by Captain Beaver,* who has displayed great anxiety to prove, that the causes of failure originated in mismanagement, and are not referrible to any impracticability or even difficulty in the enterprise. All due precautions against the deleterious effects of the humid climate having been neglected, a dreadful mortality ensued; the colony fell to ruin, and is now annihilated.

The river of Nuno Tristao, so named from the Portuguese discoverer, discharges itself to the S. of the Bijuga Islands, in latitude 10° 15′. "It is asserted," says M. Golberry, "that, in ascending this fine river, about 50 leagues from the sea, there are yet to be seen many ruins and vestiges of some very considerable establishments, formed there by the Portuguese at the period of its discovery, and many of the descendants of these first conquerors are still living there. The banks of this river are peopled by a race of negroes, called Nalöez; and many families of the Foulah negroes have also formed establishments there."†

* An Abstract will be found in Murray's Hist. Account, vol. ii. pp. 277—285.

† These are the Naloubes already described, who, according to Golberry, are an intelligent and peaceable people, and have made some progress in agriculture and the useful arts, in consequence of their intercourse with the Portuguese. The descendants of the first settlers, he says, are so completely intermingled with the natives as to have become negroes too. Captain Beaver describes the Naloos as "a middle-sized, well-proportioned people;" but more ugly, in general, than their neighbours, the flat nose and thick lip being particularly predominant; and they are said to be a treacherous race.—Golberry vol. ii. pp. 162, 3. Beaver, p. 325.

This river, the mouth of which is two leagues in width, affords, according to this Traveller, an easy inlet into the interior. It forms the southern limit of the Portuguese establishments, which do not extend, on the western coast, beyond Cape Verga, in latitude 10°. At this point, the high land begins on the coast, which continues to rise towards the south, till, at Sierra Leone, it becomes very elevated.

Between 13 and 14 leagues to the S. E. of Cape Verga, and 35 leagues N. E. of the entrance of the Bay of Sierra Leone, is a groupe of seven islands, to which the Portuguese gave the name of *Vola de los Idolos* (Islands of Idols). This has been corrupted into the Islands of Los. Three only are inhabited, the other four being nothing else, M. Golberry says, than a shapeless mass of volcanic rubbish. The largest and most westerly island, called by the natives Tamara, and by the English, King William's Island, is five leagues in length E. and W., by one in breadth, and has two harbours, where some English merchants have formed a settlement. The soil is fertile; and towards the centre of the island, the land rises into fine amphitheatres of wood. Its most elevated part is about 300 feet above the sea. The natives, who are called Forotimah, have three villages, each containing about 200 huts. The Island of Los Idolos, which gives to the groupe its general name, is the most easterly, being not more than two leagues from Domba Point. It is nearly three leagues in length from N. to S., its general shape being that of a boot. The English have here some very fine factories, docks, and warehouses. These islands are said to enjoy a remarkably salubrious climate, for which they are indebted to their elevation above the sea, to the breezes which regularly, at sun-rise and sun-set,

temper the oppressive heats, and to abundant springs of fresh and limpid water. Light vessels and boats are built of the wood of the country, by the natives, under the direction of a small number of Whites, with which they enter the numerous rivers that fall into the roads. The river Kapatch, the mouth of which is about five leagues S.E. of the Rio Nunez, is large and deep, and ascends far up the country, but is obstructed by banks and islets: its fertile borders are inhabited by the Bagoes. The next river is the Rio Pongeos, the borders of which are inhabited by "Foulah-Soosoos," who carry on a constant intercourse with Teembo, the capital of their nation.* Immediately opposite to Los Idolos, the Dymby and the Dania empty themselves into the sea. They water territories occupied by the industrious Bagoes, who are hunters, fishers, shepherds, and cultivators, and deal in salt, cotton, cloths, and slaves. Kuyaport, Barria, and Kissey, are the names of three other rivers, the banks of which are peopled by Soosoos. To the S.E. of the Kissey river, the sea forms a gulf three leagues in extent, beyond which is the mouth of the Sama river; and still further south are the rivers of Berery and Scarsies. The countries which they water, are extremely fertile and well peopled; and the Foulah-Soosoos established on their banks, carry on an extensive commerce in ivory, dyeing woods, wax, cattle, and poultry. All the rivers which fall into the sea between Cape Verga and the Island of Leopards, descend from the western valleys of a range of moun-

* The propriety of this designation is very questionable. The Soosoos, who have erroneously been called the Foulahs of Guinea, are a totally distinct people, though now, as it should seem, subject to the Foulahs of Teembo. Their language is entirely dissimilar.

tains running N. and S., the summits of which are 40 leagues from the sea.* These are the mountains of Foota Jallon.

The Sierra Leone river, or rather estuary, is formed by two rivers, the Mitombo, flowing from the N.E., and the Bunce, or Rokelle, from the S.E. These, about eight leagues from the sea, unite their waters in a channel nearly three leagues in breadth, which progressively expands into a beautiful bay seven leagues in breadth, terminated by the Cape of Leopards on the N., and that of Sierra Leone on the S.† Owing to the rapidity of the waters, some considerable sand-banks are formed in the bay, which render its north-eastern half inaccessible to large vessels; but to the S.E. is a fine channel, more than a league in breadth, and from seven to ten fathoms in depth, extending as far as Gambia Island. About a league from the point of the Cape of Sierra Leone, on the southern coast, begins what is called Pirates' Bay,‡ from a gang of buccaneers who were at one time the terror of the coast; and half a league from Pirates' Bay is the anchorage of the English settlement. This road is, in fact, a creek about 400 fathoms in length and 500 in width, with a good bottom, where vessels may anchor in ten fathom water. At the bottom of this creek, on an elevation 40 feet above the sea, stood the factory of the Sierra Leone Company.

* The preceding details are given on the authority of Golberry, vol. ii. ch. 23. They are, we fear, not free from inaccuracies.

† In lat. 8° 35′ and 8° 18′.

‡ These pirates had for seven years pursued their atrocious depredations, when, in 1730, the merchants of Havre and Nantz fitted out an armament for the purpose of exterminating them, which was effected with complete success.—Golberry, vol. ii. p. 177.

SIERRA LEONE.*

THE entrance of the Bay of Sierra Leone is described by M. Golberry as presenting a scene of most romantic beauty. "When we reach the entrance of the bay, the eye is immediately attracted by a deep valley, which is entirely covered by the river, leaving no greater space, at most, than a hundred fathoms between its waters and the woods and hillocks which form its banks. On the right hand, the ground is low: on the left, it rises into amphitheatres covered with majestic trees of remarkable grandeur, and adorned with foliage rich, various, and luxuriant. The masts of vessels at anchor near the village of Sierra Leone, two other negro villages, the busy movements of men, of boats and pirogues returning from fishing, all conspired to animate this interesting landscape. Europe may present prospects more rich and brilliant, but in no part of the world can there be found a site so delightful as the Bay of Sierra Leone."†

Such are the glowing terms in which this French Writer paints a spot which, according to some persons in this country, deserves no better name than "a pestiferous charnel-house," a detestable place, having no one good quality to recommend it. In this vehement and unqualified language, it is easy to detect the influence of party prejudice or interested hostility; but, from representations of so opposite a character, it is not easy to deduce a correct estimate of the real re-

* When the Portuguese discovered these places, they called the promontory to the S. of the present settlement, Cape Ledo, and the mountains in the interior, Sierra Leone, the Mountain of the Lioness. This name, somewhat disfigured, has been improperly extended to the Cape, the River, and the adjacent district.

† Golberry, vol. i. p. 30.

commendations of the place; and the geographer, in simply describing a settlement which has been the subject of so violent a controversy, can scarcely avoid giving offence to the partisan. Before we attempt this delicate task, we must lay before our readers a brief sketch of the origin and history of this interesting colony.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans who formed settlements on the river of Sierra Leone: they were afterwards followed by all the European nations. The river of Mitombo, according to Golberry, was included within the limits of the French "Government of the Senegal;" but he complains that, since 1784, the French had barely maintained themselves in the river, on the little island of Gambia, a bad situation for a factory; while the English had established two superb settlements, one at the village of Sierra Leone, and the other on the island of Bunce.*

The idea of establishing a free negro settlement at Sierra Leone, was first suggested in 1783, by Mr. Smeathman, an ingenious and worthy man, who had resided for some time in that part of Western Africa: it was warmly advocated by the Rev. Mr. Ramsay, but was as vehemently opposed by the West India planters. Mr. Smeathman died before he could carry his benevolent project into execution; but in the mean time, the measure had been taken up by that eminent philanthropist, Mr. Granville Sharp, as affording the best remedy for an inconvenience that had grown

* "The ruins of a slave-factory still appear upon Bunce Island, near the mouth of the Rokelle, which was distinguished, during the existence of that diabolical traffic, for the number of unfortunate victims which it sent to the western world. The island is now the site of an extensive timber-manufactory."—Laing, p. 93.

out of his benevolent exertions on behalf of the enslaved Africans. After the memorable decision of Lord Mansfield in favour of the negro Somerset, in June 1772, had established the claims of the negro to the protection of the British laws, in the capacity of a British subject, on his touching the English shores,—great numbers of blacks who had been brought to England and turned adrift by their masters, or who had served in the army or navy during the war, and were then without either pay or claim to parochial relief, flocked to Mr. Sharp for protection and support; to the number at one time, it is said, of 400. By means of the voluntary subscription which he set on foot, they were rescued from starvation; but the expense of permanently maintaining them, was far beyond so precarious a provision. A somewhat Utopian scheme of an African settlement had for some time occupied his thoughts, when Mr. Smeathman's proposal was mentioned to him, and his advice respecting it was solicited by the very parties he sought to relieve.* Mr. Sharp entered warmly into the plan; and the British Government, who had long regarded the number of negro mendicants as a nuisance, readily consented to lend their assistance to the project. On the death of Mr. Smeathman, at the critical moment of its execution, Mr. Sharp stood involved in all the expenses which had attended its outset; but Government interposed to make good the offers that had been made to the colonists; and the transports sailed, under convoy of the Nautilus sloop of war, Captain Thompson, on the 8th of April, 1787.

* "In the mean time," says Mr. Sharp, in a letter dated January 1788, "a proposal was made to them by the late Mr. Smeathman, to form a free settlement at Sierra Leone. Many of them came to consult me about the proposal: sometimes they came in large bodies together."—Hoare's Memoirs of Sharp, p. 260.

The commencement of the enterprise was most inauspicious. The negroes sent out amounted to somewhat more than 400, to which number were added about 60 Europeans, chiefly women. "During a long detention of these poor people in the channel, and during their passage to Sierra Leone, they were extremely unhealthy,—in most instances, from disorders brought on board with them, and aggravated by intemperance. In consequence of the delays that had occurred, they were landed in the rainy season, when no sufficient order or regularity could be established among them; and, being exposed to the weather, a great portion of them very soon died. In the course of the first year, their numbers were reduced nearly half: many died before they reached the coast, and a great number in a short time after their landing; some few also had deserted. The remainder, however, were still sufficient for building a small town.

"After the first year, no extraordinary mortality prevailed. In the two succeeding years, not more than five or six of the settlers died, out of two hundred who were in the same town. During that time, they gradually improved in their circumstances; and though far from being regularly industrious, were able to supply themselves with a sufficiency of food, and to secure a small but constantly increasing property. They were, however, too poor and too ignorant to avail themselves of all the natural advantages of the country; and being chiefly men of unsettled habits, so many migrated to the neighbouring parts, that the community was at one time in the most imminent danger of extinction.

"The arrival, at this critical moment, of a small brig, called the *Myro*, laden with various articles of

considerable present use to the necessities of the settlers, preserved the infant colony. The distressed wanderers found, in its appearance on their coast, a renovation of hope; and as they had learned, by dangerous experiment, that they could not subsist so well in any other place, the greater part of them returned to the settlement. On this occasion also, a confirmation of the original grant of land was obtained from Naimbanna, the king of Sierra Leone, who resided at the small island of Rohanna, between the English slave-factory at Bance Island and the French one at Gambia.

"But, towards the end of the year 1789, while the colony was again in a state of advance, the settlers received a formal notice from a great council of the neighbouring chief, that he had resolved on burning their town, in retaliation for a similar injury done to his own capital by the marines and crew of an English ship of war; and that he allowed them three days for the removal of their goods. They had no resource; they fled from their homes, and abandoned their plantations; and the judicial sentence was carried into execution at the appointed time. This attack was an overwhelming blow to the colony, and threatened it once more with entire annihilation. But the same provident care which had sent the Myro to its aid in its utmost need, had also secured the means of affording it further protection, by the establishment of a Company in England (called the St. George's Bay Company), united for the purpose of carrying forward the benevolent design of the founder; and a memorial was now addressed to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to grant to it his Royal Charter of Incorporation. Accordingly, in September, 1790, the Company's agent, Mr. Falconbridge, set

sail, with a commission to examine and report the state of the colony, and to afford a temporary relief to the distress that had ensued, until the grant of the Charter should enable the Directors to take more effective and permanent measures for the prosperity of the settlement.

"Mr. Falconbridge arrived about twelve months after the dispersion of the settlers; and collecting as many of the fugitives as he could any where discover, brought them to a new settlement above Foura Bay, about two miles further than the former from the town of the chief who had invaded them: here, they took possession of some deserted houses, and about four acres of land were cleared, and planted with yams and cassada, and sown with English seeds. This little body of settlers was supplied by Mr. Falconbridge with muskets, ammunition, and articles of cutlery, which they might barter for necessaries; and he reported them, at his departure from the coast, as likely, with very little labour, to maintain themselves in the same manner as before their dispersion. They at that time amounted in all to sixty-four. The males, though disorderly and turbulent, appeared to be warmly attached to the Company, and resolutely bent on defending themselves. The new settlement received the name of Granville Town, in honour of their original protector and friend. The affairs of the Company, therefore, now began to assume a more promising aspect. Reports from various quarters confirmed the favourable accounts which had at first been given of Sierra Leone; and the Charter of Incorporation being at length obtained, a considerable capital was raised for carrying on the trade of the settlement. The Directors, persuaded that the effective utility, and even the security

of the establishment of which they had undertaken the care, would in a great measure depend on an increase in the number of settlers, prepared measures for that purpose; when an opportunity offered, which appeared to meet their wishes, of strengthening the colony by an additional body of free negroes acquainted with the English language, and accustomed to the labour of hot climates.

"A negro, named Peters, arrived in England from Nova Scotia, as a delegate from many of his countrymen. These men, during the American war, had been induced to enlist in the British army, by the King's proclamation of freedom to all slaves who should join the royal standard; and when the war was terminated, they were carried to Nova Scotia, under a promise of regular allotments of land; which promise, however, had unfortunately not been fulfilled; and the climate of Nova Scotia being unfavourable to them, they, to the number of 300 or 400, were now desirous of joining the new colony at Sierra Leone. The Directors immediately applied to Government, to know if it would defray the expenses of their passage; and being favourably answered, availed themselves of the offer of Lieutenant Clarkson, of his Majesty's navy, to bring the new colonists over to Sierra Leone; strictly stipulating, however, the terms of their admission in conformity to the original design of the settlement, and allowing the reception of such only as could produce certificates of their good conduct and morals. Each settler was to receive a lot of land, of twenty acres.

"Lieutenant Clarkson set sail on the 19th August, 1791, and, on his arrival at Nova Scotia, found, to his surprise, that the number of black people who were desirous to embark for Sierra Leone, far exceeded

the account given by their delegate: not fewer than 1196 were brought on board. It was obvious, that the accession of so large a body of people could not fail to produce the most important consequences to the infant settlement. Their numerous wants would demand instant supply, and the Directors, therefore, turned their utmost attention to that point;—bringing forward, also, a plan for the enlargement of the Company's capital at home, which was much increased by new subscriptions, after the intended junction of the Nova Scotia loyalists had been made public.

"The first vessel sent out by the Company from England, reached Sierra Leone in February 1792, and was soon followed by two others; carrying out in all, rather more than one hundred Europeans; of whom above forty were Company's servants or artificers at a yearly salary; ten were settlers; sixteen were soldiers; and between thirty and forty were women and children.

"In the succeeding month, the Nova Scotia fleet arrived, consisting of sixteen vessels, from which were landed 1131 blacks, many of them labouring under the effects of a fever, first contracted in Halifax, and of which sixty-five had died during the passage. Lieutenant Clarkson, whose humanity had led him to embark on board the hospital-ship, had narrowly escaped with his life from a violent attack of the same disorder. The Nova Scotians then proceeded to construct the requisite buildings, though with less speed than, considering the near approach of the rainy season, might have been wished. The several streets having been marked out by the surveyor, they began, each one for himself, to erect small temporary huts, using the common materials of the country, except

that the flooring was furnished, in some instances, from England. A public wharf and warehouse were likewise begun; and the rising town was named Freetown, in consequence of instructions from the Directors to that purpose.

"The precautions that had been taken, and the liberal supplies that had been sent out from England, proved alike ineffectual to prevent a considerable mortality among the new colonists, when the rainy period arrived: they experienced from it the same distress which had been felt by the former settlers. The rains began about the third week in May, preceded by tornadoes of dreadful violence. Many of the settlers' houses were not yet completed; the Company's storehouses were but imperfectly built; and their servants were ill accommodated. The soldiers also were liable, from various causes, to be much exposed; and the few European settlers who had lately arrived from England, were least of all prepared to meet the impending difficulties. The high degree of health which almost universally prevailed antecedently to the rains, by inspiring too great a confidence in the climate, had perhaps occasioned some remissness in making the requisite preparations. The building of a temporary town having necessarily engrossed the attention both of the Nova Scotians and of the Company's servants, no lots of land had yet been marked out; nor had any step worthy of being mentioned been taken with a view to commerce, although some goods for trade had been sent out with the very first ships. The necessary previous stores of fresh provisions were found to be wanting at the arrival of the rains; and the unsettled state of affairs tended to aggravate the distresses of the colony. The sickness which ensued, was most severe. About 800 blacks were supposed to

be laid up at one time; and very few passed through the whole of this trying season without some indisposition. The disorder, which was the fever common to hot climates, while it affected the blacks and whites almost indiscriminately, proved much the most fatal to the Europeans, and especially to those residing on shore; among whom the mortality was at one time so great, as to excite reasonable apprehensions concerning the practicability of the whole undertaking. In the height of the sickness, all the medical persons, with but one exception, were laid up, so that very few of the sick could be properly attended, and many perished for want of the timely aid which there were no means of affording. The store-keepers, inhabiting a damp store-house, were some of the first victims: increasing difficulty and confusion in the delivery of the stores, were the consequence. The doors of the store-house were continually crowded; but neither food, nor physic and other necessaries for the sick, (though these had been amply supplied by the directors,) could be properly distributed. A great depression of spirits at the same time generally prevailed, which produced a total helplessness in the case of one or two families from England, and proved one chief aggravation of the disorder. Almost one-half of the Europeans living on shore, were carried off during this dreadful season, and nearly one-tenth of the Nova Scotians.

"As soon as the general sickness began to abate, the chief object of the government's attention was the distribution of the promised lots of land;—a work more arduous than had been expected. It was found to be in the highest degree inexpedient to give at once to each individual his lot of twenty acres; as so large an allotment would necessarily throw many of

the settlers to an inconvenient distance from the town and river; besides that the very labour of cutting the necessary paths, and of measuring so large a tract of country, would have been too great to be easily acccomplished in a single season. The Nova Scotians were so sensible of these objections, and so unwilling to be removed to a distance from the town, (as well as to pay a quit-rent for a greater portion of land than they could use,) that they preferred accepting smaller lots of four acres in the first instance, the right being reserved to them of claiming the remainder as it should be wanted. Of these smaller lots, they shewed the utmost eagerness to obtain possession, and no time was lost in commencing the location of them. Some spirited attempts were made, even before the rains had entirely ceased, but were checked by repeated sickness; and so great was the labour of measuring out the ground, that, although a large party of men was employed, and constant exertions were made, a considerable portion of the dry season was necessarily consumed before the survey of the lots could be completed. The distribution of them continued at several periods, from November to March; and the whole of this first allotment was completed in time for the crop of 1793. It was remarkable, however, that having once got possession of their lots, very few of the settlers exerted themselves in cultivating them, till compelled by actual necessity; the greater number preferring to live in the town, as long as they could earn a subsistence there by labouring at daily wages for the Company. Yet, notwithstanding all obstacles, as the dry season advanced, the colony displayed many symptoms of improvement. A garden of experiment was established, under the care of an eminent botanist (Dr. Afzelius);

and two plantations likewise were begun, on the Company's account, as an example of cultivation to others; one near Freetown, which was soon relinquished, and the other on the opposite side of the river; both worked by free-labourers.

"The site of Freetown was unquestionably the best that could be found in that vicinity for the salubrity of the air, the goodness of the water, and the excellence of the harbour. Considerable labour and expense were bestowed in improving the landing-place; and a large number of the Nova Scotia blacks were also employed in erecting a church, hospital, ware houses, and dwelling-houses for the Company's officers, (of which the frames had been sent from England,) and in the execution of some slight measures of defence with a view to the safety of the colony; among which, however, it was not yet thought necessary to include a regular fort.

"But there still existed much discontent among the settlers. They continued averse to making the exertions necessary for bringing their lands into cultivation, and were ready to entertain every idle rumour to the prejudice of the governor, who was naturally anxious for the commencement of their labours, and for the relief of the Company from the ruinous expense of maintaining them. War breaking out, at the same time, against France, and bringing with it very material impediments to the progress of the colony, their discontents grew at length to such a height, that it was deemed expedient to propose to them to send two delegates from their whole body to England, to represent their complaints: this proposal was accepted, and harmony was for a time restored.

"Every thing now promised favourably. Trade was extending. Cultivation advanced, though slowly.

The health of the colony greatly improved. The rainy season of 1793 was attended with complaints of a less formidable description than had before been experienced.* The settlers seemed to be inured to the climate, and their children felt no bad effects from it. Just hopes were also entertained of improving morals. The schools which had been opened, were very regularly attended by the children of the settlers and natives, to the number of 300. In the mean time, the two delegates, chosen by the body of Nova Scotians to represent their complaints to the Directors, being arrived in England, presented a petition, couched in very strong terms, holding forth as their principal grievances, the high price of goods at the Company's warehouses, the inadequacy of the wages paid to them for labour, the disappointment of some promises made to them by Lieutenant Clarkson, who had been governor in 1792, and some trifling charges of misconduct on the part of the governor (Mr. Dawes) who succeeded him. The Directors, after the most minute attention to the subject, judged the representations of the petitioners to be wholly founded on mistake and misinformation. The delegates at first received this decision with extreme dissatisfaction, but, having staid about two months longer in England, quitted it apparently well disposed to the Company.

"Their return did not tend to promote the peace of the settlement, or to abate the turbulent and refractory spirit of a considerable portion of their countrymen. The jealousy and suspicion of the Company's European servants appeared to increase among the disaffected

* Towards the close of this year, the York store-ship, freighted with a cargo of African produce, valued at 15,000*l.*, unfortunately caught fire, and was entirely consumed; adding another heavy item to the Company's losses.

party, until, at length, an insurrection broke out, which menaced the life of the governor and the safety of the colony, but which was happily suppressed without bloodshed. Six of the insurgents, who were considered as the ringleaders, were removed from the colony, and an amnesty was granted to the rest. The effect of these examples was salutary. The commotion was succeeded by a season of quiet among the settlers, and by a more ready submission on their part to the authority of the laws."

But this gleam of prosperity was speedily overclouded by an unexpected and still more serious calamity. On the 28th of September, 1794, a French squadron appeared in the river; and as the colony had been lulled into a fatal security by the declaration of the French Convention, they plundered and destroyed the colonial town without meeting with any resistance. To this base and barbarous outrage, the French commodore, it seems, was instigated by an American slave-captain, who conceived himself to have been affronted by the governor, and who deceived the French with the hope of obtaining immense plunder. Nor was the destruction of Freetown the only loss which the funds of the Company sustained. The Harpy, their largest ship, fell into the enemy's hands, as well as two of their small trading vessels.* The colony was now again plunged into the calamitous situation which the deficiency of provisions and the want of proper shelter had before occasioned. In the space of three weeks, an almost universal sickness prevailed among the Whites; and the destruction of the medicines greatly aggravated their sufferings. Some good effects, however,

* The pecuniary loss sustained by the Company, was estimated at 40,000*l.*, exclusive of the buildings destroyed, which had cost 15,000*l.* more.

resulted from this calamitous visitation. It had a most salutary influence on the malcontents, so that harmony was for a time completely restored among the colonists; and the French squadron, which had been fitted out against the English slave-factories on the coast, by interrupting the traffic in slaves, increased the influence of the colony, and promoted its commercial views. By the spirited exertions of the Company, their affairs were soon retrieved from these complicated disasters; and the ensuing four years after the French invasion, may be considered as the most prosperous period of the colony prior to its transfer to the Crown.

"Early in the year 1795, a factory was successfully established on the Rio Pongas, about twelve miles from its mouth, adjoining to the Foulah country. Great opposition was experienced from the neighbouring slave-dealers; but the settlement was protected against them by the native chiefs, who appeared to approve of the views of the Company.

"In 1798, Freetown contained about three hundred houses, laid out with great regularity, besides many public buildings. Three wharfs had been erected. The Government-house was completed, on an eminence commanding the town and harbour, protected by six pieces of cannon. The inhabitants of the colony were about 1200, the heads of families being about 300. Of these, about one-half were supported by their farms; many were mechanics; and the rest followed various occupations, as retail shopkeepers, fishermen, seamen, &c. The town was also become a place of considerable resort for the neighbouring natives, of whom from one to two hundred daily visited the settlement, for the purpose of exchanging African produce for British manufac-

tures. Some came in canoes from a distance of eighty to one hundred miles."

In the following year, 1799, symptoms of an insurrectionary spirit, more especially on the part of the Nova Scotians, which had only been slumbering, induced the Directors to apply to the British Government for a charter to increase the powers of the Governor and Council, who hitherto had been unarmed with any legal power to enforce their authority. The charter was granted in 1800, creating the settlement an independent colony, and placing the criminal jurisdiction in the hands of the Governor. Before, however, it could reach Sierra Leone, the conspirators, finding that no time was to be lost in executing their scheme, which had for its object the complete overthrow of the Company's authority, broke out into open rebellion. Affairs were in the most critical state, the insurgents out-numbering the loyal settlers, and no alternative seemed left to the Governor but to hazard an attack upon the rebels, when a most providential occurrence rescued the colony once more from impending destruction. A large ship, the Asia transport, appeared in the river, having on board about 550 Maroons (including women and children) from Nova Scotia, together with a detachment of forty-five soldiers under two officers of His Majesty's 24th regiment.

The rebellion was now speedily suppressed, although the insurgents at first treated with contempt the offer of an accommodation, and obstinately maintained their hostile position, till they found themselves attacked. They were routed at the first onset, two of their number being left dead on the spot; thirty-five prisoners were brought in, of whom three were selected for trial, and were executed; the rest were expelled the colony.

It was the wish of the governor and council, to procure for the Maroon settlers, the island of Bananas, about thirty miles south of Freetown; but their intention was frustrated through alarms raised in the minds of the natives by the slave-traders. It was, therefore, determined upon to grant them lands on the same side the river as the Company's settlement. Town lots were accordingly marked out for them in Granville Town, in November 1800, and farms were allotted to them near that place. They built a neat town for themselves, and began to cultivate their farms with spirit. A parliamentary grant indemnified the Company for part of the heavy expenditure and loss they had incurred; and a further sum of 5000*l.* was voted towards building a fort. A firmer system of order was beginning to prevail, when a sudden blow was again aimed at the very existence of the settlement by some native chiefs, without any previous intimation or ground of complaint. On the 18th of November, 1801, about day-break, a body of natives, headed by two of the Nova Scotian insurgents who had effected their escape, made an assault on the palisades of the governor's house. After some loss on both sides, the assailants were repulsed, and were pursued till they had withdrawn from the vicinity. In March 1802, a truce was concluded with them; and some additional troops having arrived from Goree, the peace of the colony was restored. There was reason, however, to apprehend that the chiefs who had made this unforeseen attack, were still busy in exciting among their countrymen an apprehension of the growing power of the Sierra Leone settlement; and the Directors were induced to present a memorial to the British Legislature, earnestly invoking a more efficient protection. Notwithstanding the truce which

had been concluded with the native chiefs, the colony was attacked in the following month, by a force amounting to more than 400 men, among whom were eleven of the rebel settlers who had been banished from the settlement. The attack was sudden and vigorous; and although the assailants were again repulsed with severe loss, the spirits of the settlers were so greatly damped, that they abandoned their farms, and the idea of evacuating the colony became general. The affairs of the Company became the more embarrassed, in consequence of the suspension of the annual grants from Government, pending a parliamentary inquiry which was instituted in 1803. In the Report of the Committee, made in the following year, it was stated to be their opinion, upon a full consideration of the difficulties which continued to embarrass the Company, and the interest which the British Government were bound to take in the settlement, that the great object for which the colony was undertaken, might be more effectually obtained by a transfer of the civil and military authority of the settlement to the Crown, and that it would be expedient to invite the proprietors to make a surrender of their rights to his Majesty. In pursuance of this recommendation, not unacceptable to the Company, a bill for transferring the colony to the Crown was brought into Parliament, which received the royal assent on the 8th of August, 1807; * and on the 1st of January, 1808, the possession of the settlement was surrendered to the Crown, and the Company withdrew from its arduous and beneficent enterprise.†

* The Act strictly prohibited the trade in slaves within the colony, and continued to the colonists the full enjoyment of all civil rights previously possessed under the Company.

† The preceding sketch has been taken from the Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq., by the late Prince Hoare, Esq.—pp. 259—311.

The obstacles which had thwarted the plans of the Chartered Company in this singular enterprise, we have seen, were, the want of sufficient power in the hands of its government, and the inadequacy of its force to restrain the aggressions of the neighbouring natives; the narrow scale of the establishment; the unfavourable character of the Nova Scotian Blacks who joined the first settlers; the war with France; and the unabated progress of the Slave-Trade. To these, according to the allegations of the enemies of the settlement, are to be added, incredible misconduct and mismanagement, a sterile territory, a pestilential climate, and the visionary projects of the philanthropists. Assertions, however, which come coupled with splenetic and malignant aspersions on the motives of the inestimable men who originated and conducted the benevolent enterprise, destroy their own claim to credit.* The fact is, that a systematic and persevering attack has been carried on against Sierra Leone, from its first foundation, by all parties interested in upholding the slave-trade or the slavery system; and to their secret machinations, the disasters which befel the infant colony, may be in great measure attributed. Nor was this hostility without adequate motive. By exposing the real nature of the slave-trade, and the artifices of the miscreants engaged in that infernal traffic, the settlement contributed most materially to bring about its abolition.

This offence might possibly have been ere this time

* During the whole existence of the Sierra Leone Company, its chairman was Henry Thornton, Esq. M.P.; Charles Grant, Esq., M.P., was deputy chairman; and among the directors were, W. Wilberforce, Esq. M.P., Granville Sharp, Esq., Sir Charles Middleton (Lord Barham), Lord Teignmouth, Honourable E. J. Eliot, Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., Thomas Babington, Esq. M.P., John Inglis, Esq., Edward Parry, Esq., &c., &c.

forgiven; but, by holding up the practicability of cultivation by means of free negro labour, and of negro civilization, the Colony has formed an eye-sore to the West India party, which renders them exceedingly desirous to accomplish its entire abandonment and destruction. With this view, it has been represented as a site altogether so ill-chosen as to be perfectly useless as a naval station; utterly worthless as a commercial depôt; the soil unsusceptible of culture; as a residence, more destructive than the slave-trade; and as an experiment of specious philanthropy, an utter failure.

It would, indeed, be marvellous, if, on a coast remarkably deficient in good harbours, one which the Portuguese, the French, and every other European nation have frequented, and which has hitherto enjoyed the reputation of being the only good station between Gibraltar and the Gold Coast, should prove to be utterly destitute of a single recommendation.* That the climate is insalubrious to a European, there can be no doubt; but this character attaches to it in common with the whole coast; and compared with the settlements on the Senegal, with Cacheo and Bissao, and the Portuguese factories, with the Gold Coast or with the West Indies, there is strong reason to believe that the situation has greatly the advantage in point of healthiness.† With regard to the soil,

* "If commerce were one of their principal objects," says Capt. Beaver, in a note containing a warm attack upon the Company, "they have chosen a tolerably good situation, with an excellent port."—Afric. Mem., p. 307.

† From the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, May 1827, it appears that, from the original settlement in 1787, to February, 23, 1826, the total number of those who arrived as settlers in the colony, was 21,944; while the total population in April 1826, was 13,020; exhibiting an apparent decrease of 8924. This is brought

it is admitted that a great part of the territory is the reverse of fertile. There are round Freetown, several small plains of indurated claystone, covered with grass, which no man would ever think of cultivating; and the granite mountains of Sierra Leone are of course not adapted to cultivation. But, "in the valleys, in the plains up the river Sierra Leone, and below the river Kates, in the islands, and towards the Sherbro, the land," we are assured by a gentleman long a member of the Council, "is as good and as fertile as in any part of the world, and there is also excellent water-carriage."* Major Gray,

forward as a specimen of the deadly climate of this "mortiferous paradise." The early misfortunes of the infant settlement, the bad state of health in which the Nova Scotians were landed, the repeated dispersion of the settlers, the effects of the French invasion, and the subsequent insurrections, are deemed unworthy of consideration as affecting the inference to be drawn from this estimate! It is remarkable, however, that, at the end of the first twenty years, in 1807, the total population amounted to only 1871 persons; whereas it now numbers upwards of 13,000. Other causes than the effects of climate, it is well known, influence the high rate of mortality in most of our colonies. The lower class of European adventurers are seldom men of good character; and that of the Nova Scotians and other settlers forced upon this colony, was notoriously bad. Mr. Macauley has, nevertheless, given a list of thirty-one individuals resident at Sierra Leone during periods of from eight and ten to twenty-five, twenty-eight, and thirty-seven years. Of these, seven died after a long term of constant residence; the rest are living, or died elsewhere. The greater number of the Europeans who lie buried at Calcutta, died under five-and-twenty, "cut off in the first two or three years of their residence." (Mod. Trav., India, vol. iii. p. 59.) The European population of Jamaica is said to undergo a total change every seven years; that of New Orleans, in half that period; two-thirds of the Europeans who come to reside at Havana, die within six months after their arrival; and in some of the Dutch East India islands, the mortality is still greater. Mozambique was colonized with criminals from Goa, as a sentence equivalent to death.

* Macauley's Colony of Sierra Leone Vindicated, p. 64. Captain

who visited Sierra Leone in 1821, thus speaks of its capabilities in respect to cultivation.

"From the change which has taken place in these villages since I saw them in 1817, I am satisfied that a little time is alone necessary to enable the colony of Sierra Leone to vie with many of the West India islands in all the productions of tropical climates, but particularly in coffee, which has been already raised there, and proved, by its being in demand in the English market, to be of as good quality, if not superior to that imported from our other colonies. That the soil on the mountains is well adapted to the growth of that valuable berry, has been too well proved by the flourishing state of some of the plantations in the immediate vicinity of Freetown, to need any comment. Arrow-root has also been cultivated with advantage on some of the farms belonging to private individuals; and there can be no doubt of the capability of the soil to produce the sugar-cane, as some is already grown there; but whether it is of as good a description as that of the West Indies, I cannot pretend to say, as the experiment had never been tried at Sierra Leone, at least to my knowledge. The cultivation of all these, with the cotton, indigo, and ginger, could here be carried on under advantages which our West India Islands do not enjoy; namely, the labour of free people, who would relieve the mother country from the apprehensions which are at present entertained for the

Beaver goes so far as to assert, that the Company had fixed, not upon *as bad* a spot for cultivation as could have been found for 100 leagues on either side of them, but upon the *worst*. "Upon the Bullom shore," he adds, "the soil is very poor, but on the Sierra Leone side, there is scarcely any soil at all; and when they make a hogshead of sugar there, I will engage to do the same at Charing Cross."—Beaver, p. 307. Mr. M'Queen asserts, that there is neither soil nor cultivation in the place!

safety of property in some of those islands, by revolt and insurrection among the slaves, and from the deplorable consequences of such a state of civil confusion. Those people would, by receiving the benefits arising from their industry, be excited to exertions that must prove beneficial to all concerned in the trade, and conducive to the prosperity of the colony itself.

"Freetown, the capital of the peninsula, is of considerable extent, and is beautifully situate on an inclined plane, at the foot of some hills, on which stand the fort and other public buildings that overlook it and the roads; whence there is a delightful prospect of the town, rising in the form of an amphitheatre from the water's edge, above which it is elevated about 70 feet. It is regularly laid out into fine streets, intersected by others parallel with the river, and at right angles. The houses, which, a few years since, were for the most part built of timber, many of them of the worst description, and thatched with leaves or grass, are now replaced by commodious and substantial stone buildings, which both contribute to the health and comfort of the inhabitants, and add to the beauty of the place; which is rendered peculiarly picturesque by the numbers of cocoa-nut, orange, lime, and banana trees, scattered over the whole town, and affording, in addition to the pine-apple and guava, that grow wild in the woods, an abundant supply of fruit. The Madeira and Teneriffe vines flourish uncommonly well in the gardens of some private individuals, and yield in the season a large crop of grapes. Nearly all our garden vegetables are raised there; and what with yams, cassada, and pompions, there is seldom any want of one or other of those almost necessary requisites for the table. There are good meat, poultry, and fish markets; and almost

every article of housekeeping can be procured at the shops of the British merchants."*

The inhabitants of Freetown, exclusive of the military, according to the returns of January 1822, amounted to 5643. Since that time, they have considerably increased.† But, besides the chief town, in consequence of the great increase of population from disbanded soldiers, and still more from captured negroes who have been liberated, a number of new towns have been founded in different parts of the territory. These settlements appear to have been made in the following order:—Leicester, 1809. Regent, 1812. Gloucester, 1816. Kissey, 1817. Leopold, 1817. Charlotte, 1818. Wilberforce, 1812; re-organised, 1818. Bathurst, 1818. Kent, 1819. York, 1819. Wellington, 1819. Hastings, 1819. Isles de Los, 1819. Banana Isles, 1820. Waterloo, 1820. Allen Town, 1826. Calmont, 1826. Grassfield, 1826. On Sir Neil Campbell's assuming the government of the colony, he formed these villages of the liberated Africans into three divisions. The Eastern or River District comprises Kissey, Wellington, Allen Town, Hastings, Waterloo, and Calmont: these villages lie to the S. E. of Freetown, along the eastern border of the colony, on the Bunce River, and in the Timmanee country. The Central or Mountain District comprises Leicester, Gloucester, Regent, (Wilberforce,) Bathurst, (Leopold,) Charlotte, and Grassfield.‡ The Western or Sea District comprises York, Kent, and the Bananas. The Banana Islands, which are five miles off

* Gray, pp. 333—336.

† The total population of Sierra Leone, exclusive of the military, in 1820, was 12,509; in 1826, 13,020.

‡ Leopold appears to have been subsequently incorporated with Bathurst; and Wilberforce is, we believe, abandoned.

the coast, came into the possession of the British Government in 1819, at which time the population consisted of only a few Sherbros from the opposite coast, who had previously been in a state of slavery. They have since been used as a place of banishment for such persons as have rendered themselves obnoxious to the civil power by offences of greater or less magnitude, and, of course, exhibit the most unfavourable specimen of the population. It may be regarded, indeed, as the Botany Bay of Sierra Leone.

Kissey, one of the earlier settlements, takes its name from the mountainous country containing the sources of the Niger, the natives of which are said to be peculiarly savage and degraded. "They have no trade," Major Laing informs us, "except in slaves, which they sell to the people of Sangara for salt, tobacco, and country cloth; and in such a savage state of wretchedness and barbarism are they, that, without the least compunction, they will dispose of their relatives, wives, and even children.* Several hundred natives of this savage country," continues this Traveller, "who have been liberated from slave-ships by the humane exertions of Great Britain, are established in a beautiful village, named after their own country, about four miles from Freetown; where, at the expense of the British Government, they have been clothed and fed, until able to support themselves by their own industry, and where they are now settled in the enjoyment of full security of person and of property. Under the same protecting influence, and by means of missionaries supplied by the Church Missionary Society, they have been educated as Christians; and all are instructed in reading and writing. These are benefits conferred on

* In this respect, they resemble the Timmanees, mentioned hereafter.

Africa by British interference and protection, of which an Englishman may well be proud, and which are rapidly obtaining for Great Britain an influence in this vast continent, of a far deeper character than that which arises from temporary subjection. When the capabilities of Western Africa are duly considered, for producing, by its native population, the articles of immense consumption which are at present supplied from other countries under the far greater cost of forced labour, such measures will appear as politically wise as they are humane and beneficent."*

Into the charges of mal-administration and mismanagement, brought against those who have sustained the government or direction of the colony, it is scarcely within our province to enter. Instead of offering any opinion of our own upon so delicate a point, we shall cite the decision of an enlightened and impartial writer, the Author of the "Historical Account of Discoveries in Africa." At the time that Sierra Leone was transferred to the hands of Government, the society was formed, which has since become so honourably known under the title of the African Institution, composed of

* Laing, pp. 280—2. This Traveller asserts, that the disposition of the natives to civilization and improvement, is beyond the means which are furnished for their instruction; and he expresses his regret that Government has not received the co-operation of the Church of England, in carrying into effect objects so worthy of a Christian nation, and so interesting to humanity. His accusations against the Church Missionary's Society's Agents, however, do little credit to his candour. "It has happened to myself," he says, "to have seen one missionary lying drunk in the streets;"—concealing the fact, that the delinquent was a *discarded* schoolmaster of the Society,—discarded for misconduct, and that he was made drunk as a frolic by some young men at a large dinner on his late Majesty's birth-day. The other charges are of an equally frivolous description, and prove that, in this part of his work, the Major was writing under a bias received *after* his return to this country.—See Macaulay's Sierra Leone, pp. 18, 24.

a large body of the most virtuous and respectable persons in this country, with a general view to the improvement and civilization of the African continent; and Sierra Leone, which appeared the best centre whence such efforts could emanate, was placed under their management. "There can be no doubt," remarks Mr. Murray, "notwithstanding the charges brought by a person who held, for some time, an office in the colony, of the zeal with which the Directors of this Institution have pursued every object tending to the improvement of the colony, as well as the general benefit of Africa. Of this, the character of its members would be a sufficient pledge; but it is further rendered evident by the statements which they have chosen to submit to the public. They very candidly, however, admit the circumstances which have obstructed the accomplishment, to the full extent, of the objects for which it was founded.* It has been found impossible to preserve a uniform good understanding with the native powers, whose volatile and turbulent habits render them prompt to embark in hostilities. The abolition of the slave-trade, also, has caused the colony to be viewed by no means with a favourable eye by the native chiefs. The wars in which it was repeatedly involved with them, gave a very serious check to its

* "Whatever might have been the wishes and the objects of the African Institution," says Mr. Macaulay, "they could only carry them into effect by suggestions either to his Majesty's Ministers, or to those who had the immediate management of the colony.... The very first governor sent out after the transfer of the colony to the Crown, made it his object to overturn all the previous arrangements of the Sierra Leone Company, and to pursue a perfectly opposite system. Subsequently to the year 1808, not one of the successive governors or judges received his appointment through the influence of the African Institution."—Macaulay's Vindication, pp. 4, 5.

improvement. The management, also, of the negroes captured on their route to the West Indies, is attended with considerable difficulty. The plan of making them purchase their liberty by a temporary bondage under the name of indenture, though it cannot deserve the epithets which have been applied to it, seems yet to have been very properly discontinued. The motley and equivocal character, however, which necessarily attaches to a great part of the population, renders it very difficult to preserve the degree of order and propriety necessary to render it useful in itself, and creditable in the eyes of the Africans.* The introduction of the English forms of law has produced a most violent spirit of litigation. The suits for petty assaults and defamation are almost innumerable; and the plaintiffs are usually in the proportion of four women to one man. The distance from Britain, besides the unhealthy nature of the settlement, and the very moderate amount of the salaries, make it scarcely possible to procure respectable and duly qualified persons to fill the different official situations. Notwith-

* The population, in 1822, exclusive of the factories and other settlements up the river, comprised the following classes :—

Europeans	128
Maroons	601
Nova Scotians	722
Exiles from Barbadoes, &c.	85
Natives, who have settled in the colony, chiefly pagan or moslem	3,526
Liberated Slaves	7,969
Discharged negro soldiers	1,103
Kroomen	947
	15,081

The last are migratory; but the total number is generally the same.—Macaulay, pp. 16, 17. The insufficiency of the civil establishments, is a serious obstacle to the prosperity and good order of the colony.

standing all these obstacles, a sensible improvement has taken place; and more may be expected, as experience shews the best modes of conducting such a colony."*

"The colony has been," Mr. Macaulay remarks, "grievously injured by the want of a systematic plan or rule for its government. Every governor has been left to follow his own plans, however crude and undigested; and no two succeeding governors have ever pursued the same course. This remark applies more particularly to the management of the liberated African. Mr. Ludlam pursued the system of apprenticing them. Mr. Thompson set that aside, and turned them loose in the colony, without any other superintendence than its general police. Captain Columbine employed them on the public works, or apprenticed them. Colonel Maxwell, after delivering over to the persons appointed to receive them, all the men fit for his Majesty's service, apprenticed a part of the remainder, and then commenced forming villages with those who could not be so disposed of. Sir Charles Mac Carthy gave up apprenticing, except in particular cases, and adopted the plan of forming them into villages, under such civil superintendence and religious instruction as he could command, keeping the youths and children in schools, or making mechanics of them; neglecting perhaps too much, in his successful attempt to make them orderly and quiet citizens, the equally desirable object of making them industrious agriculturists and growers of exportable produce. General Turner dissolved, in a great measure, the schools and the institutions for mechanics, and threw the people more on their own resources;

* Murray, vol. ii, p. 314.

but did not afford, indeed he did not possess, the means of duly superintending their settlement and progress, or of directing their energies." *

The present state of the colony is thus summarily described by the latter gentleman.

"It contains about 20,000 free negroes, who have been collected on that spot from various parts of the world; some from North America, some from the mountains of Jamaica, and others from the immediately adjoining nations of Africa; but the great majority of them consists of those who have been rescued from the holds of slave-vessels, and landed on its shores in the lowest state of misery, debility, and degradation. These liberated captives have attained to various degrees, according to the length of their residence and other circumstances, of moral improvement, civilization, and prosperity. They are all living under the protection of British law, which they enjoy as fully as any other class of the inhabitants, being equally subject to its penalties, and equally bound to fulfil its obligations. Nearly the whole police of the colony is administered by them; and in no part of the world is justice more freely and equitably dispensed, or its decisions more promptly and willingly obeyed. And although the nature of the population might not seem to authorise such a conclusion, yet I can confidently appeal to the calendars and police records, as a proof that, in regard to the infrequency of crime, it may bear a favourable comparison with most parts of his Majesty's dominions.

"A large portion of the colony are enjoying, and

* Macaulay, pp. 5, 6. The death of this last-mentioned governor is spoken of as an almost irreparable blow to the colony, and to Africa generally.

all have access to, the means of moral and religious instruction. Upwards of one fourth are regular attendants on the public ordinances of religion. They have built for themselves various and expensive places of worship; some of them are employed in ministering to the spiritual necessities of their brethren; and a more orderly, decent, and well-conducted people, considering their circumstances, is no where to be found.

"That agriculture has not been sufficiently attended to, and that all the industry they are capable of has not been exerted, is true; but it is not true, that they will not work, and work diligently, for wages: nor is it true that their wants and desires are bounded by a bare subsistence, by food and clothing. They were all landed in the colony, without a single article of any description in the shape of property, almost naked as they were born. Their hands were their only capital, and many of them scarcely knew the use of these. Whatever property they now possess, their money, their shops, their vessels, their houses, their furniture, are all the fruits of their own industry. The population of the colony has been, and still is, but small; whilst the demand for labour, both for public and for private purposes, and for the commerce of the colony, has been great. The inhabitants, as free agents, have naturally employed themselves in that way which paid them best; and if they have, by collecting, instead of growing, the produce of Africa, enriched themselves, and increased the trade of the colony to its present extent, who can have any right to find fault with them for so doing? The population is now, at length, growing larger than the mechanical or commercial wants of the colony can supply with labour, and the surplus

must, of course, resort to agriculture. If capitalists would invest money in cultivating the soil, the people would work for hire: if not, they will be induced, I doubt not, to cultivate it on their own account.

"Several of the Black and Coloured colonists are persons both of property and respectability, and are admitted to the tables of the principal Europeans. Some of them have served with great credit to themselves, and benefit to the colony, the offices of Alderman, Mayor, Coroner, and Sheriff; and their mercantile transactions are of considerable magnitude. Numbers of them are possessed of excellent stone houses, well furnished. Their clothing is equal to persons of their rank in England, and their style of living is respectable. Their families are brought up in a decent, moral manner; and some, not satisfied with the means of education afforded by the colony, have sent their children to England: witness, Messrs. Gabbidon, Wilson, Wise, Williams, &c.

"The duties of commissioners for the recovery of small debts, of grand and petty juries, of head and petty constables, and of the other offices of police, have been performed by the inhabitants generally, in a manner which has given satisfaction to every magistrate. The general respectability of their houses, of their appearance, and of their conduct, is universally allowed.

"They have built, for their own use, several decent places of worship (some of stone;) the expenses and the ministry of which (except one Wesleyan Missionary), are provided for by themselves, and they are constant and regular attendants in them." *

* "It appears by the Parliamentary returns of 1825, that there were in the colony, twenty-four places of worship; and that, out of a population of 20,000, in which is included a large number who

"It may be necessary to say a few words on the present state of the liberated Africans, as distinguished from the other classes of the community.

"A considerable number of them can read, many can write, and several of them are employed as teachers and clerks. Some of them are possessed of good stone houses in Freetown, and many have very excellent houses, partly of stone and partly of wood. They are rising fast in the scale of respectability. Some have served as jurymen; many are employed in the police of Freetown; and all the police of their own villages is administered by them. In the villages, their houses are good and comfortable, though in few instances made of very durable materials; and they are all, more or less, furnished. Nearly the whole live by their own industry. Many of them, undoubtedly, are satisfied with the mere necessaries of life; but the majority, especially the young, are not so: they endeavour to raise themselves in society, and to become possessed of the decencies and luxuries of life, and to amass property. The liberated Africans constitute a large proportion of the mechanics of the colony; a great number of them are engaged in retail trade, or in commerce with the natives; and many of them are constantly credited with hundreds of pounds, and their dealings appear fair, honourable, and profitable. A large portion of them are orderly and constant attendants on places of worship; some of which, of stone, have been in great part, if not entirely, built by them, and at their expense; and they are bringing up their families in a decent and Christian manner.

profess Mohammedism and Paganism, 5818 are regular attendants on Christian worship, 1340 of whom attend in Freetown."—See also Miss. Reg., May, 1826, pp. 257—259. Ib., Jan., 1829, pp. 13—18.

They are, in fact, all that could have been expected, when their original condition, the short time they have been in the colony, and their opportunities, are considered."

"The influence of the colony, combined with occasional visits from his Majesty's cruisers, has nearly effected a total abolition of the slave-trade, from the Rio Nunez to the Shebar inclusive, substituting in its place a legitimate commerce; and has induced not only European and American slave-dealers, but native chiefs, to turn their slaves into a sort of *adscripti glebæ*, and to look for benefit to the fruits of their labour, instead of to the sale of their persons; a system which, from the nature of African slavery, must soon bring them into the condition of freemen. The natives of the Nunez and Pongas have, through the influence and assistance of Sierra Leone, established plantations, and begun to trade in the innocent productions of the country. Headmen from the Soosoo and other countries bring their people over to the river Sierra Leone, to work in the woods; and I have heard many of them calculate the advantages of their labour over the price of their persons.

"The altered appearance of the natives round the colony, in dress and manner, must convince every spectator of their improvement; and it is well known, that their bloody and superstitious rites and ceremonies are fast retreating from the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. Well acquainted as I am with what passes in the country, I have not heard of a single instance of the ordeal of 'red water' proving fatal for many years. Of our influence with the native chiefs, instances are abundant. Yaradee, a barbarous chief, at the head of a considerable army, spared the

life of Sanassee, his enemy, at the request of the Governor of Sierra Leone, with whom he had had no previous communication. The powerful king of the Foulahs is in close connexion with the colony, and has opened the roads between it and the interior. The king of Bambarra has sent messengers to the Governor. Chiefs from Kenghary, Bouree, and Balia, have come to Sierra Leone to form commercial connexions with it. The Soombra Soosoos transferred the Isle de Los to the colony at a time when the Americans were in treaty for it. In the face of Sir Charles MacCarthy's defeat and death, the hostile tribes of the Scarcies submitted their disputes to us, and the North Bulloms ceded the territories from which the teak is chiefly procured. In their distress, the Sherbro Bulloms threw themselves upon the protection of the colony; and their enemies, the Cussos, sent messengers to sue for peace. The natives of Port Logo, when, about two years ago, their chief died, voluntarily requested to be admitted under the jurisdiction of the colony; and, so far from any unfriendly feeling existing after General Turner's death, the Soosoos and Mandingoes referred their long and bloody disputes to the decision of the colonial government, the king even offering to resign his turban, if required; and they transferred the jurisdiction of their waters, with such land as might be requisite, for the purpose of preventing any export of slaves. The king of Barra, also, after positively refusing to the governor of Senegal, in person, to rent to the French, at Albreda, as much land as would form gardens, voluntarily transferred to the colonial government, on behalf of his Majesty, the whole jurisdiction of the river Gambia, and one mile inland of its northern bank in the kingdom of Barra; and did, in person, assist at the

commencement of a British fort, on the point which commands the entrance of the river." *

The island of St. Mary, at the mouth of the Gambia, has been chosen by the Wesleyan Missionary Society, as the site of a distinct settlement, formed in 1816, which bears the name of Bathurst. The inhabitants, in 1826, were 1021 males and 846 females; chiefly Yolofs and Mandingoes. The members amount to thirty. William Singleton, the Quaker Missionary, who visited Bathurst in 1821, gives the following account of the settlement.

"The island called St. Mary's, is an irregular-shaped sand-bank, very little elevated above the river. It is nearly level; and in digging, nothing but sand, not a stone, can be found. The houses are built of stone from the Barra coast. In its greatest length, the island is nearly four miles E. and W.; the widest part about one mile and a half. Banyan Point is in N. lat. 13° 20′; W. long. 17° 34′. The town of Bathurst stands on the east end of the island, which is by far the narrowest part, and in the rainy season, is nearly overflowed. The colony is in its infancy. The settlers have done, and are doing much, and have in contemplation more for the general benefit. The buildings erected by Government are considerable." The station does not appear to be particularly unhealthy, but various obstacles have impeded its success.†

Mrs. Kilham, a benevolent member of the Society of Friends, who visited Sierra Leone in 1827, for the purpose of instituting inquiries as to the best means of promoting the education of the liberated Africans,

* Macaulay, pp. 105—110; 88—90. For further details, see also Reports of African Institution.

† Rep. of Com. for promoting Afric. Instruction.—Miss. Reg. Jan. 1829.

has published specimens of thirty different African languages spoken in the Colony. Between few of these, judging from the vocabulary, there is any apparent affinity. Their names are as follow:—

1. Foulah.	See p. 54 of this volume.
2. Yolof.	See p. 121 of this volume.
3. Mandingo.	See p. 121 of this volume.
4. Soosoo.	See p. 155 of this volume.
5. Timmanee.*	Spoken in the country eastward of Sierra Leone.
6. Kissi.	Spoken in the country round the sources of the Niger.
7. Bullom.†	Spoken along the Western Coast as far as Shebar.
8. Kossa.	The Kussoo tribes border on the Sherbro Bulloms.
9. Pessa.	Seemingly allied to the Kossa.
10. Kroo.	The Kroomen live on the Grain Coast, near Cape Palmas.
11. Bassa.	This is evidently the same as the Kroo, or differs only as a dialect. It is spoken from Cape Mesurado to Cape Palmas.
12. Ashantee.	These are evidently dialects of the same language.
13. Fantee.‡	
14. Appa.	
15. Tapua.	
16. Poh-poh.	A state on the Slave Coast. It is a dialect of the Whidah.
17. Fot.	Probably the *Afetu* of Meredith; spoken in the Agoona country, now subject to the Fantees.‖
18. Benin.	Spoken in the kingdom of that name.
19. A-ku or Ey-e-o.	See p. 335 of our second volume.
20 Houssa.	See p. 17 of this volume.
21 Borno.	The language of Bornou. See p. 215 of our second volume.
22. Ibo.	The Ibbo nation furnish the greater part of the slaves exported from Benin.
23 Mo-ko.	

* The Timmanee, Mr. Singleton says, is next in usefulness (to leeward) after the Mandingo.

† A grammar and vocabulary of this language have been printed, as well as a translation of the gospel of Matthew into Bullom.

‡ Called also the Amina. See a copious vocabulary of this language in Hutton's Africa, pp. 371—384, and Bowdich, pp. 506—512.

‖ Meredith's Gold Coast, pp. 173, 177.

24. Bon-go	Perhaps, the language of the Calbongos.
25. Run-go.	Perhaps that of Dar Runga in Waday. See p. 278 of our second volume.
26. A-kJon-ga.	
27. Ka-ra-ba.	
28. U-ho-bo.	
29. Kouri.	Perhaps Youri.
30. Kongo.	Presumed to be the language of Kong.

Accidental circumstances have assembled at Sierra Leone, natives of several of these nations. With others, a commercial intercourse has been opened, and many individuals of the surrounding and interior countries have, of their own accord, repaired to the colony, and made it their permanent or temporary residence. Of these, the most singular race are the Kroomen, who may be styled the *Gallegos* of Western Africa. They are a robust race, natives of the maritime country called the Grain Coast, between Sanguin and Cape Palmas, who go to Sierra Leone and other places for work, hiring themselves as labourers. They are remarkably industrious, and are well known to Europeans all over the coast, and on board merchant vessels. They speak English, and are happy to be employed as labourers, sailors, or in any other capacity.* Indeed, Mr. Hutton says, they frequently make voyages to England and back again; and have great confidence in the English. Mr. Robertson affirms, that, "to the indelible honour of these people, they have never been known to enslave each other, even for criminal offences of the most aggravated nature." "Strongly attached to their own country and its customs," Mr. Macaulay says,

* Hutton's Africa, pp. 30, 34. Their country, or its capital, is called Settra Kroo. A Krooman informed William Singleton, the Quaker missionary, that the Kroomen have an hereditary king, five towns, and plenty of people—"too much."—Eighteenth Report of African Instit. p. 203.

"though they will migrate freely for a time, no inducement can prevail with them to remain long absent from it, or to relinquish their native superstitions.*"

THE TIMMANEES.

THE Timmanee country, which borders immediately upon the territory of Sierra Leone, was traversed by Major Laing in 1822, in proceeding on a mission to the camp of the Mandingoes and Soolimas. Its extent from E. to W. may be computed, according to this Traveller, at 90 miles, and its breadth N. and S. at about 55 miles. It is bounded on the E. by Kooranko; on the W. by Sierra Leone, Bullom, and the ocean; on the N., by the Mandingo and Limba countries; and S., by Bullom and Kooranko. This territory is watered by the river Scarcies and the Rokelle branch of the Sierra Leone river. It is divided into four districts, each having its independent chief. Of the natives of this country, Major Laing gives a very unfavourable account. "The character of a Timmanee man," he says, "is almost proverbial in Western Africa for knavery and indisposition to honest labour; and that of a Timmanee woman for dishonesty. They are depraved, licentious, indolent, and avaricious. Inhabiting the country near the mouth of one of the principal rivers of the coast, and which, until the last thirty years, was one of the chief marts of the slave-trade, their moral and social disorganization which still subsists, may be viewed as an example of its deep-rooted and pernicious influence." †

* In this respect, they seem to resemble the Mandingoes of the Portuguese coast. See page 147.

† Laing, p. 106. "I was twice offered by mothers," adds Major Laing, in a note, "their children for sale, and abused for refusing them. One evening, a clamour was raised against me as

The Timmanees have no trades among them; not even the necessary ones of blacksmith and shoe-maker, which are common to almost all African countries. The only carpenter's tool of which they understand the use, is the ax; with which, however, they contrive to square wood for doors and windows tolerably well. Their houses are all of mud, with a sloping roof of thatch or palm-branches in front and rear, but they are neither commodious nor neat. Their agricultural implements are extremely rude, consisting of merely a wooden hoe and a small hooked stick used for clearing the grain from the husk.* The produce of their country is confined to red and white rice, yams, ground-nuts, and a few plantations of cassada, with plantains, bananas, and other spontaneous productions. They are exceedingly addicted to intoxication, by indulging in copious potations of palm-wine. This Traveller could perceive no traces of a costume among those resident in their own country. "Every individual, according to his fancy or ability, clothes himself after the fashion of other tribes. Most of the head-men were habited in the Mandingo shirt and trowsers, with a cap of red or blue cloth; others wore the shirt with a pair of trowsers of satin stripe reaching to the ancle, and nearly as tight as pantaloons; some the shirt only. But such is the poverty, arising from indolence, and

being one of those white men who prevented the slave-trade, and injured the prosperity of their country. The two mothers severally accused their children of witchcraft, and were much surprised at my refusal to purchase, particularly as the price did not exceed ten bars, about 30*s*."

* "I must believe," says Major Laing, "that a few hoes, flails, rakes, shovels, &c., would prove more beneficial both to their interest and ours, than the guns, cocked-hats, and mountebank coats with which they are at present supplied."

rude state of the greater proportion of the inland population, that trowsers or a shirt of any kind are articles of rare occurrence; few possessing more than a small square piece of coarse cloth or woven bark tied round the middle. This scanty tegument was, I apprehend, the only covering used by the Timmanees, previously to their acquaintance with Europeans. The women, with the exception of those contiguous to the water-side, are as deficient in raiment as the men, and many of them more so." *

Yet, these same people, when brought into contact with Christian civilization, seem to undergo a singular transformation of character. "After a short intercourse with Europeans," says Major Laing, "they throw off their barbarous habits, and adopting the European dress, seem desirous of conforming to all the customs of civilized life which come within the reach of their pecuniary ability. Those of them who have resided for some years among Europeans, and who are in a manner weaned from the habits of their native country, (habits which, after leaving off, they invariably despise,) are particularly docile, and, in general, much attached to their employers." "The eagerness with which the Timmanees entered into the laborious work of cutting, squaring, and floating to the trading stations, the immense bodies of heavy teak timber exported from Sierra Leone, is a convincing proof of their readiness to engage in any employment

* Laing, pp. 79—81. "Kooranko is the first country to the eastward of Sierra Leone, where the manufacture of cloth is common, but it is generally of a coarse quality. As the Traveller advances eastward, he finds the natives improve both in the texture of the cloth and the size of the loom. In Sangara, very large and handsome cloths are manufactured."

where they can get a reward, however small, for their labour." *

In many of their customs, the Timmanees resemble the pagan nations of the Gold Coast. Before eating or drinking, they invariably devote a small portion of what they are about to consume, to the dead, by throwing it on the ground. Small houses containing shells, sculls, images, &c., are always placed about three or four hundred yards from the different entrances to the towns, which are supposed to be the residence of the *Greegrees* who take care of them. Almost every house has its protecting spirits, which are frequently invoked in a manner adapted to excite the commiseration of the enlightened spectator. White fowls, sheep, or goats are considered ominous of good luck, and are, consequently, sacrificed to appease the evil spirits, or presented to strangers who are regarded as welcome visiters.† Charnel-houses, in which the remains of the kings or head-men are deposited, are generally to be found in the Timmanee towns. These are never opened, but small apertures are left in the walls, through which cooked provisions and palm-wine are occasionally introduced, to be, as they believe, consumed by the spirits of the departed. Particular spots also, generally eminences covered with thick wood, are consecrated to the *Greegrees*, and these sacred inclosures are never approached but with reverential awe. The smallest encroachment upon them, Major Laing was

* Laing, 77, 8. During the time that the timber trade was in activity, several native towns were formed on the banks of the river, and many natives came from a distance in the country to engage in it.

† The same notion seems to prevail among the Bijugas. See *note* at page 151.

informed, would subject the aggressor to the most awful punishment from the *Purrah*; a singular and mysterious tribunal much dreaded in this unhappy country, whose power is paramount even over that of the chiefs, and whose deeds of darkness are veiled from all inquiry. The rogue-craft of this fraternity strikingly illustrates the degraded state of a people among whom it could succeed.

"The head-quarters of the *Purrah*," we are told, "are in inclosures situated in the woods: these are never deserted by them entirely, and any man, not a *purrah*, approaching them, is instantly apprehended, and rarely ever heard of again. The few who have re-appeared after several years of secretion, have always become intermediately *purrah*-men themselves. Those who do not again appear, are supposed to be carried away to distant countries and sold. The *purrahs* do not confine themselves always to the seizure of those who approach their inclosures, but frequently carry off single travellers, and occasionally whole parties who are imprudent enough to pass from one town to another in certain districts, without applying for an escort from the body: to ensure safety, one *purrah*-man is sufficient, who, while leading the party, blows a small reed-whistle suspended from his neck. At the advice of Bar Kooro, I procured one of these persons as a guide from Ma Bung* to Ma Yasoo,† the intermediate country being thickly inhabited by the *Purrah*. As we passed along, they signified their vicinity to us,

* A Timmanee town, containing about 2500 inhabitants, on the Author's route from Sierra Leone.

† Ma Yasoo is the chief town on the eastern frontier, in latitude 8° 28′, longitude 11° 54′. It is situated on the right bank of the Kamaranka, there called the Kabanka.

by howling and screaming in the woods; but, although the sounds denoted their close neighbourhood, no individual was seen.

"The *purrahs* frequently make an irruption into towns in the night-time, and plunder whatever they can lay their hands upon; goats, fowls, cloth, provisions, men, women, or children. On such occasions, the inhabitants remain shut up in their houses until long after the plunderers' retreat. During the time that I was in the interior, I always had a sentry over my quarters at night, for the protection of the baggage. One night, the town in which we slept, was visited by the *purrah*, and my sentinel remained firm at his post. When the *purrah* came up, an attack was made upon him, but the application of the bayonet kept them at a distance until I made my appearance, when the *purrah*, uncertain of their power over a white man, scampered off: they were mostly naked and unarmed, but a few had knives.

"The outward distinguishing marks of the *purrah*, are two parallel tattooed lines round the middle of the body, inclining upwards in front towards the breast, and meeting in the pit of the stomach. There are various gradations of rank among them, but I could never ascertain their respective offices. Persons said to be men of rank among them, have been pointed out to me, with great caution, as the Timmanees, generally, do not like to speak of them; but I could learn nothing further. *Purrah*-men sometimes quit their retirement and associate with the towns-people, following employments of various kinds; but no chief or head-man dares bring a palaver against a *purrah*-man, for fear of a retributive visit from the whole body. At stated periods, they hold conventions or assemblies; and on these occasions, the country is in

a state of the greatest confusion and alarm. No proclamation is publicly made, but a notice from the chief or head-man of the *purrah*, communicated by signs hung up at different places, with the meaning of which they are acquainted, is a summons to them to meet, on an appointed day, at a certain rendezvous. Palavers of great weight, such as disputes between rival towns, or offences of such magnitude as to call for capital punishments, are always settled by the *purrah*; the head-men of towns not having at the present day, (whatever power they may have possessed formerly,) the lives of their subjects or dependents in keeping. The *purrah* may be therefore said to possess the general government of the country; and from the nature of their power, and the purposes to which it is applied, they will probably be found a most serious obstacle to its civilization." *

M. Golberry gives an embellished account of the same institution as existing among the Soosoos; and in this "confederacy of warriors," he fancies that some affinity may be detected to the secret tribunal of the Germans, and the mysteries of the old Egyptian hierophants. "Between the river of Sierra Leone and Cape Monte," he says, "there are five colonies of Soosoos, who have formed among themselves a federal republic. Each colony has its particular magistrates and its local government; but they are all subjected to an institution which these negroes call *purrah*. Each of the five colonies has its particular *purrah*; and these five united, form the grand and sovereign one, which commands the five colonies.

"In order to be admitted into the confederacy of the *purrah* of the canton, it is necessary to be thirty

* Laing, pp. 94—99.

years of age, and no person can be a member of the grand *purrah* under fifty: the eldest member of each *purrah* of a canton is selected, to form those of the grand or sovereign *purrah*. No candidate is admitted to the trials of a cantonal *purrah*, but under the responsibility of all his friends who are already members, and who swear his death, if he flinch during the ceremony, or if he betray, after being admitted, the mysteries and secrets of the confederacy. In each canton comprised in the institution of the *purrah*, there is a sacred wood to which they conduct the candidate; he is obliged to inhabit a place which is appointed for him; he finds himself during some months in a small house, where men with masks supply him with food; he dares not speak nor absent himself from the place which is assigned him; and if he attempts to penetrate the forest with which he is surrounded, he is immediately struck dead.

"After some months of preparation, the candidate is admitted to the trials, the last of which are, it is said, dreadful; all the elements are employed to ascertain his resolution and his courage. It is even asserted, that chained lions and leopards are employed in these mysteries; that while they are performing, the sacred woods resound with mournful howlings; that during the night immense fires may be seen, which seem to threaten a general conflagration; that at other times, flames spread along all the sides of these mysterious woods; that all unhallowed persons, whom curiosity might tempt to enter them, are sacrificed without mercy; and that some indiscreet people who have nevertheless ventured it, have disappeared without its being known in what manner. When the candidate has undergone all the trials, he is admitted to the initiation, having first sworn that he

will preserve all its secrets, and that he will execute, without hesitation, the orders of the *purrah* of his tribe, and all the decrees of the sovereign *purrah*. If a member of this confederacy betrays it, or becomes refractory, he is devoted to death, and this sentence is often executed in the bosom of his family. At a time when the unfortunate delinquent least expects it, a warrior appears, disguised, masked, and armed; he exclaims, 'the grand *purrah* sends thee death.' At these words, every one falls back, no one dares offer the least opposition, and the victim is sacrificed.

"The tribunal of each *purrah* of a tribe is composed of twenty-five members, and from each of these individual tribunals are drawn five persons, who form the grand *purrah*, or supreme tribunal of the general confederacy; hence, this sovereign one is composed also of twenty-five members, who elect their chief from among themselves. The particular *purrah* of a tribe takes cognizance of all crimes within its district, judges them, and executes its sentences. It also appeases the quarrels and heals the dissensions which may exist between powerful families. The sovereign *purrah* never assembles but upon extraordinary occasions; it judges those who betray the mysteries and secrets of their order, and who oppose its decrees; it also, in general, ends those wars which sometimes break out between two tribes subjected to this confederacy.

"When two tribes at war, after some months of mutual hostility, and when they have injured each other materially, are both desirous of peace, they secretly solicit the sovereign *purrah* to interfere between them and terminate their warfare. The grand *purrah* then assembles in a neutral canton; as soon as it is completely formed, it intimates to the

belligerent tribes, that they can no longer allow men who ought to live as brothers, as friends, and as good neighbours, to make war, destroy, pillage, and burn each other's lands; that it is time to put an end to these excesses; that the sovereign *purrah* will attend to the causes of this war; that it desires it shall be terminated; and in consequence, a suspension of hostilities is immediately commanded. It is a fundamental rule of this institution, that, from the moment the sovereign *purrah* is assembled to ordain a cessation of war, and till that cessation is finally pronounced, every warrior of the two belligerent tribes is prohibited from spilling a single drop of blood, and that under pain of death; hence, a suspension of hostilities is sure to be scrupulously observed.

"The supreme tribunal remains assembled for the space of one month, during which time they make the necessary inquiries to ascertain which tribe was guilty of aggression. During the same period, they convoke such a number of the warriors of the confederacy as will be necessary to execute the sentence they may pass. Finally, every information being collected, they judge and condemn the guilty tribe to a pillage of four days. The warriors destined to execute this decree, are all taken from the neutral cantons, and depart at midnight from the place where the sovereign *purrah* was assembled. They are all disguised, having their faces covered with hideous masks, and are armed with lighted torches and daggers. Dividing into detachments of forty, fifty, and sixty persons, they arrive unexpected, before the dawn of day, in the territory which they are about to pillage, and proclaim with a dreadful voice the decree of the sovereign tribunal. At their approach, men, women, and children, and even those who bend beneath the weight of

years, flee before them, and immure themselves in their houses. Should any one be met in the fields, roads, or streets, they are either murdered, or made captives; and in either case, they are never heard of afterwards. The produce of the pillage is divided into two parts; the one is given to the tribe who were injured and insulted, and the other to the sovereign *purrah*, who divide it with the warriors employed in the execution of their decree; this is the recompense for their zeal, obedience, and fidelity.

"When any family among the tribes submitted to the *purrah* becomes too powerful or too formidable, the sovereign *purrah* generally condemns them to a sudden pillage, which is executed by night, and always by warriors disguised and masked. If the chiefs of the family considered as dangerous should resist, they are either put to death, or carried away, and led into the secret recesses of their sacred and solitary forests, where the *purrah* judges them for their rebellion, when they almost always disappear for ever.

"Such is in part this extraordinary institution. Is is known to exist; the effects of its power are felt; it is dreaded; but the obscurity which covers its intentions, its deliberations, and its resolves, is impenetrable, and a delinquent knows not he is condemned, till he falls beneath the stroke of death. The terror and the dread with which this confederacy inspires the people in the countries where it is established, and even the neighbouring ones, is beyond all conception. The negroes of the bay of Sierra Leone speak of it with fear and reserve; they imagine all the members of this confederacy are sorcerers; that they have an intercourse with the devil; that they can exact whatever they choose, without its being possible

to do them any harm. The *purrah* likewise propagate these prejudices, by means of which they exercise an authority which no one dares to resist, but which, however, they seldom abuse, but make it a means to render them respected both at home and abroad.

"It is supposed that the number of warriors initiated and belonging to the *purrah*, amounts to more than six thousand; and yet the laws, the secrets, and the mysteries of this association, are scrupulously kept and maintained by these numerous confederates, who understand and know each other by certain words and signs."*

The Author's lively imagination has, no doubt, thrown a little colouring into this description; and the hypothesis which deduces this and other institutions of the Mandingoes from Old Egypt and Upper Ethiopia, may be ranked with many learned reveries of a similar gratuitous description, which derive plausibility from a few singular coincidences.† The leading facts, however, are sufficiently curious, and are amply confirmed by concurring testimony. The older Travellers speak of a nation called the *Sokkoes*, living somewhere to the N.W. of the Fantees, and speaking a dialect resembling that of Jallonkadoo, whose manners and laws bear some resemblance to those of the Soosoos. They are said to have, in particular, a mysterious order, called *Belli-Raaro*, similar to the *purrah* of the Soosoos.‡

* Golberry, vol. i. pp. 80—85.

† Even at present, this Writer affirms, the Egyptian cubit, or its fractions, is the measure used by many of these nations.

‡ Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 231. The title of the king of the Sokkohs, is stated to have been *mansa*, the Mandingo word for king, or master.

THE KOORANKOES.

KOORANKOO,* which Major Laing subsequently "skirted," in passing to Soolimana, is an extensive territory, subdivided into numerous petty states. It is bounded on the W. by the Bullom, Limba, and Timmanee countries; N. by Limba, Tamisso, and Soolimana; E. by Kissi, the Niger, and countries yet unknown; and S. by the countries bordering on the coast.

The Koorankoes, in language and costume, Major Laing informs us, are closely assimilated to the Mandingoes; but they are by no means so handsome or so intelligent a race of people, nor are they followers of Mohammed. The greater part of the population are Pagans, whose manners bear a stronger affinity to those of the Timmanees. Like them, they have unlimited faith in *Greegrees*, and have houses consecrated to them at the entrances of the towns. The head-men are clothed in the long Mandingo gown, trowsers, cap, and sandals. The scantier clothing of the women, resembles that of the Timmanees. They are great adepts in the art of dressing hair, and ornament each other's heads with great skill. The front hair being combed back, is gathered into two large balls, one over each temple, the summits of which are decorated with a cowry or mock coral bead; from these balls, a succession of neat

"* The kingdom of Kooranko," says Major Laing, "must extend a long distance to the eastward, as the natives of the district through which I passed, could give no definite idea of its extent in that direction; merely stating, that I could not reach the end of it in one moon, but having neither personal nor received information on which to ground the assertion; for no one that I have ever met, had ventured to travel far among their countrymen to the eastward, whom they described as savages without clothes, cruel, and barbarous.

plaits are suspended round the back of the head, to the ends of which are attached beads or cowries, and, among the dancers, hawks' bells. They file their teeth to a point, and are tattooed on the breast and back.

The Koorankoes cultivate much more ground than the Timmanees, and are in every respect a more industrious and intelligent people. Each house has its inclosed garden, in which are raised cassada,* spinach, small onions, and *tankara*,—a herb which, when dried and beaten, serves as a cheap substitute for snuff. They are great smokers: their pipes are about five feet in length.

Dancing is a prominent feature among their amusements; and every man of note has three or four performers on his establishment. At great festivals, the hired dancers, fancifully dressed out, parade the town during the day, and visit all the head people in succession, whom they amuse by their dexterous movements for a time, when they receive a present and depart. At sunset, the drum summons all to the dance. The musicians are in the centre, and the company dance round them at a side step, the whole facing inwards. "I have seen a dance of this kind," says Major Laing, "kept up without intermission for two days and three nights, the places of those retiring being immediately and constantly kept up."

The Koorankoes bury their dead the day after

* "More pains is taken by them in the rearing of cassada," says Major Laing, "than by any people I have met with; and it is quite usual, in speaking of Kooranko, to couple it with cassada, as, *Kooranko nye bartara*, Kooranko and cassada. This custom of designation is common in North-western Africa; and most countries are named in conjunction with some articles for which they are celebrated; as, *Foutah nye cosson*, Foutah and milk; *Soolima nye figga*, Soolima and ground-nuts; *Timanee nye korokolo*, Timmannee and rice; *Fooroto nye nafula*, white man and money."—Laing, p. 204.

demise; and the night of the funeral is spent in dancing, the exhibiters brandishing in both hands hatchets or spears. If the deceased was a person of consequence, musicians and mourners are hired; sheep and oxen are killed; and the feasting and crying are kept up for several days. They have no external worship, but, in their common conversation, frequent references occur to the will and power of the Deity.* The laws are few and inartificial. Murder is the only crime punishable with death, and that may be commuted, if the murderer has property enough to make the required compensation to the friends of the slain.

The staple article of trade is cam-wood, which is sent down the Rokelle and the Kamaranka, to be exchanged for various articles, chiefly salt. A considerable advantage is also derived from the extensive manufacture of cloth. The loom in which this is made, is very narrow. The weaver sits under an open shed, from the roof of which are suspended two frames of equal breadth with the roof, nicely divided with perpendicular strings: these are made, by a motion of the feet, to cross one another alternately; and the shuttle is, at each motion, cast through. In this manner they will work with much dexterity, and, if not obliged to stop for want of thread, will complete five yards in a day; but a woman can only spin as much thread in a week as will make a fathom of cloth. The sewing and weaving are performed by the men.†

* Such phrases as "Thank God for it," "I will if it pleases God," "May God bless you for it," "This is not man's work, but the work of God," which Major Laing ascribes to these negroes, must, obviously, have been borrowed from the Moslem tribes.

† Laing, pp. 194, 210.

A chain of hills, sixty miles in length, runs through the whole of Kooranko, in a N. E. direction. These are for the most part clothed, at their base, with the camwood-tree above referred to. The range is composed of very micaceous granite and mica-slate, with veins of quartz, and laterite, so strongly impregnated with iron, that, in some places, Major Laing found the needle drawn and repelled at the distance of several inches. The iron is extracted by the natives, by means of earthen furnaces. Major Laing describes the scenery as occasionally very beautiful. On leaving Nyiniah (or Konkofeel), one of the largest and best built towns in Kooranko, his route led up one of the hills to the eastward; and on descending the other side, a most delightful prospect presented itself. "An extensive valley, partly cultivated, and partly covered with long natural grass about five feet high,—the cultivated part newly sown; lines of stately palm-trees, as regular as if laid out by art; with here and there a cluster of camwood-trees, their deep shade affording a relief to the lighter hue of the smaller herbage; these, with a murmuring rivulet meandering through the centre, exhibited the appearance of a well cultivated and tastily-arranged garden, rather than a tract amid the wilds of Africa; while, in the distance, mountain towered above mountain in all the grandeur and magnificence of nature. After passing along the valley from W. to E., we again commenced ascending, and continued to do so in a south-easterly direction for about two hours; when we arrived at an extensive plain covered with short, thin grass. Traversing this plain in a course nearly N. E., we crossed two rapid rivulets running from the S. E., tributaries to the Rokelle. About a mile from Nyiniah, we fell in with the source of a fine stream which joins the

Kamaranka.* The spring forms a basin ten yards in diameter, embanked with masses of granite, and overhung with lofty trees, clad with a foliage so thick as to bid defiance to the piercing rays of even a vertical sun.....We finally halted for the day at a neat town called Neta Koota, which is sheltered by mountains from the N. and E. A few miles N. by E. from Neta Koota, we crossed the Ba Jafana, which running to the N. W., unites with the Rokelle after a course of fifteen or twenty miles. The bed is about fifteen yards in breadth, though only about three miles from its source, and is filled with granitic and quartzose pebbles, with abundance of laterite and other stones of a ferruginous quality. It springs from a mountain named Balakonko, situated in the S.E., where the natives procure the cam-wood in great quantities. The banks of the river are also lined with this wood, which grows to the height of 60 feet." †

Our Traveller had thus crossed the ridge which separates the head-streams of the Kamaranka, flowing southward, from those which reach the Rokelle. In the next day's route, about an hour and a half from Neta Koota, he crossed the Tongolelle, a noisy and rapid stream about thirty yards broad, dashing with violence over rocks of granite and beds of quartzy gravel: it runs to the N. W., and joins the Rokelle. The scenery now became more confined, but more bold and rugged, the route lying up the valley of this stream in a direction E.$\frac{1}{2}$S.; and at length it led to its source. "It takes its rise in a soft of basin surrounded with thick brushwood, and gives birth to a rich and luxuriant growth of wild canes in its centre, affording a

* All the rivulets running S. through these mountains, collect behind the lofty hill of Botato, and fall into the Kamaranka.

† Laing, pp. 161, 165.

cool retreat to the leopards which infest this part of the country. To such an extent are they dreaded, that the natives will not travel the paths, unless in parties and well armed. Indeed, so furious and rapacious are they, or, at all events, in so much terror are they held, that not a single village is to be met with in the whole path, an extent of five and twenty miles; and I observed," adds our Traveller, "the sites of several towns, now in ruin, the inhabitants of which had been forced to move to the westward, to avoid their attacks."*

After leaving this source, the route ascended a lofty eminence, called *Sa Wollé*, the summit of which, according to barometrical measurement, is 1900 feet above the level of the sea. From this elevation, Major Laing enjoyed one of the grandest and most extensive views he had ever beheld. A capacious circle, of nearly two degrees in diameter, interrupted only by a hill to the eastward, which rose considerably higher, presented a landscape of the most rich and varied scenery. Three lofty hills, which bore N. by E.½E., marked the situation of Ba Fodis, the most eastern town of the Limba country. A little to the eastward of them, the hills of Tamisso were barely discernible. But the most gratifying object was "the lovely Rokelle, rolling its serpentine course across the landscape from N. E. to S. W."†

* Laing, p. 174. "The rivulets which discharge themselves into the Rokelle, are picturesquely beautiful, dashing over rugged granitic rocks, several hundred feet in elevation."—Laing, p. 435.

† Laing, p. 180. The route subsequently crossed many rivulets, one falling into the Rokelle, and another running eastward along the bottom of the hill on which the town of Kamato stands, and discharging itself into an extensive swamp, which becomes dry in summer. This marsh was stated to increase every year; and

The source of this river, which Major Laing subsequently visited, is in the Soolima country, not far from the ruined town of Berria, to the east of Falaba, the present capital. It is well known to the natives under the name of *Sale Kungo* (the Rokelle Head); *Sale* being the native name of this river.* It issues from the foot of a hill, where, "springing from under a large rock, and shaded by a thick foliage of date-trees, it bubbles up, and scatters itself over a wide surface of red clay; in appearance like a stream formed by the bursting of a water-pipe in the streets. About a hundred yards or more below the source, the water collects into a channel of about a foot in breadth, and runs off rapidly to the S. S. E.; which course it continues for some miles, and then, making a circuitous sweep, shapes its course to the S. W. between Setacolia and Tigiatamba, by which time, having received considerable tributary assistance, it assumes a respectable appearance, and is barely fordable. Were it not," adds Major Laing, "for the gratification I derived from having traced to its very source, the river so important to the colony of Sierra Leone, and of which little had been previously known beyond the town of Rokon, I should have enjoyed little satisfaction from any corresponding association in the circumjacent scenery, there being nothing either picturesque or agreeable in the view. We were surrounded with a

"I think it not improbable," adds Major Laing, "that, in time, it may become a lake, which, by overflowing its embankments to the southward, may ultimately unite with the Kamaranka."

* "It is the only river in Africa, with which I am acquainted," says this Traveller, "which bears one name from the source to the sea." Yet, this name has hitherto been unknown to geography; and no writer who has described the coast, seems to have been aware of the proper appellation of the river. *Kung* is the Mandingo for head; in Soosoo, *Kunji*.

dismal, melancholy, cold-looking wood, the only cleared spot in which had been made by ourselves, except the occasional tracks of the bulky elephants, many of which, as well as those of the buffalo, had been crossed during our walk, and who continually apprised us of their vicinity by their noise."*

The source of the Rokelle, which, according to this Traveller's map, is in latitude 9° 45′ N., longitude 9° 55′ W., was ascertained to be, by barometrical measurement, 1470 feet above the Atlantic. On ascending the eminence from the base of which it issues, the hill of Loma, which contains the source of the Niger, was seen at the distance of about twenty-five miles S. by E. ½ E. It is the highest ground in the neighbourhood, "and seemed, as it raised its crest in dark and swarthy greatness, to frown on the surrounding country." The very point from which the "great river" issues, was shewn to our Traveller; and one good day's march, had the state of the country been favourable, would have enabled him to reach the spot; but circumstances rendered it impracticable.† There is a lofty sugar-loaf hill, called *Konko-doogore* (hill-country, *Mandingo*), about four miles S. of Falaba, and the highest in the Soolima country, from which Major Laing had previously seen Mount Loma bearing S. E.; while towards the N. E. were pointed out to him the hills containing the sources of the river Mungo, "better known by the name of the Small Scarcies, but improperly, being a more considerable river than the Great Scarcies." The three hills amid which it rises, commence a chain running to the westward, and separating Tamisso

* Laing, pp. 320, 321.

† See page 87 of the present volume.

and Jallonkadoo from Foutah Jallon: thence, passing through the Soosoo country, it extends to the coast.

THE SOOLIMAS.

SOOLIMANA, the proper country of the Soolimas, into whose territory our Traveller had now penetrated, is a tract of country extending from near Falaba (in latitude 9° 49′, longitude 10° 25′ W.) to the left bank of the Joliba, and about sixty miles in breadth from N. to S. The country, however, which the Soolimas occupy, is a strip of land in the Kooranko country, bounded on the S. by the Rokelle, on the N. by Footah Jallon,* on the W. by Limba and Tamisso, and on the E. by Kooranko and Soolimana. The latter, their native territory, Major Laing says, "since the wars with Footah Jallon, is merely used as farming ground, and resided upon temporarily. The face of the Soolima country is picturesque in the extreme, being diversified with hills, extensive vales, and fertile meadows, belted with strips of wood, and decorated with clumps of trees of the densest foliage. The geological features, like those of all countries in Western Africa, are of no particular interest: the hills are of primitive formation, composed of a whitish granite, being principally mica and feldspar, with occasional strata of red and blue mica slate imbedded on the granite. The valleys consist of a rich vegetable and mineral soil, mixed with the sand annually washed down

* Teembo, the capital of Footah Jallon, (see pp. 55—67,) is only three short days' journey N. ¼ W. from Falaba, and is placed by Major Laing in latitude 10° 25′ N. Footah Jallon is, according to this Traveller, part of Jallon-kadoo, i. e. Sonakie-country or Toper's-land. "*Jallon* signifies strong liquor; *Jallonka*, a man who drinks strong liquor; *Jallonkadoo*, the country of the people who drink strong liquor."—Laing, p. 402.

by the torrents. The soil is remarkable for its fertility." The chief produce is rice, yams, which are planted as potatoes are in England, and ground-nuts, which are cultivated like our field-peas. Bananas, pines, and oranges are the principal fruits; but the first only are found in any degree of perfection. The Soolimas have numerous herds and flocks, and a diminutive kind of poultry. The elephant, the buffalo, a species of antelope, monkeys, leopards, and wolves are the wild animals.

The principal Soolima towns are all situated in the Kooranko country: these are, Falaba, the capital, Sangonia,* Semba,† Mousaiah, and Konko-doogore ;‡ containing in all about 25,000 souls. Falaba derives its name from the river Fala, on which it stands. It was built in 1768, by the Soolima king, as a strong place of protection against his enemies, the Foolahs. It is nearly a mile and a half in length by a mile in breadth, and closely built, compared with the generality of African towns. It contains upwards of 6000 inhabitants, when all are assembled; but this seldom happens, except on festivals, as a great part are generally absent on warlike excursions or at the neighbouring farms. The site is well chosen as a place of defence, being on a gently rising eminence in the centre of a large plain. The ground in the immediate

* A "very large town" on the borders of Footah Jallon, ten miles from Falaba, which, in 1800, withstood a siege by an army of 10,000 Foolahs headed by Almammy Abdoolkhader in person. The besiegers were repulsed with considerable loss. It is surrounded with a strong and lofty clay wall, perforated with loopholes for musketry.—Laing, p. 263.

† Semba is a "large, populous, and rich town near the southern frontier, situated on a very lofty eminence, 1490 feet above the level of the sea."—Laing, p. 220.

‡ A stage from Semba in the hills.

vicinity is converted into a swamp by the rains. The town is surrounded with a strong stockade of hard wood, with seven well-protected entrances, and a ditch 20 feet deep and as many broad, which renders it quite impregnable according to the system of African warfare. The town is of an oblong form, containing about 4000 circular clay huts, with pyramidal roofs of thatch: these are extremely neat and clean; in many instances, Major Laing says, "even elegant." The *palaver*, or court-house, stands in an open space, towards the southern extremity of the town, and is a place of recreation as well as of business. In the centre of the town, a large piece of ground is left vacant for the purposes of exercise, of receiving strangers, and of holding great palavers. Here, on such occasions, the root of an old tree serves the monarch for a throne, its branches forming a natural canopy. The reigning king and some of the elders were Moslem, while the younger part were pagans: and the consequence of this divided state of opinion was, that there were neither mosques nor fetish-houses in the town, except at the southern gate, near which the Soolima field-marshal had been permitted to erect a small clay hut, dedicated to his protecting *greegree*. The majority even of the Kaffirs, however, hold in contempt the grosser superstitions of the neighbouring nations; and they would probably, Major Laing says, have adopted the religion of their king, had it not been also that of their inveterate enemies, the Foolahs, from whom it is their ambition to be as different as possible. This was not always the case; since, up to the year 1760, the Foolahs and Soolimas were in close alliance, and carried on their slaving wars together.* Mutual jealousies then arose,

* The Kissi and Limba people were the chief victims of these

which were soon exasperated into the bitterest animosity. Teembo was completely destroyed by the Soolimas; and every Foolah found in their territory, was massacred. Until the year 1776, the two nations were engaged in constant warfare with various success; but in 1778, a grand victory obtained by the Foolahs, decided their superiority for a time in the open field. They are now apparently tired of fighting each other; and the Soolimas had of late years confined their incursions to the territories of their neighbours, the Kourankoes and Limbas, for the avowed purpose of procuring slaves.*

The Soolimas are, in person, short and muscular, and well adapted to endure fatigue and privation. Their military weapons are, the spear, the musket, the sling, and the bow: the first, they carry more for ornament than use, as they rarely come to close quarters; the second is more for noise than for mortal effect; but, in the use and management of the latter two, they are most expert. Where their predatory habits do not interfere, they appear mild and inoffensive in disposition. In their domestic occupations, the men and women seem to have changed places. With the exception of sowing and reaping, the cares of husbandry devolve on the women, while the men attend to the dairy. The former are the masons, plasterers, barbers, and surgeons; the latter employ themselves in sewing, and not unfrequently in washing clothes.

inroads; and the captives were sold to the Mandingoes and Soosoos for European goods.

* The good king expressed himself willing to abandon this nefarious system, if the *Tubigiggo* men (people from the west) would take something else than slaves for their goods or money; but he dwelt on the strong temptation to continue the trade in slaves, while white men could be found to purchase them, and money could be got for them so easily and certainly.—Laing, pp. 381—3.

The dress of both sexes is similar in make to that of the Mandingoes, but they will wear no cloth that has not been dyed black with ditch water and iron ore, or yellow with the bark of the *neta*-tree. Prior to their rupture with the Foolahs, they dressed as Mohammedans; but since that occurrence, it has been the fashion to appear as different from them as possible. The women, as a distinction from those of Foota Jallon, wear their gold ear-ring in the left ear only, or sometimes two or three in that ear. In other respects, they dress as in Kooranko, the cloth being a little larger. When young, they are sometimes "exceedingly beautiful;" but owing, in great measure, to the hard labour they undergo, they become at an early age disgustingly ugly. Like all other African females, Major Laing says, they are immoral; but their demeanour was, in general, at once kind and decorous, and they appeared pleased at being treated with respect. They conceal their faces when they either eat or drink in the presence of men.

Murder is the only crime punishable among the Soolimas with death, and their mode of trial bears a rude resemblance to trial by jury. Fines, stripes, and slavery are the penalties incurred by other crimes. The marriage ceremonies are much the same as those of the Timmanees: the bride is purchased of the parents, and the King has his tithe on the sum. The dead are followed to the grave, and committed to the ground in perfect silence; but a day is fixed within a month after the interment, to "make custom for the deceased." The numbers invited to the entertainment are proportioned to the rank of the family; and the day is spent in merriment of the most extravagant nature. The Soolimas are passionately fond of music: their principal instruments are the *kora*, a sort of

guitar, a flute with only three notes, the *ballafoe*, and other drums of different sizes. Unlike the Mandingoes, who are described by Park as being excellent surgeons, but bad physicians, the Soolimas possess many herbs of strong medicinal qualities, with the nature and uses of which they are well acquainted; but their attempts at surgery, beyond the operations of bleeding and cupping, are wretched in the extreme.*

Major Laing was struck with the resemblance of some of the Soolima customs to those of ancient Rome. These, he was induced to note down from time to time in his memorandum-book; and he gives them in the succession in which they occurred to him, premising, that he does not mean to imply that the resemblance is other than accidental.

"The elders are always consulted by the King on matters of moment, and are addressed by him as 'fathers'.

"The palaver-house, like the Roman forum, is in the open air; and all persons are entitled to the privilege of hearing the debates.

"A Soolima general is called *kelle-mansa*, or war master; and, in returning from war with his army, is not permitted to enter the gates of the town till he has sent to ask, and has received permission. On his entry, he loses the title and office of *kelle-mansa*, and is addressed by his own proper name.

"In the palavers of the Soolimas, an orator may harangue an assembly from sunrise to sunset, without the smallest opposition from those who differ from

* Laing, pp. 355–371. The Author's life was apparently saved by one of the country doctors, who cupped him during a state of insensibility and delirium. "They first scarify the skin with a sharp razor, and then apply a small calabash gourd from which the air has been expelled by fire."

him in opinion; and his antagonist will, from memory, reply to every part of his speech, the next day, as regularly as if he had kept notes. When opposite sentiments are delivered, the Soolimas signify their concurrence by gestures, and frequently by exclamations; as of assent—'True, good, he speaks the truth'; or of dissent or disapprobation, by the very expressive word, '*Fane*, *fane*'—a lie, a lie. But if any man takes up the time of the meeting idly, or in discussing matters foreign to the purpose, the king interferes; on which occasion, his usual exclamation is, '*Atto*, *atto*'—have done, have done. The Soolima orators have a set form, both in commencing and in concluding their speeches. Every palaver is written out and registered by the Foolahs, and is committed to memory and sung by the jelle-men in Soolima.

"All men are addressed in public as boys, till the beard has assumed the hoary whiteness of age.

"Surnames, derived from particular circumstances or occasions, are common. Two daughters have the same name, with the addition of an equivalent to major and minor.

"Men become slaves by being taken in war, by sale, by way of punishment, or by being born so. A Soolima contracting a debt which he is unable to pay, and being cited before the king, becomes the slave of his creditor. A Soolima cannot marry his slave without the consent of the king; and on the night of marriage, she becomes free.

"Fathers are maintained by their sons. Ground where a body is buried, becomes *greegree* or sacred.—The reader acquainted with the early history of Rome, will have no difficulty in recollecting the parallel customs."*

* Laing, pp. 361–365.

This Traveller gives us no information respecting the dialect spoken by the Soolimas,* but it is evident from many of the words which are given, that it is either the Mandingo or a dialect of that language. We may therefore conclude, that the Soolimas are, in fact, notwithstanding a few peculiar characteristics, a tribe of that widely extended and interesting race, to whom we have had so frequent occasion to refer. Before we take a final leave of this part of Western Africa, we must gather up the scattered notices furnished by this Traveller and other authorities, relating to the customs and manners of this people.

THE MANDINGOES.

It has already been stated, that the original country of the Mandingoes, from which they appear to take their name, is an elevated region about 700 miles eastward from the coast; forming, in fact, part of the region indefinitely called Jallonkadoo. It was traversed by Mr. Park in his first journey, in his homeward route from Sego to Pisania; and to him we are chiefly indebted for our imperfect knowledge of the country. It was at Taffara, a town situated near the mouth of the Frina, a small stream that falls into the Niger, that Mr. Park first noticed a change "from the corrupted dialect of Bambarra to the pure Mandingo." From this place, he pursued a route along the north-western side of the river, passing several large towns, which derive their importance from the trade in salt, till he reached Bammakoo. About half a day to the westward of this place, he was told, the

* On one occasion, the king spoke to an attendant "in *Jallunka*," supposing the Author's interpreter did not understand him; but what that language is, we are not told.

route crossed the Joliba at a ferry, but there were no canoes large enough to receive his horse. He was therefore advised to take a route, the only alternative, which led over the hills to Sibidooloo, "the frontier town of the kingdom of Manding," situated in a fertile valley surrounded with rocky hills.* During the frequent wars between the Bambarrans, Foolahs, and Mandingoes, this town had never been plundered by an enemy. From this place to Kamalia, the country appears to be well peopled, and the district of Jerijang is described as particularly beautiful and well cultivated. Every town has its *mansa*, and the Mohammedan religion generally prevails. At Kamalia, where the bushreens and kaffirs live in distinct towns, Mr. Park was treated with the most generous hospitality on the part of a bushreen; and he remained there from the middle of September to the following April, when he joined a *kofla* who were proceeding to the Gambia. Worumbang, two stages from Kamalia, is the frontier village of Manding towards Jallonkadoo. The road then enters the woods of "the great Jallonka wilderness;" but, to save a day's provisions, they diverged from the direct route to the town of Kinytakooro, situated in a large and well cultivated plain watered by the Kokoro, one of the principal head-streams of the Senegal. After leaving this place, they travelled for five days through a country totally uninhabited, in some parts wild and rocky, yet, in others, beautifully undulating, wooded, and abounding with partridges, guinea-fowl, and deer. In this part of the route, no fewer than three

* From the summit of one of these hills, some distant mountains appeared towards the S.E., which Mr. Park recognised as having seen from near Marraboo, where he was informed that they are situated in a large and powerful kingdom called Kong.

large rivers were crossed, (the Wonda, the Tomeissang, and the Boki,) all flowing to the Senegal, besides several rivulets.* It might seem, at first, difficult to account for the abandoned state of these "gloomy wilds." Mr. Park remarks, that he found many extensive and beautiful districts entirely destitute of inhabitants; and in general, the borders of the different kingdoms were either very thinly peopled or entirely deserted. The ruins of two towns burned by the Foolahs, which were passed soon after entering the wilderness, indicated too plainly the real cause of the apparent depopulation: it is the slaving wars carried on to supply the markets on the coast, that have driven the kaffir tribes into the mountains, and converted large portions of fertile territory into a wilderness.†

* Mr. Park was told by his hospitable host at Kamalia, that it is impossible to cross the Jallonka wilderness during the rainy months, as no fewer than eight rapid rivers lie in the way, which are not then fordable. The *Kokoro* derives its name, which means dangerous, from its rapidity and its abounding with crocodiles. When Mr. Park crossed it, it was only a small stream, "such as would turn a mill," and swarming with fish; but, from the grass and brushwood left by the stream, it had evidently risen more than 20 feet during the rainy season. Two smaller branches of this river were subsequently crossed, which are probably included in the "eight rivers." The principal branch of the Senegal was crossed at a bridge of bamboos.

† "One great motive of the Africans in making slaves," says Captain Beaver, "indeed I may say the only one, is to procure European goods: slaves are the money, the circulating medium with which great African commerce is carried on: they have no other. If, therefore, we could substitute another more certain and more abundant, the great object in trading in slaves would be done away."—Afr. Mem., p. 395. "The most dreadful thing is," remarks M. Malte Brun, "that the African princes, in order to get possession of a hundred men, often sacrifice a thousand; for, when these despots do not find individuals whom they can condemn to be sold, they regularly hunt down the inhabitants of an entire

The language spoken all over that extensive and hilly country called Jallonkadoo, has, in many words, an obvious affinity to the Mandingo, although the natives, Mr. Park says, consider theirs as a distinct language. Their numerals approach in sound to those of the Soosoos, who are evidently a Mandingo tribe; and the difference is not greater than might be expected to arise from a variation of dialect.* The Soosoo, however, seems to be a mixed or mongrel language, which has received a considerable portion of Foolah. In like manner, the Mandingo has been corrupted, in Bambarra, into a distinct dialect. But there can be little doubt that this language, which is spoken from the Atlantic to the Niger, may be regarded as the connecting link between the indigenous tribes scattered over the whole of the elevated regions containing the sources of the great rivers of Senegambia and Nigritia.

The physical characteristics of the Mandingoes have already been described, as well as several of their customs.† To these, a few particulars remain to be added. Circumcision is practised alike by bushreens and kaffirs, but is not performed till the children have reached the age of puberty. A number of young persons undergo the rite at the same time; they are then formed into a class or society, called *Solimana*, and for two months afterwards enjoy singular privileges,

village, like a flock of deer. Some make an armed resistance; others flee to the woods, to the dens of lions and panthers. Several tracts of country have been successively depopulated by these atrocities."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. pp. 278, 9.

* As given by Park, the first five numerals are, *kidding, fidding, sarra, nani, soolo.* In Soosoo, these are called *kering, fering, eaka, nani, sooli.* In Mandingo, *kiling, fula, sabi, nani, lulu.* See Kilham's Specimens.

† See pp. 64, 121—127, of this volume.

being during that time exempted from every sort of labour: they spend their holiday in visiting the neighbouring towns and villages, where they dance and sing, and are well treated by the inhabitants.*

The children of the Mandingoes undergo, however, a rite of a different kind in infancy. "A child is named," says Mr. Park, "when it is seven or eight days old.† The ceremony commences by shaving the infant's head; and a dish called *dega*, made of pounded corn and sour milk, is prepared for the guests. If the parents are rich, a sheep or goat is commonly added. The feast is called *Ding-koon-lee*, 'the child's head-shaving.' During my stay at Kamalia, I was present at four different feasts of this kind; and the ceremony was the same in each, whether the child belonged to a bushreen or a kaffir. The schoolmaster who officiated as priest on these occasions, and who is necessarily a bushreen, first said a long prayer over the *dega*, during which every person present took hold of the brim of the calabash with his right hand. After this, the school-master took the child in his arms, and said a second prayer, in which he repeatedly solicited the blessing of God upon the child, and upon all the company. When this prayer was ended, he whispered a few sentences in the child's ear, and spat three times in its face;

* Park, vol. i. p. 259.—The meaning of the word *Solimana* is not given, but it is probably the origin of the national name of the Soolimas. Golberry gives an account of a similar practice as prevailing among the Bambookians. These classes consist of both sexes, but, while allowed great liberty, they are under vigilant superintendence. The only parties Mr. Park saw, were, however, all young men.

† "The children are not always named after their relations, but frequently in consequence of some remarkable occurrence. Other names are descriptive of good or bad qualities; as *Modi*, a good man; *Fadibba*, father of the town, &c."

after which he pronounced its name aloud, and returned the infant to the mother. This part of the ceremony being ended, the father of the child divided the *dega* into a number of balls, one of which he distributed to every person present. An inquiry was then made, whether any person in the town was dangerously sick; it being usual in such cases to send the party a large portion of the *dega*, which is thought to possess medical virtues.*

"Among the Negroes, every individual, besides his own proper name, has likewise a *kontong*, or surname, to denote the family or clan to which he belongs. Some of these families are very numerous and powerful. It is impossible to enumerate the various *kontongs* which are found in different parts of the country; though the knowledge of many of them is of great service to the Traveller; for, as every Negro plumes himself upon the importance or the antiquity of his clan, he is much flattered when he is addressed by his *kontong*." †

Maternal affection is every where conspicuously manifest among the Mandingoes; and the greatest affront that could be offered to a native, is to reflect on her who gave him birth. The women suckle their children till they are able to walk; and "three years' nursing is not uncommon." One of the first lessons in which the Mandingo women instruct their children, is the practice of truth.‡ The Mandingoes allow to

* "Soon after (this) baptism, the children are marked in different parts of the skin, in a manner resembling the tattooing in the South Sea Islands."

† Park, vol. i. pp. 262, 3.

‡ A mother whose son had been mortally wounded by a shot from a Moor, while quite frantic with grief, was heard venting her feelings by reiterating, *Ee maffo fomo abada*—'he never told a lie, no never.' This was her consolation.—Park, vol. i. p. 99.

their wives considerable liberty; and this indulgence, Mr. Park says, is seldom abused. They are, however, little better than slaves, being obtained by purchase of their parents. The value of two slaves is a common price for a wife, unless she is thought very handsome. When there are several wives, (as is usually the case,) each is mistress or superintendent of the household in rotation. In case of ill treatment from the husband, the wife has an appeal to the chief of the town, and the affair is brought to a public trial. But, if the cause go against the complainant, "the magic rod of Mumbo Jumbo soon puts an end to the business." This singular custom requires a particular description.

"This strange minister of justice," says Mr. Park, "who is supposed to be either the husband himself, or some one instructed by him, disguised in a sort of masquerade habit made of the bark of trees, and armed with the rod of public authority, announces his coming, whenever his services are required, by loud and dismal screams in the woods near the town. He begins the pantomime at the approach of night: as soon as it is dark, he enters the town, and proceeds to the *Bentang* (place of assembly), at which all the inhabitants immediately assemble. It may easily be supposed, that this exhibition is not much relished by the women; for, as the person in disguise is entirely unknown to them, every married female suspects that the visit may possibly be intended for herself; but they dare not refuse to appear when they are summoned. The ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, about which time Mumbo fixes on the offender. This unfortunate victim being thereupon immediately seized, is stripped naked, tied to a post, and severely scourged with Mumbo's

rod, amidst the shouts and derision of the whole assembly; and it is remarkable, that the rest of the women are the loudest in their exclamations on this occasion against their unhappy sister. Day-light puts an end to this indecent and unmanly revel."*

"When a person of consequence dies, the relations and neighbours meet together, and manifest their sorrow by loud and dismal howlings. A bullock or goat is killed for such persons as come to assist at the funeral, which generally takes place on the evening of the same day on which the party died. The Negroes have no appropriate burial-places, and frequently dig the grave in the floor of the deceased's hut, or in the shade of a favourite tree. The body

* Park, vol. i. p. 38. Golberry gives an account of the same institution under the name of Mamma Jamboh, vol. i. p. 85. Moore mentions it with some additional particulars. After describing the dress as a long coat made of the bark of trees, with a tuft of fine straw on the top of it, he adds: "This is a thing invented by the men to keep their wives in awe, who are so ignorant, or, at least, are obliged to pretend to be so, as to take it for a wild man." "The sound, indeed, is said to be so dismal, that only the most positive assurance to the contrary, could make any one suspect that it issued from a human voice. Whenever any dissension takes place within the domestic circle, this umpire is speedily called in, and pronounces and executes sentence almost invariably against the weaker party. During the day, the coat is hung on a long pole, in order to be ready whenever its services are required. Youths are initiated into this society at the age of sixteen, but bound by the most dreadful oaths never to divulge its arcana to any female. It seems that, about the year 1727, the wife of the king of Jagra, being endowed with more than the usual curiosity of her sex, wrested from her husband this fatal secret. The fact having transpired, a council of the men was immediately held, to consider in what manner it would henceforth be possible to keep their wives in subjection. A signal example was judged indispensable; and the fact being proved, both the king and queen were put to death, as a warning to all who should ever again seek or allow others to pry into so awful a mystery."—Murray, vol. i. pp. 208, 9.

is dressed in white cotton, and wrapped up in a mat. It is carried to the grave, in the dusk of the evening, by the relations. If the grave is without the town, a number of prickly bushes are laid upon it, to prevent the wolves from digging up the body; but I never observed," adds Mr. Park, "that any stone was placed over the grave as a monument or memorial."* M. Golberry, however, asserts, that at Albreda, on the Gambia, the sepulchres of the Mandingoes are all collected together in an inclosure, planted with trees; that he had known these tombs to be visited by the relatives, and by affectionate children, who would ornament with flowers these "monuments;" and that he had seen a young girl place a vessel full of milk on the tomb of her mother, as an offering."† These Mandingoes of Barra, however, are described as being all zealous Moslems. They are characterised, moreover, as very active, sensible, and cunning in commercial affairs; yet, in their general character, hospitable, benevolent, and sociable; and their women are very lively and amiable‡. Mr. Park speaks of their general character in similar terms, which have already been cited. And the testimony of Major Laing may be adduced to complete our description.

"The Mandingoes," says this Traveller, "are a very shrewd people, and superior to any who inhabit the extent of Western Africa, from the boundaries of Morocco to the southward. They are not of ancient residence on the water side, having emigrated not more than a century since from Manding..... The first emigrants settled in the countries surrounding the Gambia, but detached parties found their way

* Park, vol. i. p. 271. † Golberry, vol. ii. p. 261.
‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 122. See also p. 64 of this volume.

subsequently, both to the northward and southward; for they are of an unsettled, migratory disposition, and are to be found traversing Africa, for the purposes of trade or war, from Tangiers to the American settlement at Cape Mesurado.

"The costume of the Mandingoes is extremely plain, simple, neat, and becoming; consisting of a cap, shirt, trowsers, and sandals. The cap is composed of blue or red cloth, is conical, and neatly worked with different-coloured threads. The shirt, which hangs loosely over the trowsers, is truly simple in its construction, being formed of about a fathom or more of blue or white baft, doubled, with a small hole cut in the top, to admit the head; the sides are sewed up about half way, leaving sufficient room for the play of the arms. Trowsers, of the same materials, reach merely to the knee; they are made very wide, and gathered round the loins with a strong piece of tape. The width of the trowsers is a great mark of distinction among the Mandingoes: hence, the common expression among them, *Koorté Abooniato* (large trowsers), which is synonymous with great man. To such an extent, indeed, do they carry this fashion, that I have known a head-man with a whole piece of baft, being about twenty yards, made into one pair. The females wear a *pang*-cloth of baft, about a yard in width round the waist, impending as far as the calf of the leg, and a shawl or some fancy cloth suspended from the head, and covering the neck and shoulders, if they are not at work: with this cloth they also conceal their faces, if required to eat or drink in the presence of a man.

"There are four trades or professions, to which conjointly is given the appellation of *Nyimahalah*; they rank in the order in which they are enumerated,

and consist of the *fino*, or orator; the *jellé*, or minstrel; the *guarangé*, or shoemaker; and the *noomo*, or blacksmith; all of whom are high in the scale of society, and are possessed of great privileges.* They travel throughout the country unmolested, even in war; and strangers, if of the sable hue, are always safe under their protection. The *guarangé* and *noomo* earn their livelihood by the exercise of their respective trades; the *fino*, by his oratory and subtlety as a lawyer; and the *jellé*, by singing the mighty deeds and qualifications of rich men, who, in his opinion, have no faults. Like the minstrels of old, they are always at hand, to laud with hyperbolical praise the landlord of a feast, or the head-man of a town. The distinctions of rank, although kept up among the Mandingoes more than among the generality of African tribes, are, nevertheless, few. The priests and teachers of the Koran are held in estimation next to the king or ruler of a country. The respect which they shew to learning, is a trait in their character much to be admired. The next in order to the priests and teachers, are the subordinate chiefs and head-men. Then follow the *Nyimahalahs* (no matter from what country); after them, dependent freemen; and, lastly, slaves,—divided into domestic, or those born in the country, who are not liable to be sold contrary to their inclinations, and those taken in war, or enslaved on

* See pp. 122—4 of this volume. According to this representation, the trades which form degraded castes among the Yolofs, and even the Foulahs, are, among the Mandingoes, honourable callings; so different is the genius of a commercial or trading people, like the latter nation, from that of a pastoral and warlike tribe, among whom the useful arts are generally contemned, and a species of feudalism is almost uniformly found to prevail.

account of debt, or by way of punishment. This division resembles that of the ancient Romans.

"A destitute old man is unknown among the Mandingoes. A son considers it as his first duty to look after and provide for his aged father's comfort; and if he is unfortunate enough to have lost his own, he perhaps looks for some aged sire, who, being without children, requires the care and attention of youth. There is no nation with which I am acquainted, where age is treated with so much respect and deference.

"The appearance of the Mandingo is engaging; their features are regular and open; their persons well formed and comely, averaging a height rather above the common..... A Mandingo, unless he is a *Nyimahalah*, seldom walks abroad without his gun; and every man carries with him a cutlass or knife, suspended to his right thigh, which instrument serves for many purposes, viz., to cut his way through the wood; to chop his cassada; to defend himself against an enemy; and to assist in cutting up a bullock at a feast: this last operation he performs in a skilful manner, for there are few Mandingoes who are not excellent butchers..... Their education, in general, consists in learning to read and write a few passages from the Koran, and to recite a few prayers. During their education, a period of three or four years, they are under the care of, and perform menial offices for the priest or *maraboo* who instructs them, and to whom the parents pay occasional instalments in the shape of presents, until a certain sum is made up; nor can the youth be taken from the hands of his master, till the education-money is made good. The hours of instruction are generally after sunset; when, seated round a blazing fire, the children read aloud

their task, which is written with a pen or reed upon an oblong white painted board.*

"The religion is Mohammedan, but they are not rigid in its observances.† They repeat a short prayer and make a rotatory motion with the fore-finger, on first beholding a new-moon, the appearance of which they calculate with precision, reckoning her age from the time of her becoming visible. They draw many omens from her phases; beyond which, and the wearing of *greegrees* or *safies* (small prayers written by *maraboos*, and cased in stained leather), as antidotes to evil, their superstition does not appear to extend. They commence and terminate all their palavers with prayer, the whole assemblage responding to the final sentences, *Amena* (Amen), in a manner truly decorous and impressive." ‡

It has been remarked, that, from the nature of the climate, the civilizers of Africa must be Africans; and in the Mandingoes we seem to have a people remarkably adapted both to receive and to diffuse a higher degree of civilization than their Mohammedan teachers have been qualified to impart. In their *maraboos* and schoolmasters, we have an order of men who might be converted into most efficient instruments of dispensing a purer faith; and Christian *maraboos* would, as the Moslem have done, make almost as many converts as they can find scholars. A schoolmaster in Africa seems to be as highly honoured as a physician in the East.

Labi, in Foutah Jallon,* appears to be at present

* See p. 52 of this volume, and p. 119 of vol. ii.

† Like other African Moslems, they pray five times a-day; viz. at sun-rise (*sungofoo*), at 2 P.M. (*soolufana*), at 4 P.M. (*lahansarra*), at sun-set (*sungomané*), and at 8 P.M.

‡ Laing, pp. 124—137.

the chief focus of Mohammedan civilization in these countries, and may be styled the Fez of Western Africa.* A missionary stationed there, in the capacity of a schoolmaster, who should unite an acquaintance with the Koranic Arabic to a knowledge of the Mandingo and Foulah languages, would have a most extended field of usefulness; and though it might not be expedient to undertake versions of the entire Bible in the vernacular dialects, spelling-books and tracts might be most useful, as well as Arabic Psalters and New Testaments. Instead of educating scholars, it has been suggested, it would be desirable to educate schoolmasters. The English language is making its way, and the spread of that language insures the eventual spread of the religion of the Bible; but nothing would tend more directly to promote its diffusion, than the cultivation of the unwritten dialects.†

* See p. 68. The great Maraboot, Salem Gherladoo, of Labi, Major Laing says, is well reputed through the three Foutahs for having brought up some of the best book-men in the country; amongst whom were Abdul Khader, the almamy of Foutah Jallon, and Assana Yeera, the reigning sovereign of the Soolimas. The latter had also learned a good many English words of a Mandingo who had been a short time at Sierra Leone, which he wrote in the Arabic character, and referred to as occasion required. He called a snake *soonake;* a horse, *hause;* a stocking, *setokin;* an elephant, *alfa*.—Laing, pp. 375, 6.

† The immediate object of the "Committee for promoting African Instruction," instituted by the Society of Friends, was to cultivate some of the unwritten languages of Africa, and to "supply to the school-children, through the medium of their own languages, a little introduction to the knowledge of English." See Kilham's Specimens. We know not how the undertaking has been followed up; but it must be regretted, that the Mandingo has not received that particular attention which its extensive prevalence demands. A few Arabic Psalters and Testaments have been sent out by the British and Foreign Bible Society to Sierra Leone, but nothing has hitherto been done for the interior countries.

WINDWARD COAST.

We must now hasten to complete our topographical sketch of the countries of Guinea. At Cape Mount, (which takes its name from some very high land seen at a great distance off at sea,) begins what is usually called the Windward Coast. This is divided into three parts: the Grain Coast, which terminates at Cape Palmas; the Ivory Coast, extending from that point to the mouth of the Lagos; and the Coast of Adoo, terminating at the mouth of the Assinee. The Gold Coast commences about twenty leagues westward of Cape Apollonia, and terminates at Accra or the river Volta. Then comes the Slave Coast; to which succeeds that of Whidah, Benin, and Waree; then that of Calabar, and that of the river Gabon. All these countries together form Guinea in its strictest acceptation *.

The kingdom of Cape Mount extends 160 miles from W. to E., and about 100 miles inland. Its capital, Coosea, situated about 60 miles up the country, is said to contain nearly 15,000 inhabitants. There are several rivers on this part of the coast, navigable for small vessels a considerable way up. Camwood, ivory, rice, and palm-oil, are the chief articles of exoort.†

LIBERIA.

On this part of the coast, an American colony has recently been formed, composed of Africo-Americans and liberated Africans, to which has been given the name of Liberia. Monrovia, the colonial town, is situated half a mile from the mouth of the Mesurado

* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 230. † Hutton, p. 32.

(Mont-Serado), and already contains a coloured population of about 1000 persons. The children, amounting to about 230, are instructed in six schools upon the British system, united under a common superintendant. A strong fort, a court-house, several places of worship, and a public library, have been erected. Four factories have been formed on the coast, between which and the town a constant communication and traffic are kept up by schooners belonging to the colony.* The district of country which comes more especially within the influence of the colony, extends from the River Gallinas, about 100 miles N. W. of Monrovia, as far eastward as the Kroo country. Of the natives inhabiting this part of the coast, the following information has been furnished by Mr. Ashmun, the late agent of the American Colonization Society at Liberia.

The first fifty miles of coast from Monrovia towards the N. W., extending to Cape Mount, is occupied by the Dey tribe, numbering between 6000 and 7000 persons. They are described as habitually indolent and pacific, but treacherous, and, when their passions are excited, cruel. Their villages extend not more than fifteen miles inland.

The coast between Cape Mount and the Gallinas, belongs to the Fy or Vey tribe, whose settlements extend thirty miles inland, and who are supposed to amount to upwards of 12,000 souls. Until recently,

* "Four new decked schooners have been already built and fitted for sea, and have actually gone abroad under the flag of the colony; three more of the same description, all new, will follow in a very few weeks; and these are exclusive of three more decked schooners, and a variety of open coasting craft before in use. Most of these vessels have been wholly built at Monrovia, of country materials, except iron, copper, pitch, and cordage."—Report of 1827. See Mis. Reg., 1828, p. 450.

the slave-trade has furnished their chief occupation. Yet, their character exhibits the improving effects of the Mohammedan religion propagated among them by Mandingo teachers. The progress of that religion in this district has been, within the last twenty years, rapid and extensive. The Fy country limits its progress towards the S. E., few or none of the Dey tribe, and none to the leeward, having received this faith or its teachers. More intelligent than their neighbours to the leeward, the Fyes are also more reserved, proud, conceited, and selfish, as well as more systematically fraudulent. But their superiority is evinced in the general style of their buildings and furniture, the quality of their food, their mode of dress, and the acuteness they discover in their commercial transactions.*

The tract of coast which stretches 180 miles S. E. of the colony, is occupied by subdivisions of the Bassa tribe. Their territory does not extend more than 20 miles from the sea, but their population is estimated at 125,000; giving a greater number of inhabitants to the square mile, than any equal portion of the coast in Western Africa. In cattle, rice, palm-oil, and other produce, its fertility is unrivalled, and an immense surplus is annually exported. The people are domestic, temperate, and industrious, many even laborious; and they are very desirous of being furnished with the means of improvement. The inhabitants of these countries occupy villages of from 40 to 2000 inhabitants.† Every village has its head.

* These Fyes, or Veys, will probably be found to be in fact a Mandingo colony.

† The districts taken in their order, are as follow:—15 miles from Cape Mesurado, Mamba; thence 20 miles, Junk; thence 15 miles, Little Bassa; Grand Bassa, 20 miles; Young Sesters (or

Polygamy and domestic slavery are universal; and the women perform most of the servile labour.

Between the settlements on the coast and the villages of the interior, there is, in most places, a forest, of from half a day's journey to two days in extent, left, by mutual consent, as a barrier, and which is seldom passed, except by wandering traders.

Within about fifty leagues of the coast, however, it has been ascertained, that there is a tract of country well-cultivated and populous, where the horse is a common domestic animal, and where the Arabic is reported to be used as a written language in the common concerns of life. Two of the nearest considerable nations to the N.E. of Monrovia, the Gurrahs and the Kondoes,* have expressed their anxiety to avail themselves of a direct correspondence with the colony; and a road has been opened for about 120 miles towards the N.W., by which as many bullocks can be procured as are ordered.

Such is represented to be the flourishing state of this Americo-African settlement. Its trade has increased with a rapidity almost unexampled; while its moral and religious character has exerted a powerful influence upon its social and civil condition. The Sabbath is universally respected, and all classes regularly attend Divine worship. Besides the agents of

Sesthos), along the river of that name, 12 miles; Trade Town, 15 miles; Little Colo, 12 miles; Grand Colo, 18 miles; after which come Teembo, Mana, Rock Sesters, Sinon, Little Botton, Grand Botton, Settra Kroo, and Kroo Settra. The colony has a factory at Young Sesters.—Miss. Reg., 1828, p. 235. In this enumeration, no notice is taken of Sanguin, mentioned by Hutton as the next kingdom to the eastward of Cape Mount, and which occurs, in the maps, next to Teembo.

* Evidently the Quoya and Hondo of the old travellers.—See Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 231.

the Colonization Society, two Baptist Missionaries, Africo-Americans, have opened a school, thirty-five miles inland from Cape Mount, and sixty-five or seventy from Mont-serado, for the instruction of the children of the Vey nation, under the immediate patronage of the native chiefs. The American Episcopal Missionary Society have stationed at Liberia an ordained missionary, a man of colour; and the German Missionary Society have recently sent out five missionaries, whose intention, it is understood, is to penetrate into the interior.* The cautionary and not less beneficent policy to which it is intended systematically to adhere, is that of "sending forward establishments into the bosom of the surrounding tribes, and appending to each of these establishments, a school for the education of their children, previously to their comprehension within the limits of the colony."

The views of the American Society would seem to be sufficiently comprehensive and aspiring. They are already beginning to anticipate the colonizing of the whole south-western coast of the African continent, and thus laying the foundation of an Americo-African empire.

About one hundred miles from Settra Croo is Cape Palmas, which has been long ago pointed out as a most eligible situation for a colony; the harbour formed by the reef off this cape, being the only sheltered one of consequence on this part of the coast, Tacoradee excepted.† To this, the Americans are

* Miss. Reg., 1827, pp. 359—361. *Ib.* 1828, pp. 233—235; 450—454. *Ib.* 1829, p. 19.

† Hutton, p. 35. Robertson, in his Notes on Africa, describes the harbour as spacious and well secured, and in a most commanding situation.

now turning their views. "By possessing Cape Palmas," say the Society, "we should hold the commercial key of all the south coast of Africa, and the countries immediately in the interior, down as far east as the Bight of Biafra; and a colony there would, in a few years, become a great depôt for all the articles of foreign produce and manufacture which would be required by inhabitants of the nations eastward of the settlement. This will be the effect of a physical cause, which is certain and unchanging in its operations: the trade winds, pursuing the general outline of the African coast, render a return northward from the east of Cape Palmas, along the coast, extremely difficult at all seasons of the year; and more particularly so in the rainy season, when the difficulty of taking observations, and the numerous and varying currents, prevent vessels from knowing their exact situation, and expose them to the constant danger of shipwreck. From Cape Palmas, or any point to the northward, it is comparatively easy to return to Cape Verde, and so home at all times; but Cape Palmas once passed, the danger and difficulty commence, and a disastrous shipwreck, or a shattered and ruined vessel, is too often the consequence of a return voyage, from a point eastward of it. Were a settlement made at Cape Palmas, it would, like Monrovia, soon become the resort of the surrounding nations; and merchants would prefer leaving their goods at such a market, to running the risks of proceeding further eastward, even with the hopes of enhanced profits. Paths would first be made; highways would take their place; until the uncivilized nations of the Ivory Coast and Gold Coast, passing by the feeble settlements of Cape Coast and Elmina, would resort to meet civilization at the nearest point of safe approach, the Americo-African

city at Cape Palmas. A great and prosperous trade would be the consequence; and the facilities of gain would soon fill the new settlement with industrious inhabitants. Besides the commercial advantages of Cape Palmas, its road and anchorage are said to be the best between Mesurado and the Volta; and the surrounding country is fertile, intersected with numerous small streams, fit for the erection of mills. Being the southern extremity of the south-west coast, it will form also a natural boundary to that empire which we all hope will one day arise in Africa."*

At the other extremity of this line of coast is the island of Bulama, on which it is also projected to establish a colony. "Once firmly fixed on the waters of the Rio Grande," say our projectors, "we may deem ourselves in possession of the Senegal and the Gambia; and from the Senegal to Cape Palmas, will then be our own." Sierra Leone, it is somewhat too confidently anticipated, will be eventually abandoned by the British; and if not, it "must become a part of the Americo-African nation." The puny and sickly colonies which the jealousy of any European nation may establish in Africa, will never be able, it is argued, to compete with or stand before the healthy and vigorous population that will be transplanted from the western hemisphere. "The White man must become tired of filling the vacancy which death makes among his fellows; and the deed of colonizing Africa will fall, where heaven has appointed it to fall, on the free coloured people of America."†

* Miss. Reg., 1828, p. 452.

† It is deserving of remark, that Mr. Douglas, in his "Hints on Missions" (1822), after observing that the civilizers of Africa must be Africans, adds—"And America is the country where the civilization of Africa ought to commence."

That Sierra Leone, if abandoned by the British, will be occupied by the Americans, there can be no doubt; and it is, perhaps, not less certain, that, in order to be retained with advantage, there must be a more systematic adoption of the American policy. The flag of England will, we trust, long wave on these coasts; but there can be no occasion for much waste of European life in future, in supplying the colony with teachers or superintendents. These must be furnished by the native population. And what is to hinder the Anglo-African colony from keeping pace, in the race of improvement, with Liberia itself?

There is, indeed, a line of coast to the eastward of Cape Palmas, which may be advantageously abandoned to the Liberians, as soon as they shall be able to take charge of it. Here, it may truly be said, the flags of Portugal, France, Holland, Denmark, and Great Britain herself, "wave, if they wave at all, over a few tottering ruins, the mouldering tombstones of the soldiers who landed and settled beneath these banners, and who found their graves ready yawning to receive them in the first moments of their arrival." Yet, on this coast, settlements of civilized Africans would flourish.

GOLD COAST.

About 140 miles to the E. of Cape Palmas, is Cape Lahoo, near which is the mouth of a river that may be entered by large craft during the rains; and a considerable trade in gold and ivory is carried on at that place by merchant vessels. Twenty-seven leagues E. of Cape Lahoo is the mouth of the Assinee, which is generally considered as the commencement of the Gold Coast. There was formerly a considerable gold-trade

there also, but it is now very circumscribed, owing to the wars of the natives. About twenty-five miles to the eastward is Apollonia, (near the cape of that name,) where the African Company had formerly a small fort, which has been wisely abandoned as a useless establishment. The country is described as pleasant and fertile, but the landing bad. There are no creeks or harbours, and the surf is most violent. The native chief is subject to the sovereign of Ashantee. The trade is in gold and ivory. About five miles to the eastward is the river Ancobra, which has twelve feet water at its mouth, and is navigable for a considerable distance by small vessels. About two miles to the east, upon a promontory forming the most western part of Cape Three Points, is a compact fort, called by the Portuguese, who built it, Fort St. Anthony. It now belongs to the Dutch. The name of the territory is Axim. It forms part of the rich, extensive, and fertile country of Ahanta. The landing is good, and the country well cultivated. Between Axim and Dixcove, there were two other settlements belonging to the Dutch, but they are now abandoned. At Dixcove, to the eastward of Cape Three Points, is an English fort, superior to the generality of our outforts on this coast. Small craft can anchor in the cove, under the guns of the fort, situated on the summit of a hill, at the foot of which stands the native town, containing about 1200 inhabitants, who are said to worship the crocodile. Four miles to the eastward is Boutry, or Boutrou, where the Dutch had a fort, which is now abandoned. Ten miles further is Tacorary, or Tacoradee, where the Dutch had formerly another settlement, which, as well as their next settlement at Succondee, is now abandoned. Off Tacorary are some dangerous reefs, which form, however,

a safe harbour; and there is a sheltered harbour under the fort at Succondee, where merchandise can be shipped or landed in safety, which cannot be done at either Cape Coast, Annamaboe, or Accra. Yet, both the English and the Dutch forts at this place are now abandoned. This is the case also with another Dutch fort, called St. Sebastian, at the mouth of the Chamah, or Boosempra, a large river navigable a long way up by small craft; as well as with the English and Dutch forts at Commenda, ten miles further, where there is a native town of about 2500 inhabitants, part of whom trade in gold, ivory, and canoes, and the other part carry on a fishery. Between these two castes, the traders and the fishermen, there are frequent quarrels and fights.

The next station to the eastward is Elmina, the head-quarters of the Dutch settlements. The castle is the most respectable fortress on the Gold Coast, and is protected by a ditch.* There is also a small fort, called St. Jago, built on a hill that commands both the town and the castle. Besides a harbour for small vessels, there are piers and wharfs for landing goods; and the town, which may contain about 8000 inhabitants, is built with stone, and paved. The country also is better cultivated than at any other part of this coast. There is a fine cotton-plantation, and the gardens contain most of the tropical fruits and vegetables of all sorts. Elmina is the easternmost maritime town in the kingdom of Warsaw (a state tributary to Ashantee), as Chama is the most western; Succondee being at the eastern extremity of Ashanta.

* This was one of the three forts, (the two others being at Arguin, on the N.W. coast, and at St. Paul's, on the coast of Angola,) by virtue of which the Portuguese discoverers laid claim to the sovereignty of Guinea.

The castle of St. George Del Mina, from which it takes its present name, was, like most of the forts on this coast, built by the Portuguese, who settled here in 1481, and likewise built a town and a church. The Dutch made an easy conquest of this place in 1637; and, to strengthen themselves, built the smaller fort, which they named Fort Conraadsburg, or St. Jago. A respectable English force was repulsed here in 1781. Elmina and the other Portuguese settlements on this coast, were ceded to the Dutch West India Company by the crown of Portugal, in 1641; in virtue of which cession they laid claim to all the lands and countries from Cape Palmas to Cape Lopez; a claim they have long been compelled to relinquish.

A small river which runs into the sea about a mile to the eastward of Elmina, is the western boundary of Fantee, which extends nearly as far as Acora. Seven miles to the eastward is Cape Coast Castle, the head-quarters of the British settlements on the Gold Coast and that of Whidah. This strange name is a corruption of *Calo Corso*, the appellation given to the place by the Portuguese. The territory is called by the natives Fētu (or Afeetu). During the existence of the slave-trade, the countries from Cape Coast to Accra formed the grand emporium of that traffic on the Gold Coast; and the character of the inhabitants of Cape Coast Town is described by Mr. Meredith as marked by every vice. The castle is built in a triangular form, on a rock close to the sea, with the town behind it. The only supply of water is obtained from tanks; and the want of a river or capacious pond near the town, is a serious disadvantage, not only to the garrison and the natives, but to the vessels which resort thither. There is a small lake about a mile to the westward, but it is salt. The

country in the immediate vicinity, has been partially cleared of the impenetrable thickets, which not a little aggravated the extreme insalubrity of the climate; but altogether, it is a most execrable place.*

About four miles from Cape Coast, at a place called Mooree, is Fort Nassau, which was taken from the Dutch in 1781, but abandoned. Two leagues further is Annamaboe, where formerly stood the largest and most populous town on the coast. This place and Cormantine (only three miles distant) were the great slave-markets; and it was not uncommon to see from twenty to thirty sail of shipping, of different nations, trading here in human beings. The town is in ruins, but there is a fort here, "undoubtedly the most compact and regularly built" in this part. At Cormantine is Fort Amsterdam, the first fort erected by the English on the Gold Coast: it was taken by the Dutch under Admiral De Ruyter, in 1662. Tantumquerry, another small fort, is about six leagues from Cormantine. Near this place, the flat and sandy coast changes to a bold and rocky shore. Eight or nine miles further, the Dutch had a small fort at a place called Apang, now in ruins; and about eight miles from Apang is Winnebah (or Simpah), formerly the most populous town in the Agoona country;† there is here a small British fort. Three leagues from Winnebah is the Dutch fort of Berracoe, near the town of Senniah; and about nine leagues further is

* The horse, Mr. Hutton says, cannot be kept alive at Cape Coast, whether poisoned by the herbage or by the bad water, or killed by the climate. The thermometer, in the hottest months, stands at from 85° to 90°.

† Extending about 20 miles from E. to W., between longitude 0° 10′ and 30′ W., and latitude 5° and 5° 30′. The kings of Agoona are extinct; the natives speak the Afæetu; and the territory is under the power of the Fantees.—Meredith, p. 173.

Accra, where the English, the Dutch, and the Danes have settlements. This is deemed the most healthy station, and altogether the most agreeable place on the coast, and demands a brief description.

The town of Accra is situated in latitude 5° 31′ N., longitude 0° 10′ W. Its white buildings, backed by clumps of wood, and high land beyond, give it a very picturesque appearance. The English and Dutch towns almost join each other. The Dutch fort, called Crevecœur (built by the Portuguese), was nearly destroyed in the American war, by the force that failed against Elmina. Fort James is of respectable strength, and commands the landing-place. Prior to the abolition of the slave-trade, a very considerable trade was carried on here by many nations; and Accra is the only country on the Gold Coast that has a free trade with the interior, being much resorted to by the Ashantees. The Accras were formerly an independent nation, but were at length subdued by their inland neighbours, the Aquamboes. Their language, which is understood as far as the Rio Volta, resembles the Afeetu; and they are supposed to be allied to the Popoes. They practise circumcision (performed on boys of about the age of ten or twelve), and inoculation for the small-pox. Their character is vicious and degraded, although less so than that of the Fantees; and they are much under the influence of their fetish men, who are habited in white. The Accra territory extends about twenty-six miles in length, by from twelve to twenty in breadth. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, is a fine, fertile, open plain, abounding with deer and other game.

At the distance of less than three miles from Fort James, is Christiansborg Castle, the head-quarters of his Danish Majesty's settlements on this coast, near a

town called Ursu. This fortress was built by the Portuguese, but was enlarged and strengthened by the Danes. It was taken from the Portuguese by the Swedes, who were expelled (in 1657) by the Danes; in 1679, it was treacherously sold to the Portuguese, but was restored by Portugal in 1683; it was captured by the Aquamboes ten years afterwards, but was regained, by purchase, in the following year. There is a neat chapel here; and when the service was in a prosperous state, a school was established for the education of children of both sexes.* There are three other forts belonging to the crown of Denmark; one called Fredericksborg, at Ningo, about thirty-five miles E. from Christiansborg Castle, and two on the left bank of the Volta. The Accra country terminates at Temma, a small town where the Dutch had a fort; they had another small fortification beyond, at Pony, where the Adampe territory begins; and there was an English fort called Vernon's Fort, at Prampram, six or seven miles West of Ningo. Eastward of the latter place† there is no town, not even shelter for a traveller, till we reach the Volta, a

* "Indeed," remarks Mr. Meredith, "both Danes and Dutch have shewn a greater desire to instruct and improve the minds of the natives, than the English." (p. 200.)

† About twelve or sixteen miles N. from Ningo, is a remarkable insulated hill, with sides almost perpendicular, known by the name of *Crabbo* or *Crobo* Hill, being inhabited by a tribe of that name, who make this hill their fortress. Their chief is said to be able to muster 2500 fighting men. The rock is clothed with fine timber, and has some sources of sweet water near the summit. About twelve miles N. of Pony is a similar hill, not so high or so fertile, but having a copious supply of water: it is called *Sheye*. The inhabitants make earthenware of the clay found there. A third hill, about twenty-six miles N. N. E. from Ningo, called *Naio*, may be seen at a considerable distance from sea, where, in clear weather, it seems capped with snow. It is the highest land in this part. The Volta flows at its base.

distance of thirty-six miles. At Adda, a town on the left bank, six miles from its mouth, is the Danish fort of Kongenstein. Here the Adampe territory terminates.

The Rio Volta is a river of some magnitude, very broad at its entrance, but of little use for the purpose of navigation. The Portuguese gave it that name on account of its rapidity and the tremendous breakers at its mouth. During the rains, no small craft can enter, on account of the impetuosity of the current; but, in the dry season, it may be navigated by canoes nearly as far as Aquamboe, about a hundred miles from the sea, where rocks and cataracts render further progress impracticable. The tide flows as far as Malfy, forty miles from the mouth. The Volta is supposed to have its source in Ashantee, and flowing from N. W. to S. E., it separates the countries of Aquapim and Aquamboe. Its banks are lined with the finest timber, and its annual inundations, besides enriching the soil, leave, on receding, extensive salt-lakes, which are sources of wealth to the natives. The hippopotamus is frequently seen in this river, and on its banks.*

We have now reached the extremity of the Gold Coast. The Slave Coast, in its strictest acceptation, comprises the states of Coto, Popo, Whidah, and Ardra, which are subject to the king of Dahomey. The maritime plain is broader here than on the Gold Coast, and is extremely fertile. At Whidah (or Yudah), the French had formerly a trading settlement; and at Porto Novo, the next station on the coast, the Portuguese have a factory. Next to this comes Badagry, at the mouth of the Lagos, the point

* For the preceding sketch of the Gold Coast, we are indebted chiefly to Meredith's "Account of the Gold Coast;" and Hutton's "Voyage to Africa."

from which Captain Clapperton started on his last mission, where the Portuguese have five factories still engaged in the slave-trade. A little to the eastward, the river Akinga, which joins the Lagos, separates Yarriba from the kingdom of Benin. The great river of Benin, called by the Portuguese the Rio Formosa, falls into the head of the Bight of Benin, in about long. 5°, lat. 5° 45′. The coast now trends to the south-east, to form Cape Formosa, which separates the flat, marshy countries of the kingdom of Waree (or Warry) from the Calabar country. The river Bey or New Calabar admits vessels of 300 tons; and the island of Bonny, near its mouth, was formerly a great slave-market. The Old Calabar or Bongo river, and the Rio del Rey, discharge their waters very near each other, and are probably arms of the same river. Indeed, the whole of this part of the coast seems to consist of a sort of delta; and it has been supposed, that even the Formosa and the Rio del Rey are connected.* A ridge of very high mountains separates this basin from the Cameroons river, or Jamoor,

* "The Rio del Rey," says Mr. Hutton, "is eight miles broad at its mouth, and is very likely to prove an arm of the Niger, although Mr. M'Queen draws a different conclusion from the cataracts and rapids which he states this river to be full of."—Hutton, p. 395. Bosman was told, that it was easy, with a canoe, to pass out of the Rio Formosa into the rivers Lagos, Del Rey, Camarones, and even the Rio Volta. The Formosa is for several miles up, like the Lagos, extremely unhealthy, with low, marshy banks and floating islands. Ships may ascend to a place called Arebo, situate above 60 miles from the mouth, "sailing by hundreds of branches of this river, besides creeks, some of which are very wide."—Bosman in Pinkerton, vol. xvi. p. 519. If German miles are meant, this will be 210 English miles. In Malte Brun, however, Agatton, a village higher up, is stated to be not above 40 miles N.E. from the sea. The whole country of Benin is said to be an alluvial plain. There are no stones in the country.—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 237.

which falls into the Bight of Biafra opposite the Island of Fernando Po. These mountains consist, apparently, of three groupes, called the Qua-mountains, the Rumby mountains, and the Cameroons mountains. Their peaks, which are believed to be volcanic, attain an elevation of upwards of 13,000 feet. The Cameroons river, which forms a good harbour, is inhabited by the Biafras. The river of San Benito, inhabited by the Calbongoes, is 110 miles to the south of it. From the shore, a double range of very high mountains is seen at a distance of from 30 to 40 miles inland. About 40 miles south of the mouth of the San Benito, is Cape St. John, which forms, with Cape Clara, a bay, containing the island of Corisco: this bay has not been explored. To the south of the latter point, is the river Gaboon, which waters the Pongo country, and falls into the Gulf of Biafra, in long. 8° 50′ W., within 30′ of the Equator. It is navigable for large vessels, and contains several creeks, which are the lurking places of the slave-traders. About 25 miles up the river, lie two small islands, called Konig, or King's Island, and Parrot Island. Cape Lopez Gonsalvo, in about lat. 1° S., forms the southern boundary of the Gulf of Biafra; and divides the countries generally comprehended under the vague name of Guinea, from Congo or the Angola Coast.*

* "The coast of Western Africa, included between Cape Lopez de Gonsalvo and Cape Negro, is, in commerce, known under the general name of the Coast of Angola. It is the Western Ethiopia of several French and Italian authors; part of the Lower Ethiopia of the Portuguese; while the best geographers of the present day name it Lower Guinea or Southern Guinea. It would nevertheless appear more natural to give to this region the name of Congo, a kingdom under the government of which it has for some time been included, and the language of which appears to be the parent of all the idioms that are spoken."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 289.

On that "most beautiful, fertile, and magnificent of islands, Fernando Po," (so it has been styled by what some regard as high authority,) an establishment has recently been formed, which aspires to supersede Sierra Leone altogether as a naval station. This island derives its name from a navigator in the service of Alphonso V. of Portugal, named Fernão do Po, who discovered it in 1472, and called it Formosa, or Beautiful Island. It is eight leagues long, by about three in width, and is represented to be very high land, being frequently covered with clouds, well wooded, and extremely fertile.* Portugal, after having previously abandoned it, ceded it, in 1778, to Spain; but the Spanish settlers have nearly all perished. An attempt was made by a Mr. Robertson, in 1819, to colonize this island; but, owing to untoward circumstances, the design miscarried. As commanding all the rivers which flow into the Gulf of Guinea, the station is important in a commercial point of view; and being placed in the very focus of the piratical slave-trade still carried on, it affords peculiar facilities for watching and checking that infamous traffic. It is reported to be even healthy; but time must shew how far the sanguine calculations that have been formed respecting the salubrity, fertility, and commercial value of this new colony rest upon a solid foundation. This island, together with Prince's Island, St. Thomas's, and Annabona or Bonanno Island, which lie to the S.S.W. of Fernando Po, in the Gulf of Guinea, are all, apparently, a continuation of the lofty volcanic range of the Cameroons or Qua mountains. They are in-

* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 462. Quart. Rev., No. lxxvii. p. 181.

habited by a mixed population of mulattoes, free negroes, and slaves.*

The interior countries lying between the maritime states bordering on the Gulf of Guinea and Soudan, have hitherto been very partially explored; and a very concise account of them is all that our limits will admit of. The perpetual changes in the boundaries and denominations of the African states, and the variety of names applied to the same territory, render it a most perplexing task to reduce to any consistent shape the scattered information which we possess. It appears, however, that the greater part of the region lying immediately behind the northern coast of the Gulf of Guinea is now comprised in the powerful kingdoms of Ashantee and Dahomey. To this region, bounded westward by the river Tando (or Assinee) and eastward by the Lagos, the natives are said to give the name of Ghunja. To the west of the river Tando, the country is called Sarem; under which appellation are comprised the kingdoms of Ghaman, Banna, Takima, Soko, Ghofan, Enkasi, and Kong. This groupe of territories occupies the region south-east of the Mandingo country, having on the west or north-west, a mountainous district called Ganowa, (probably a continuation of Kooranko,) and bounded on the east by Dagomba and Ghunja. Ghaman was formerly a powerful kingdom, having for its capital Bontokoo or Buntakoo, eight days' journey N.W. from Coomassy. The Buntakoos are men-

* A road is stated to be in progress, in the new colony of Fernando Po, which is to lead to the summit of a mountain 10,000 feet high, and every where clothed with vegetation. A small lake occupies the summit of a high mountain, (probably a crater,) in the middle of Prince's Island; and the northern part of St. Thomas's is composed of high mountains, whose peaks are always enveloped in clouds.

tioned by Mr. Hutton and others as as a large and powerful nation bordering on the Ashantees, to whom they are now said to be tributary. In their country are the richest gold-mines in this part of Africa. The ore, as in Bambook, is dug principally out of large pits, and the chief mines are near Brikanti and Kontosoo. Soko is properly a province of Gaman; but the Sokkoes appear to be a distinct people from the Buntakoos. Nomassa, the capital, is said to contain about 1000 Moslems. Enkasy and Ghofan are Moslem states, formerly tributary to the Sultan of Kong, who acknowledges the supremacy of the sovereign of Melli. Ghofan is mountainous towards the N.W.; but on the S.E., there are deserts of coarse white sand, producing only a few stunted bushes, yet abounding with pools, probably salt. This desert tract is said to extend four journeys N. and S.

Dagomba, which lies to the north of Ghunja or Ashantee, has for its metropolis, Yandy in the Simmer district, on the northern confines of the great forest or wilderness of Tonouma. This town, which is a great thoroughfare, is reckoned twenty-one days N.N.E. from Coomassy, the capital of Ashantee; thirteen journeys from Abomey, the capital of Dahomey; fifteen journeys from Whidah; and twenty-eight journeys from Benin. Five days N.E. from Yandy, is the great wilderness of Ghoomati (frequented by the elephant hunters), which divides Dagomba from the kingdom of Zogho, a district of Killinga. Under the latter name are comprised the countries lying between Houssa, Dagomba, and Yarriba. The Joliba flows through the heart of this territory, the population of which is reckoned to exceed in density that of any other district of equal surface. The kingdom of Bargho, the Borgoo of

Clapperton, is a part of Killinga; and Zogho appears to be the district connecting Borgoo with Dahomey.*

Such appear to be the grand territorial divisions of these regions, so far as native information can be depended upon. Of their geographical structure, it would be idle to attempt any account. We now know, indeed, that a range of primitive mountains runs behind Ashantee from the N.W., a continuation, apparently, of the Kong Mountains, and stretches in a south-easterly direction into Benin, where it probably joins the Qua Mountains. Ashantee, from the latitude of 7° 30′ N. to the coast, is described by Mr. Dupuis as "a solid rampart of vegetation," extending E. and W. from Aquapim to Ashantee. In the vicinity of the coast, it is a continued wood of lofty bushes, blended with tall trees; but, about fifteen miles inland, the forests assume a magnificent character. Gaman, as well as the greater part of Sarem, on the contrary, is an open, champaign country, with only clumps of trees, and is probably an elevated table-land.

The Ashantees are by far the most powerful and brave of the nations who inhabit these regions, and their language is widely diffused.† Of the manners

* The preceding details are taken from Dupuis's "Journal of a Residence in Ashantee," part ii. Several obvious errors and discrepancies occur in the various statements collected; but their substantial accuracy is, we think, not to be doubted; and, in the present state of our information, they are highly valuable. Clapperton was told, that Borgoo borders on Dahomey. Mr. Dalzel was told, that Zogho is the same as Ayoh (evidently Eyeo), to whom the sovereigns of Dahomey pay tribute. If so, the declaration of the King of Youriba to Captain Clapperton was not a mere vaunt. —See p. 337 of our second volume.

† The Ashantee, Fantee, Warsaw, Akim, Assim, and Aquapim dialects are unquestionably, Mr. Bowdich says, from the same root.

and customs of this people, a very minute and revolting account has been furnished by Mr. Bowdich, the conductor of a mission to the capital in 1817. They differ in no material respect from those of the Dahomians and the neighbouring nations, as detailed by Bosman and other travellers. The leading characteristics, are, the ferocious tyranny under which the natives are passively held; the sanguinary nature of the laws, if such they may be called; the commonness of suicides; the abject and horrible nature of their superstition; and above all, the diabolical custom of immolating human victims as a part of the funeral rites of all persons of consequence; and the wholesale slaughters which take place on extraordinary occasions,—in particular on the death of the king.* The

* Mr. Bowdich tells us, that the present king of Ashantee, a very "amiable and benevolent sovereign," on the death of his mother, devoted 3000 victims to "water her grave," 2000 of whom were Fantee prisoners, and the rest levied in certain proportions on the several towns.—Bowdich, p. 289. Mr. Dalzel found the road to the King of Dahomey's cottage strewed with human skulls, and the walls almost covered with jaw-bones. At "the annual customs," this monarch "waters the graves of his ancestors" with human blood; "and blood is mixed with clay, to build temples in honour of deceased monarchs." See Dalzel's History of Dahomey, —Lond. 1796. Norris's History of Bossa Ahadee, pp. 86, 93, 100, 128. The carnage and depopulation which attended the invasion of Whydah by the Dahomans, in the last century, is represented as the most horrible that perhaps ever occurred. But in the recent wars of Ashantee, a parallel may be found. Mr. Dupuis was informed by eye-witnesses, that, in the invasion and conquest of Gaman by the present king, 10,000 old men, women, and children were put to death by tortures the most revolting to humanity.—Dupuis, p. 99. See also *Ib.* p. 140. Yet Mr. Dupuis speaks of feeling respect and attachment to this monster; and Mrs. Bowdich praises the Ashantees for their shrewdness, intelligence, ingenuity, valour, splendour, and polish of manner! Of their valour, our own people have, indeed, since had but too fatal an experience in their recent attack upon Cape Coast Castle and the subsequent war.

people revel in these scenes of horror, in which a barbaric pomp and glitter are strangely blended with the most wanton and disgusting barbarities, and the rites of Belial and Moloch are united. Gold-dust is the currency of Ashantee; (that of Dagomba, Gaman, Kong, and Accra, is cowries;) massive golden ornaments and golden fetishes are universally worn; gold-handled swords, with blades rusted in blood, are the pride of the chiefs; gold, in some parts less precious than salt, is here less valued than iron;* nothing,

* Mr. Hutton describes in glowing terms, the splendid spectacle which presented itself on entering the capital. "At least 20,000 warriors, with bright muskets and long Danish guns, appeared in view, and a hundred bands of music began to play at the same moment. The king and his captains were all dressed in cloths of the richest manufacture. Their banners and flags of different nations, English, Dutch, and Danish, and at least a hundred large umbrellas, were seen in every direction. Mr. Bowdich's description of their dress is here so correct, that I will give it nearly in his own words: 'The cabboceers and captains wore Ashantee cloths of extravagant value, which were large and heavy, and thrown over the shoulder like the Roman toga; a small silk fillet encircled their temples. Some wore necklaces of aggry beads, or of massy gold intricately wrought. A band of gold and beads encircled the knee. Small circles of gold, like guineas, rings, and casts of animals, were strung round their ancles; their sandals were of green, red, and delicately white leather; manillas and rude lumps of rich gold dangled from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the heads of some of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes and canes dazzled the eyes in every direction; wolves and rams' heads, as large as life, and cast in gold, hung from their gold-handled swords, the blades of which were rusted in blood; their large drums were braced about with the thigh-bones of their enemies, and ornamented with their skulls. Behind the chairs of the chiefs stood their handsomest youths, habited much in the same costly style. Finely grown girls stood behind the chairs of some with silver basins. Crowds of younger boys were seated around, flourishing elephants' tails, curiously mounted. The warriors sat on the ground close to these. Their caps were made of the skin of the pangolin and leopard, the tails hanging down behind; their cartouch-belts (composed of small gourds)

in short, is so cheap as the precious metals,—except life itself, which seems to be a possession held in utter contempt: so complete is the triumph which the principle of evil seems to have obtained over the human spirit in these savages, in the absence of any counteractive moral element. In Dahomey, the serpent is said to be the object of worship, as the hyena is at Accra, and the crocodile in Ahanta. Thus, their worship is literally an adoration of the principle of evil, under the most appropriate symbols. And such, the Roman satirist tells us, was the religion of ancient Egypt! *

From these horrors we gladly withdraw; and must now transport our readers at once from the Gulf of Guinea to the southern extremity of Africa.

were embossed with red shells, and small brass bells hung to them. On their hips and shoulders was a cluster of knives; iron chains and collars dignified the most daring, who were prouder of them than gold; the sides of their faces were painted in long white streaks, and their arms also were striped, having the appearance of armour.'" See also Dupuis, p. 74, &c.

* The reader who is anxious for further information, may consult Bowdich's "Mission to Ashantee," 4to, 1819. Hutton's Voyage to Africa, 8vo, 1821 (chap. vi. *et seq.*) Dupuis's Journal of a Residence in Ashantee, 4to, 1824. Norris's Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Ahadee, 8vo. 1789. Dalzel's Hist. of Dahomey, 8vo. 1796; and Bosman's Guinea in Pinkerton's Collection.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

NEXT to the discovery of the New Continent, the doubling of the "Stormy Cape" which separates the Atlantic from the Indian Ocean, is the greatest event in the history of modern navigation. In 1497, the Hero of Camoens, following up the discovery of Bartholomew Diaz, first accomplished this bold adventure. In their subsequent voyages to and from India, the Portuguese often touched on this coast for provisions and water; but they do not appear to have formed any permanent settlement.* It was not till the middle of the seventeenth century, that the Dutch East India Company, perceiving the advantages that might be derived from the possession of this "half-way house to India," laid the foundations of a settlement at Cape Town.† In 1718, when Peter Kolben published his highly coloured account of the colony, it had not extended itself beyond the narrow plain lying between the sea and the two mountain-chains of the Zwarte Berg (Black Mountain) and the Bokkeveld. On the north, the boundary appears to have been formed by the Berg river, which falls into St. Helena Bay; and the eastern limit was Mossel Bay. The great Karroo, and the regions of Sneuwberg and Kaffre Land, seem to have been at that time entirely unknown.

* In 1510, Francis Almeida, first viceroy of the Portuguese dominions in India, was defeated and killed in an obstinate engagement with the Hottentots, near the Salt River, not far from the site now occupied by Cape Town.

† The Company under whose protection the first settlement took place, "seem not then to have regarded the conquest or appropriation of the country as an object worthy of their attention. It was considered merely as an appendage to Batavia, and a convenient station for watering and refreshing the fleets engaged in their eastern commerce."—Philip, vol. i. p. 16.

When the Dutch took possession of the Cape in 1652, the natives appear to have been much more numerous than they now are, and to have possessed large herds of cattle.* For a considerable period, the intercourse between the colonists and the natives, was conducted in the most amicable spirit; the Dutch paying honestly for the sheep and cattle furnished by the Hottentots, with copper beads, tobacco, and brandy. But, as the colonists increased in number, and began to feel their security and strength, the difficulty of supplying their wants by barter and fair purchase, led to encroachments, which daily augmented, till they became no longer endurable. Posts were formed in advance of the fort, and productive patches of land began to be considered as the property of the settlers. The Hottentots gradually and insensibly ebbed away, with their flocks and herds, from the vicinity of Table Bay, and the Cape Peninsula; and the strangers steadily advanced, fixing their durable houses of stone where the fragile and temporary huts of the native herdsmen had sprung up and disappeared as caprice and the change of seasons dictated. In some instances, it is pretended, that tracts of land were regularly purchased from the native chiefs or captains of their respective hordes, who, being in no manner straitened for territory, ceded, for a trifling consideration, their most valuable possessions. How such bargains were concluded, and whether the natives understood that, by such transactions, they renounced the right of pasturage and occasional occupation, we have no means of ascertaining; but it is probable, remarks

* "It appears, from the minutes of an investigation before the governor, Van der Stell, in the commencement of the eighteenth century, that a single Hottentot village had been robbed of cattle by the colonists to the amount of 2000 head."—Philip, vol. i. p. 4.

Dr. Philip, whose language we are using, "that their notions went no further than to concede the joint and friendly use of the springs and herbage common among themselves.

"No limit being fixed to the extension of the colony by these means, the number of boors (as the farmers were called) rapidly increased; and, as they removed further and further from the seat of government, their trade with the natives began to be occasionally interrupted by disputes and quarrels. Driven back towards the north and north-east, among dry and barren tracts, the Hottentots, seeing their herds and flocks diminishing, and scarcely sufficient for their own wants, avoided the barterers or merchants who came to traffic with them, either on their own account, or as agents of the Dutch Government, and withdrew, on their approach, to the least accessible places. To increase this feeling of jealousy and apprehension, some outrages committed by the colonists greatly contributed; and before the end of the century, it appears, that some inoffensive *kraals* or villages had been surprised and plundered by rovers from the settlement.

"The aspect of affairs was now entirely altered. The colonists, firmly established in the south-western portions of the country, began to regard the receding Hottentots as enemies and intruders; and though actual hostilities had not commenced between them and the Company, it was obvious, that the very existence of the natives was about to be considered as subservient to the interests of the boors..... It was not the interest or the intention of the Dutch East India Company to come to a rupture with the natives, or to reduce them to poverty. Their object, of obtaining supplies at a cheap rate, was more readily attained by encouraging them in their pastoral occupations, and

protecting them against extortion and plunder. The rapid growth of the colony, however, soon placed this beyond their power; and the successive governors, either from weakness or a want of correct information, were led, first, to wink at the aggressions of the colonists, and, finally, to aid them in their enterprises.

"The flattering and fabulous accounts of the new colony published by Kolben, drew thither every day new settlers from the mother country; and this influx of strangers, together with the children born to the former colonists, occasioned an increasing demand for new lands and servants. Every addition of territory requiring additional hands to cultivate it, the colonists, after having deprived the poor natives of their springs of water, now penetrated into the deserts and mountains to seize their women and children, and to reduce them to slavery on the lands which their husbands and fathers had occupied as a free and independent people. The aborigines, who had for a long time suffered with exemplary patience the injuries inflicted upon them, finding that no retreat could protect them from the cruelties of their oppressors, sought resources of annoyance from the desperate condition to which they were reduced; and the colonists, smarting under the re-action of the accumulated evils they had heaped upon them during the space of seventy years, and which could no longer be endured, formed the project of making the colonial government a party in assisting them to enslave or exterminate all that remained of the original inhabitants. But to attempt so monstrous a project as this, or even openly to seize the property of a whole nation, without some alleged provocation or imminent necessity, would, in all probability, have excited the disapprobation of the governor, and retarded the accomplishment of their design.

They sent, therefore, to the seat of Government the most vilifying representations, imputing to the Bushmen the most depraved and pernicious propensities, and accusing them of incessantly plundering the property of the colonists. The Government, which had by this time (1770) declined from the purity of its principles, was misled by the force of these charges, aided, perhaps, by a share of the colonial habits of feeling with respect to the natives which it had by this time acquired: this scheme of the colonists was therefore speedily authorised. And it was not long before the administration entered as warmly into it as the colonists themselves: for we find that, in the year 1774, the whole race of Bushmen, or Hottentots, who had not submitted to servitude, was ordered to be seized or extirpated; the privilege of slavery was designed exclusively for the women and children; the men, whose natural habits disqualified them for the purposes of the colonists, and whose revenge was probably dreaded, were destined to death.

"The decision of Government was followed by an order for the raising of three *commandoes*, or military parties, to proceed against this unfortunate race. These were usually raised by the different field-cornets, who collected the colonists on the frontier in their respective jurisdictions, having one commandant over the whole. They were to be armed, and to scour the neighbouring country to discover the abodes of the Bushmen; and when they espied a kraal, they were to surprise it if possible, and, singling out the men, to shoot them. The surviving women and children were to be divided and shared among the members of the expedition, or distributed among the neighbouring farmers.

"There is no record remaining to shew the district

to which the first commando was sent, or how long it continued in the field; but it appears that the party engaged in this service in the month of September, 1774, in the space of eight days, succeeded in shooting ninety-six Bushmen. The women and children taken prisoners were divided among the men, but their number is not specified in the official report. Van Wyk was the name of the commandant.

"The second commando was conducted by a boor named Marais. In his report to the Colonial Office, he states, that he had taken one hundred and eighteen prisoners, who, it is presumed, must have been women and children, but the number killed is not mentioned.

"The third commando, under Vander Merwe, was commissioned to the Bokkeveld, where they destroyed one hundred and forty-two Bushmen. Whether his humanity was shocked at his sanguinary employment, the duration of which, to fulfil the purposes of Government, must then have appeared indefinite, or whether he dreaded their superior numbers, is uncertain; but, in violation of his instructions, he concluded a peace with the remaining chiefs. The Government, on hearing of this transaction, highly resented it, and degraded all the field-cornets who had concurred with him in the measure. And on the following year, these expeditions appear to have been repeated twice; one, on the 12th of June, succeeded in killing forty-eight of the devoted Bushmen, and would have followed up the carnage, had not their numbers been insufficient. The number of wounded would, in all likelihood, greatly exceed that of the slain on these occasions, as they never ceased to run or scramble among the rocks in search of hiding-places, until life forsook them; appearing to dread being taken, more than death itself.

"In the year 1777, several commandoes were sent against the Bushmen. One, under the command of Opperman, met with a kraal in which were three hundred men; but his number being small, he killed only twenty. Anxious, however, for greater means of destruction, having informed Government of the fact, he sent a letter, signed by six-and-twenty colonists, stating that two commandoes had been sent against the Bushmen, but their numbers were so great that they could not subdue them, and that, in consequence, many farmers had been compelled to leave the Sneeuwberg for Bruintjes-Hoogte. This application had the desired effect. Orders were instantly issued, that the colonists on the frontier should renew their attempts to extirpate this proscribed race, and many Bushmen were sacrificed.

"About this time, the Governor of the colony took a journey into the interior; and finding the system there adopted insufficient to extirpate the Bushmen, he ordered, on his return, the commandoes to be increased, and directed, in the most positive manner, that this unhappy race should be destroyed.

"In the year 1779, the commando system was carried on with great vigour. Most of the reports are lost, but, from what remains, we learn, that one hundred and fifteen Bushmen were killed, while the orders of Government for their entire extermination were repeated so peremptorily, that it is matter of surprise that the whole country was not depopulated.

"For several successive years, this system was carried on with various success, as the Bushmen became more cautious as well as more resolute in their resistance, and Government from time to time granted supplies of ammunition. The reports, however, are

missing; but the numbers slain must have been very great, since, besides those killed by the commandoes, many were shot by private hands.

"In 1785, the Commandant Villiers reports, that cattle would soon be scarce, unless Government resorted to more effective measures with the Bushmen; and he submitted to the governor and council the propriety of making a grant of the land between Plettenberg's Baaken and the Zak river, to be held in perpetual quit rent by those who had been most zealous in the depopulation of the Bushman country, and for which nothing was to be paid the first ten years, but afterwards the annual sum of twenty-four rix-dollars. This was readily complied with, and a grant of ammunition was ordered for a commando to clear the country for its intended inhabitants.

"In 1787, the landdrost and military court of Graaf-Reinet sent out a very strong commando, divided into five parties, with orders to march to different parts of the country, '*and destroy at once that pernicious nation.*' Intelligence of this was sent to Stellenbosch, to the landdrost and district court there, with a request that they would co-operate efficiently with them. What was the result of this irruption into the Bushman country, there are no reports extant to declare; but, as the Stellenbosch district then included the whole of Tulbagh or Worcester, and consequently reached the limits of the Graaff-Reinet district, the frontiers of the two districts extended the whole length of the territory belonging to the Bushmen, and their entire destruction seemed almost inevitable.

"In 1792, an expedition was undertaken against the Bushmen occupying that district which lies between the Tulbagh district and the Zak river. It was under

the command of Van der Walt.....who undertook the destruction of the Bushmen in that district, on the understood principle that he was to have the Nieuweveld as a reward for his services; and it was granted to him by Government on that ground, in 1793, and on the condition that he was to continue his exertions to extirpate the Bushmen.....Hostilities never ceased for a day between them and their implacable enemies, who considered the murder of a free Bushman, wherever found, and under whatever circumstances, as a duty or a meritorious act; while, by the capture of their women and children, the murderers increased their stock of slaves and dependents. In their hunting parties, or when travelling across the country for pleasure or on business, the boors massacred these natives as game or as noxious animals; and it is not improbable, that the numbers killed by the regular commandoes fall short of those murdered by private individuals. 'A farmer,' says Barrow, in 1797, 'thinks he cannot proclaim a more meritorious action than the murder of one of these people. A boor from Graaff-Reinet, being asked in the Secretary's office a few days before we left town, if the savages were numerous or troublesome on the road, replied, 'he had only shot four,' with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges. I myself have heard one of the humane colonists boast of having destroyed with his own hands, near three hundred of these unfortunate wretches.'

"The backwardness which began to manifest itself, about this period, among the farmers, to go on commandoes against the Bushmen, was shewn chiefly by those who resided at a distance from the frontier, and arose partly from the fatigue and loss of time they

occasioned, and partly from their no longer feeling any interest in the division of the captives; those already obtained, with the addition of their slaves and Hottentot bondmen, being sufficient for all their wants. They thought it hard to be dragged from their families, for whose protection against their newly tamed domestics their presence might be necessary, to encounter long night-marches through a parched and barren country, together with the poisoned arrows of the Bushmen, merely to conquer a farm for such heroes as Van der Walt. To this cause, and not to any deficiency of courage, much less to any feelings of humanity, no trace of which is to be found in Bushman warfare, candour compels us to ascribe the defection of the boors on this occasion; for, though the condition of those who were made prisoners was, in fact, worse than that of slavery, yet, not being transferable property, they were considered as of less value than slaves. Accordingly, an attempt was made at Graaff-Reinet to induce the Government to grant them leave to sell such Bushmen as should be taken prisoners, on condition of ten rix-dollars being paid into the treasury for every such slave sold. This proposal, 'made,' as it is stated in the records, 'for the purpose of rousing the military ardour of the farmers, which was of late observed to have abated,' was unanimously carried in the council, but it did not receive the sanction of the Government at the Cape.

"The effect of this system upon the Bushmen was, to transform them from peaceable, contented, and useful neighbours and visiters, into ferocious and vindictive enemies, till they rivalled, in some measure, the colonists themselves in cruelty and rapacity. Stripped of their plains and fountains, deprived of their flocks and herds, and finally, robbed of their wives and children,

and followed with the rifle, even to their hiding places among the caverns and holes of the rocks, they had few resources besides plunder, no gratification but revenge." *

This atrocious system continued to be prosecuted with little intermission up to the year 1795, when the English first obtained possession of the colony.† The Hottentots, despoiled of their lands, robbed or cajoled out of their flocks and herds, were, with a few exceptions, reduced to personal servitude, under circumstances which rendered them more wretched and more helpless than the slaves with whom they were now associated. The numerous free villages with which the country at one time abounded, had almost entirely disappeared; and the few miserable hordes who had established themselves in some of the districts, had no longer the power of choosing their own chiefs. "Those dispersed among the farmers as servants, were still more miserable. Having no protector, and his master no superior at hand to check his excesses, the unfortunate bondman was urged to incessant toil by the infliction of the most cruel and revolting punishments. Though nominally a free man, blows and stripes could

* Philip's Researches, vol. i. pp. 17—54.

† Mr. Barrow, who traversed the colony as far as the Orange river, in 1797, and was himself an eye-witness of some of the atrocities of the colonial commandoes, denounces the system in the following forcible language:—"The abominable expeditions which are carried on, under the authority of Government, against this miserable race, ought not, on any consideration, to be tolerated. They answer no other purpose than that of irritating and rendering more savage the unhappy creatures who are the objects of them. The boors are chiefly induced to undertake them with the view of securing for their service, the women and children. It is a well authenticated fact, that, in proportion as they are hunted down by the boors, their ferocity towards the Christians has increased."—Barrow, vol. i. p. 247.

be heaped upon him as on a slave, at the caprice of his master; and as the latter lost nothing by his mutilation or death, these were not unfrequently the result of his hasty or deliberate vengeance. Nor were they at liberty to choose their employment or their masters. Government had directed, that any Dutch peasant should be allowed to claim as his property, till the age of five-and-twenty, all the children of the Hottentots in his service, to whom he had given in their infancy a morsel of bread. Should a Hottentot, therefore, who had engaged himself for a year, attempt to remove at the expiration of his term, he would be permitted, or perhaps driven away; but his children, who had been encouraged to enter the house of the boor, and to receive a morsel of food, were detained. By this means, in general, the whole family were eventually bound as with a chain.

"The degradation of the Hottentot character was the necessary result of such treatment. A deep and habitual gloom and depression of spirits took place of that hilarity which had formerly distinguished them. Their indolence increased to a degree hardly credible, and they became more and more addicted to gluttony and drunkenness. For this last vice, they were indebted entirely to their new masters. Their numbers began greatly to decline; the very structure of their bodies was said to have shrunk, and to have lost its force and agility; and the whole race seemed rapidly hastening to annihilation.

"On the outskirts of the colony, and on some tracts of land of inferior quality, which the boors had not yet thought fit to appropriate, a few hordes under their respective captains still enjoyed a sort of permitted independence. But they were too sensible of their weakness to resist the encroachments of the meanest

colonist. 'For want of strength and power,' said one of these captains to Sparrman, 'the Hottentots are now no longer in a condition to withstand the encroachments of the colonists; almost every day, some Hottentot or other being obliged to remove with his cattle, whenever the pasture he was in possession of happened to suit a colonist. The Hottentot captains had, indeed, formerly been left undisturbed in their possessions; but now, they had likewise elbowed him (though a captain appointed to that office by government) out of a more eligible situation; and even began to grudge him the meagre and parched fields he was in possession of nearer the sea-shore, notwithstanding that they were extremely dangerous for sheep and cattle, both on account of the unhealthiness of the situation, and its being exposed to the incursions of wild beasts.'

"Yet, this oppressed and persecuted people were daily rendering the most essential services to the colonists. The protection of their numerous herds and flocks was entirely committed to their care. In deserts infested by wild beasts, and on plains where not a tree or shrub could be found to protect him from the vertical rays of the sun, or to shield him against the frosts and snows of winter, the faithful Hottentot wandered with his charge in search of food or water; a task which, but for him, must have devolved on his ungrateful master and his slothful children. But the Cape farmer had already got a taste for slaves, which, once being excited, speedily stifles every idea of natural justice.

"No attempts had been made to improve their moral condition, to restrain their passions, or to refine their appetites. In this respect, they had evidently degenerated since their intercourse with Europeans.

But they still retained their characteristic and apparently unconscious adherence to truth, which is generally the first of the virtues that disappears before the frown of an absolute master; and that generosity which is never satisfied so long as a morsel of food remains undivided among his companions, still distinguished the simple and improvident Hottentot. As for religion, it was considered as a serious crime to mention the subject to a native. They were not admitted within the walls of the churches. By a notice stuck above the doors of one of the churches, 'Hottentots and *dogs*' were forbidden to enter.

"Such was the state of the natives within the settled districts of the colony. It was surrounded, on the north and east, by tribes of savages, driven to subsist on plunder by the predatory excursions of the boors, or exasperated to the highest pitch of ferocity by their repeated attacks and massacres. The Namaqua Hottentots, formerly inhabiting the Nieuweveld, the Bokkeveld, and the Roggeveld, worn out by the repeated robberies committed upon them by the colonists, retired into the immense deserts stretching from the Kamiesberg to the bay of Angra Pequina, on the south-west coast of Africa. There they might have expected to have been allowed to remain, with the few cattle left them, unmolested; but the cupidity and violence which drove them from their springs of water, followed them occasionally into these waste regions; and they speak with horror of the scenes which usually took place when the white men surprised their kraals, to capture their women, their children, and their cattle. The Corannas and Bushmen were in similar circumstances, plundering the frontier boors to-day, hunted down and shot by the boors to-morrow. On the east, the Caffers and the colonists were constantly coming into hostile collision,

and inflicting on each other mutual injuries. Such was the wretched condition of the natives within and around the borders of the colony; and as it was said to have arisen in a great measure from the weakness of the Dutch Government, which found itself unable to check the fierce spirit of the frontier boors, now confident in their numbers and remote situation, so as to be ready on any occasion to assert their independence,—it was to be expected the new Government, whose fault certainly was not its weakness, would speedily restore order, and assert the violated rights of humanity. If the natives were not deemed entirely incapable of being civilised, it was clearly for the benefit of all parties, to adopt or to patronise every rational scheme for reclaiming them from their savage state, in which they were not only useless, but hurtful to the community. Powder and ball, the only means hitherto adopted for reducing them to peace, had only rendered them more ferocious, as far as regarded the tribes on the frontier; and the poor dejected Hottentots, who had been reduced to servitude, were decreasing every day in numbers and usefulness; and not to mention the light which had been thrown on the subject by various writers worthy of the highest respect, the records existing in the government offices were alone sufficient to excite the immediate attention of the new possessors of the Cape."

"General Dundas was the first English governor who seems to have been impressed with the necessity of interfering between the natives and their oppressors. The rebellious conduct of some of the boors, and their defiance of the constituted authorities, made him less ready to listen to their representations respecting the degraded and mischievous character ascribed to the Hottentots; although it does not

appear that he ever had leisure to mature any effective scheme for the melioration of that people. He gave, however, a favourable reception to the Missionaries sent to the Cape by the London Missionary Society (in 1799), who came to labour in the same field with the Moravians, but with greater force; and when the colony, in pursuance of an article in the treaty of Amiens, was restored to the Dutch, he discovered an honourable solicitude for their personal safety under circumstances which rendered their situation exceedingly perilous.*

"On the arrival of the new Governor, General Janssens, the frontier boors proposed that all the Hottentots should be seized; that every individual among them should have a chain put upon his legs; and that they should be distributed among them as slaves. The state of public opinion in Europe would not have admitted, had the General been so inclined, a method of enslaving the people, of so direct a nature; and the proposal was rejected with becoming spirit. Not at all discouraged by their defeat, a fresh objection was found against the Missionary Institution, in the change which had taken place in the colonial government, in having passed from the hands of the English to those of the Dutch. It was insinuated, that a mission to evangelize the Hottentots, conducted by Englishmen, was pregnant with danger to the Dutch government of the colony. This objection, which was too subtle to have originated with the boors, had been suggested to them by some of their friends at head-quarters." † The boors, in fact, cared little who were the masters of the colony, so long as they might pursue their atrocious system

* Philip, vol. i. pp. 55—62. † *Ib.*, vol. i. p. 90.

towards the wretched natives; and their chief, if not their only objection against the English Government under General Dundas, was the favour shewn to the Hottentots. Between the United Provinces and the Cape Colony, there was, says Mr. Barrow, "no natural tie." The greater part of the colonists were of French or German origin;* and the settlement, though nominally restored to the Batavian Republic, was actually become a colony of France.

Governor Janssens, who appears to have been a man of the most upright intentions, saw through the interested clamours of the boors against the Missionaries; their first proposals were, in fact, too gross to be listened to; but either he had not firmness enough, or the Government was too weak, to allow him to withstand their persevering importunities. In 1805, the Missionaries were summoned to Cape Town, to answer to some calumnious charges laid against them by the farmers, and were there detained nearly

* "The greater part of the colonists," says Mr. Barrow, "being the descendants of soldiers in German regiments, composed of Prussians, Hanoverians, Flemings, and Poles, and of French refugees who took shelter here after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, have neither knowledge of, nor family connexions in, the states of the Batavian Republic; nor have they any distinct idea of *Vaderland*; a word, however, that is constantly in their mouths. All they know is, that the Cape belonged to a company of merchants; that this company was their sovereign; and that they used to see a flag with three broad horizontal stripes, red, white, and blue, flying upon the castle, instead of the *Spinnekop*, or spider-legs, as they called the British ensign. A few years more would, therefore, in all probability, have rendered the greater part of them very indifferent as to the government under which they were to remain." Barrow, vol. i. p. 423. But the farmers fully expected that, with the return of the Dutch Government, the mission of Dr. Vanderkemp would be suppressed, and that the Hottentots would be abandoned to their tender mercies; on this account, the news of the article of the Treaty of Amiens was received with exultation.

nine months in a state of suspense and inaction; the Governor refusing either to put them upon their trial, or to allow of their return to the Interior to prosecute their labours. Their patience being at length exhausted, they had formed a resolution to leave the country, when, on the 4th of January, 1806, the arrival of an English fleet in Table Bay, produced a material change in their circumstances, as well as in those of the colony. On the 20th, Cape Town was surrendered to the British.

"Had the Dutch continued to retain possession of the Cape," Dr. Philip remarks, "many of the Hottentots, like the Javanese, might still have regretted the departure of the English from among them; but they have since been taught by experience, that the humanity with which they were at first treated by us, was less owing to any superiority in our national character, than to a fortunate conjunction of circumstances. When the English first took possession of the Cape, the Hottentots hailed their arrival, before they knew any thing of the character of their deliverers; and the story of their sufferings made a strong impression on the minds of a people who entertained a great aversion to their first oppressors, and who had, as yet, no interest to serve by enslaving them. The English found that the Hottentots could be trusted; they received from them the most efficient assistance in suppressing the insurrections of the boors; and, therefore, while the boors continued to be disaffected to the Government, the Hottentots enjoyed the smiles of the British authorities. But, when the boors, finding that the English were likely to retain permanent possession of the Cape, became reconciled to their new masters, the services of the Hottentots were forgotten, and their interests

were sacrificed to this union. It was soon perceived by the Missionaries, that, under the new system, the oppression of the Hottentots continued as under the old government; and Dr. Vanderkemp found that the new English authorities paid as little attention to his complaints as the Dutch authorities had been in the habit of doing."*

From this period, the annals of the colony exhibit a continued struggle, which the missionaries have had to maintain against the district authorities and the Colonial Government itself, in prosecuting their attempts to introduce religion and civilization among the native tribes. Into the details of this conflict between interested rapacity and corruption on the one hand, and Christian philanthropy on the other, it is not our province to enter. For ample and authentic information upon this subject, the reader must be referred to Dr. Philip's "Researches in South Africa," from which the preceding outline has been taken; a work which, by the mass of unassailable evidence it embodies, precludes all attempt at reply to its allegations, while its clear, temperate, but manly appeal to the Legislature, has, we hope we may say, won the cause to which the Author has so piously and heroically devoted himself.

The actual condition of the Hottentot population under the colonial laws, is thus described by Dr. Philip.

"The Hottentot is in a worse condition than the slave. The system of oppression under which the Hottentot groans, is attended with all the evils of the slave system; and those evils are, in many instances, more aggravated in the virulence of their character, without any of those mitigating circumstances which have been

* Philip, vol. i. p. 115.

urged in defence of common slavery. The only difference in favour of the condition of the Hottentot is, that he cannot, according to the institutions of the colony, be publicly bought and sold; but this difference will appear to be more in name than in reality, when it is recollected, that he is at present nothing more than an object of patronage, a perquisite of office, a kind of transferable property; and that this circumstance, which makes him of less value to the master, subjects him to hardships from which the common slave is, to a certain degree, exempted.

"While all that the Hottentot gains by being transferred from one master to another, is little more than the slave enjoys, on a West India plantation, in being transferred from under the jurisdiction of one overseer to that of another; the circumstance in the case of the Hottentot, that this transfer may be made, and the master lose his service, without any pecuniary indemnification, must lessen the interest the master feels in the well-being of the Hottentot, while he remains with him.

"It is on this principle, that the food of the Hottentot is generally of an inferior quality, and less in quantity, than that allowed the slave; that he seldom has any medical assistance afforded him when he is sick; that the punishments inflicted upon him are in general more frequent and more severe than those inflicted upon the slave,—the master sustaining no loss of property should his constitution sink under his hardships.

"The same cause, which leaves them without the aids of even a selfish sympathy in the service of their masters, deprives them of a protection which the slaves enjoy against the injuries to which they are exposed from strangers. The apprehension of the indignation

of the master will, on many occasions, preserve the slave from maltreatment; but the Hottentot has no friend sufficiently interested in him to furnish him with a shield against bad usage; and such as are disposed to oppress him, know this circumstance, and that they may trample upon him and his family with impunity."*

Nor are the Hottentots the only class of natives whose wrongs call loudly for redress. It now appears that the commando system so pathetically and indignantly denounced by Mr. Barrow, has been going forward under the connivance of the British authorities with increased activity and aggravated atrocity.

"In no period of equal length," says Dr. Philip, "in the history of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, has the work of death and slavery been carried on with the same degree of success which has attended it in the interim between 1817 and 1825. In 1816, we had 1600 people belonging to our Bushman stations of Toverberg and Hephzibah; and the Bushmen, though reduced and harassed by the commandoes which had been sent against them, were still the nominal possessors of the Bushman country south of the Orange river, and were to be seen existing in separate and independent kraals, in different parts of that country. But in 1825, when I visited their country, those kraals had disappeared; the missionary stations had all been put down; the country was then in the possession of the farmers; and the poor Bushmen still residing in it, were either in their service, or living like fugitives among the rocks, afraid to appear by day-light, lest they should be shot at like wild beasts.

"Barrow travelled in this country in 1797; and by

* Philip, vol. 1 pp. 159—163.

the following remarkable fact which he relates, we are furnished with a standard, by which we may take a comparative view of the destructive effects of the commandoes against the Bushmen, under the Dutch and the English governments :—

"'Twenty years ago,' says this writer, 'it seems they were less numerous and less ferocious than at the present day; and their boldness, as well as their numbers, is said of late to have very much increased. At one time, they were pretty well kept under by the regular expeditions of the peasantry which were undertaken against them. Each division had its commandant, who was authorised to raise a certain number of men, and these were furnished by Government with powder and ball. It was a service at all times taken with reluctance, especially by such as were least exposed to the attacks of the savages; and during the late disturbances at Graaf-Reinet, these expeditions met with considerable interruptions. The people of Bruintjes-hoogte were the first who failed in raising their proportion of men. Zuurveldt was deserted, and Camdeboo and Zwart Ruggens became negligent and remiss. The people of Sneeuwberg, lying nearest to the common enemy, were left to sustain the whole burden of repelling its attacks; and had they not conducted themselves with great fortitude, perseverance, and address, that valuable part of the colony, the nursery of cattle, would now have been abandoned. A whole division, called the *Tarka*, and a great part of another, the *Sea-Cow River*, and *Rhinoceros-berg*, had been deserted, as well as a small part of Sneeuwberg.'

"In the whole history of Dutch colonization, there is not, perhaps, a single part of that history, which reflects so much discredit upon their national character, as their conduct towards this unfortunate race of people;

and yet, it appears from the statement of Mr. Barrow, and the statement is countenanced by the details he gives, that the Bushmen had been increasing in numbers and ferocity for twenty years previous to the period at which he wrote; that is, during the greater part of the time that the commando system existed under the Dutch government.

"After making some allowance for the exaggeration as to the increase of their numbers, which might be occasioned by the alarm of the colonists, we are justified in asserting, that their sufferings under the Dutch government, did not amount to one-tenth of what they have had to endure under the English government.

"Judging from the detestation in which this country had been accustomed to hold the tyranny of the Dutch towards the aborigines of its colonies, and from the style in which their cruelty to the Bushmen was described by Barrow and other travellers, it might have been expected, that the transfer of the government into British hands was an event in which humanity had to rejoice. But what is the fact? During the last twenty-two years of the Dutch government at the Cape, the Bushmen were oppressed; yet, notwithstanding their oppressions, in 1796, they were still powerful. Since the English took possession of the colony in 1796, what was, in the time of the Dutch government, the Bushman country, has been brought into the possession of the colonists; and the people who were so powerful in 1796, as to threaten the colony, are now reduced to slavery, or to the condition of miserable fugitives in what was then their own country.

"Forcibly dispossessed of their country, or, at least the only valuable parts of it, and of the game on which they subsisted, were the conduct of the colonists

toward them ever so mild, little would remain for them but starvation; but, as the colonists are solely intent upon their slavery or their destruction, the distribution of the former through their country must give them, almost without the aid of commandoes, tenfold greater facilities. Besides the commando system, which has been revived, the Bushmen that escaped were treated as outlaws, and either driven from their native soil, or seized by the farmers. The whole of their country to the north-east, (the only fertile part,) from the former borders to the great Orange river, has been measured out by the colonial government to the new proprietors; and every Bushman who has survived the means taken to clear the country, and who is not in the service of the farmers, exists by sufferance only in a fugitive state. This fact is sufficient to shew the grounds why the missions were abolished: the plan could not have been executed while the missions existed; and the lights were put out, that what could not bear the eye of a witness, might be perpetrated in the dark. The facts before us are sufficient to shew how the evils heaped upon the Bushmen have been much greater under the English government than under the Dutch. The colonists have since that period prodigiously increased; they are not now at a distance from the Bushmen, but press upon their habitations; and the much more extended frontier presents more numerous points of attack. These circumstances, together with the high price of slaves, and their scarcity, from being divided among an increased white population, has greatly accelerated the work of extermination, and thrown an immensely greater number into the hands of the colonists. The difference between the former and the present state of their country, is the difference between

a country occasionally invaded by an enemy, and that country with all its forts, castles, and fenced cities in the possession of that enemy. Under the old system, the enemy came at particular seasons only, and the Bushmen were warned of their approach, and could shun them; but their enemies now cover every part of their country, and have left them the means neither of defence nor of concealment.

"Extended as the present frontier of the colony is, it will not stop there. Within the last thirty years, the frontier of the colony has been extending in every direction; and, as a proof that the colonists will not be satisfied to confine themselves within the bounds which have been fixed for them, the people of New Hantam had scarcely seated themselves in the Bushman country, on the banks of the great Orange river, when they began to cross it to seek new grazing grounds for their cattle, and to kill game (the only provision on which the natives had to depend) beyond it; and there are on the other side of that river, and immediately beyond the eastern and northern limits of the colony, numerous and interesting nations, who must shortly share the melancholy fate of the hordes who occupied what was formerly known to us as the Bushman country, unless British humanity and British justice throw their protecting shield over them." *

Hitherto, the missionary stations in South Africa have been the only places where the natives have enjoyed the shadow of protection. In these houses of refuge alone, they could claim an exemption from the most humiliating and degrading sufferings. To suppress or to ruin these institutions, has therefore been the chief aim of the Colonial Government during

* Philip's Researches, vol. ii. pp. 269—272; 46, 7.

the recent nefarious administration; and to the firmness of the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society's institutions in that country it must be attributed, that they have not been totally extinguished.

We must now proceed to give a statistical sketch of the colony. At the time that Mr. Barrow published his Travels in South Africa, the colonial territory extended along the Atlantic coast northward as high as the mouth of the River Koussie, in latitude 30° 15′. On the southern coast, its boundary eastward was the Great Fish River, the Rio d'Infante of the Portuguese; while its inland frontier reached to a point 225 miles N.N.W. of the mouth of that river, called Plettenberg's Landmark; whence it described "a circular sweep inwards" to the mouth of the Koussie, a distance of upwards of 500 miles. "By reducing this irregular figure to a parallelogram," says Mr. Barrow, "it will be found to comprehend an area of at least 120,000 square miles. And as it appears that the whole population of whites, blacks, and Hottentots within this area, amounts only to about 60,000 souls, every two square miles may be said to have at least *one* human creature upon it. If, therefore, the Dutch at home occupy one of the most populous countries in Europe, they possess abroad the most desert colony that is to be met with on the face of the globe. A very great proportion, however, of this settlement may be considered as an unprofitable waste, unfit for any sort of culture or even pasture. Level plains, consisting of a hard, impenetrable surface of clay, thinly sprinkled over with crystallized sand, condemned to perpetual drought, and producing only a few straggling tufts of acrid,

saline, and succulent plants,—and chains of vast mountains that are either totally naked, or clothed in parts with sour grasses only, or such plants as are noxious to animal life, compose at least one-half of the colony. These chains of mountains and the interjacent plains are extended generally in the direction of east and west; except that particular range which, beginning at False Bay, opposite to the Cape Point, stretches northward along the western coast as far as the mouth of Olifant's River, which is about 210 miles.

"The first great chain of mountains that runs east and west," (Lange Kloof or Long Pass,) "incloses between it and the southern coast, an irregular belt of land from 20 to 60 miles in width, indented by several bays, covered with a deep and fertile soil, intersected by numerous streamlets, well clothed with grass and small arboreous or frutescent plants, well wooded in many parts with forest trees, supplied with frequent rains, and enjoying, on account of its proximity to the sea, a more mild and equable temperature than the more remote and interior parts of the colony.

"The next great chain is the Zwarte Berg or Black Mountain. This is considerably more lofty and rugged than the first, and consists, in many places, of double, and sometimes treble ranges. The belt inclosed between it and the first chain, is about the mean width of that between the first and the sea. Its surface is very varied; composed, in some parts, of barren hills; in others, of naked, arid plains of clay, known to the natives, and also to the colonists, by the name of *karroo;* and in others, of choice patches of well-watered and fertile grounds. The general surface of this belt has a considerable elevation above that of the first; the temperature is less uniform; and, from the

nature of the soil, as well as the difficulty of access over the mountains, which are passable only in a few places, this district may be considered as much less valuable than the other.

"The third range of mountains is, the Nieuwveldt's Gebergte, which, with the second, grasps the Great Karroo, an arid plain, uninhabited by a human creature. This desert, making the third step or terrace of Southern Africa, is greatly elevated above the second; is nearly 300 miles in length from E. to W., and 80 in breadth; is scarcely ever moistened by a shower of rain; and exhibits a surface of clay thinly sprinkled over with sand, out of which a few shrivelled and parched plants here and there meet the eye, faintly extending their half-withered fibres along the ground, and struggling, as it were, to preserve their existence against the excessive heat of one season, and the severe frosts of the other.

"The country likewise ascends from the western coast towards the interior in successive terraces, of which the most elevated, called the Roggeveld, falls in with the Nieuwveldt. The whole tract of country to the northward, is much more sandy, barren, and thinly inhabited, than to the eastward; in which direction it seems to increase in beauty and fertility with the distance from the Cape.

"All the continued chains of mountains in Southern Africa, are composed of sandstone, resting upon a base of granite. This granite base is sometimes elevated considerably above the general surface of the country, and sometimes its upper part is sunk as far beneath it. In situations where the former happens to be the case, numerous springs are sure to be found: as in the instance of Table Mountain, where, on every side, copious

streams of pure, limpid water, filtered through the immense mass of superincumbent sandstone, glide over the impenetrable surface of granite, furnishing an ample supply to the whole town, the gardens, and the adjacent farms. But, in all those places where the sandstone continues to descend below the surface, and the granite base is sunk beneath the general level of the country, the springs that make their appearance are few and scanty.*

"The two principal rivers on the western coast are, the Berg or Mountain River, which takes its rise in the mountains that enclose the Vale of Drakenstein, and falls into St. Helena Bay; and the Olifant, or Elephants' River, which, after collecting the streamlets of the first chain of mountains in its northerly course along their feet, empties itself into the Southern Atlantic, in 31° 30' S. Though both these rivers have permanent streams of water sufficiently deep to be navigable by small craft to the distance of about twenty miles up the country, yet, the mouth of the former is choked up with a bed of sand, and across the latter is a reef of rocks.

"On the south coast of the colony, the permanent rivers, of any magnitude, are, the Broad River, the Gauritz River, the Knysna, the Keurboom River, the Camtoos River, the Zwart-kops River, the Sunday

* It is inferred from these facts, that the cisterns or cavities in the sandstone mountains, being corroded or fretted away, in the lapse of ages, to a greater depth than the original conduits of the waters, the springs can no longer find their way upon the surface, but, oozing between the granite and sandstone, escape by subterraneous channels to the sea. In support of this theory, it is urged, that, on almost every part of the isthmus that connects the peninsula of the Cape with the continent, fresh water is obtained at 10 or 12 feet below the sandy surface; and in the Namaqua country, clear, subterraneous streams are every where found under the sandy beds of the rivers.

River, and the Great Fish River; the last of which terminates the colony to the eastward. All these rivers are well stocked with perch, eels, and small turtle; and, to a certain distance from the coast, they abound with almost every kind of sea-fish peculiar to this part of the world. Besides the rivers above enumerated, the whole slip of land stretching along the sea-coast between the entrance of False Bay and the Great Fish River, is intersected by streamlets whose waters are neither absorbed nor evaporated; but they generally run in such deep chasms as to be of little use towards the promotion of agriculture by the aid of irrigation."*

From False Bay to the mouth of the Breede or Braad River, which discharges itself into St. Sebastian's Bay, no harbour of any kind exists. The mouth of this river, now called Port Beaufort, (though, like every other river on this coast, it is crossed by a bar of sand,) allows vessels of 200 tons to enter and discharge or load in safety; and it may be navigated by small craft for about 30 miles up the country. Port Beaufort has become a regular place of export for the produce of Zwellendam.

The Gauritz, the next great river on the coast, is a collection of waters from the Great Karroo, the Black Mountains, and the maritime chain. "The branches to the north of this chain, are periodical; but it flows to the southward throughout the year, though, in the summer months, with a very weak current;" and the bar at its mouth is then generally dry. In the rainy season, it is considered as the most rapid and dangerous river in the colony.†

The Knysna is described by Mr. Barrow as a lake

* Barrow, vol. ii. p. 22.

† Barrow, vol. ii. p. 26.

which has opened itself a channel to the sea; and the tide now sets in through a narrow passage, as into a dock. "This passage, though narrow, and not quite clear of rocks, appears to be capable of admitting small vessels; and within, there is plenty of deep water, stretching out into a basin of several miles in width. The surrounding hills are clumped with forest-trees, and their sloping sides are clothed with shrubbery down to the water's edge. The lake is studded with a number of flat islands, covered with verdure. The arms of the Knysna stretch into the deep valleys at the feet of the mountains, and are there lost in impenetrable forests. The whole country is boldly marked and most magnificently clothed, and may be considered, beyond comparison, as the grandest and most beautiful part of southern Africa." Mr. Thompson states, that there are 18 feet water on the bar at ebb-tide, and the harbour is safe from all winds.*

The Keurboom River, like the Knysna, runs up into the midst of tall forests, and might be navigated by boats to a considerable distance; but its mouth is completely blocked up by the almost perpetual swell of the sea. Plettenberg's Bay, into which it discharges itself, affords good anchorage; but, like Mossel Bay and Algoa Bay, it is exposed to the south-east winds.

The Camtoos River is a collection of waters from the more eastern parts of the same country that supplies the Gauritz. Just within the bar, there is a wide basin, deep enough to float a ship of the line; but the bar itself is fordable upon the beach at high water, and is frequently dry at ebb-tide. It falls into a wide bay of the same name, called also, the Bay of St. Francis and Content Bay. Within this bay, the only secure anchorage, according to Mr. Barrow, is opposite

*Barrow, vol. i. p. 300. Thompson, vol. ii. p. 323.

the mouth of a small stream called the Kromme or Crooked River. The latter river, however, Mr. Thompson says, admits vessels of 200 tons; and this harbour, though hitherto little known and rarely visited, promises to become of first-rate importance; more especially if, in addition to the abundance of timber in its neighbourhood, in the Zitzikamma, it prove true, that coal is to be found on its banks.

The Zwart-kops River is a clear, permanent stream of water, flowing down one of the most beautiful and fertile valleys in the colony; and it is among the very few of those that, by damming, may be turned upon the contiguous grounds. It flows past Uitenhage, and falls into Algoa Bay. Vessels of nearly 200 tons have entered it; but its mouth is occasionally obstructed by a bar of sand. It is, however, capable of great improvement, and would, at no very enormous expense, become navigable for steam-vessels nearly to the drostdy. The tide flows eight miles up this river.* The Zondag or Sunday River likewise falls into Algoa Bay, opposite the islands of St. Croix. It rises in the midst of the Snowy Mountains, and continues a permanently flowing stream, broad and shallow in the middle part of its course, and narrow and deep towards the mouth, which, like the rest, is choked with sand.

Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay, has become, as a mercantile port, Mr. Thompson says, next in importance to Table Bay, and is likely to prove the principal port of the eastern province. But, "although Algoa Bay has hitherto been considered as the port of the new settlement, its distance from the frontier renders it less eligible than Port Frances at the mouth of the Kowie River, which is the next port to the eastward, and

* Barrow, vol. ii. p. 21. Thompson, vol. ii. p. 324.

which river flows through the heart of the district of Albany." A plan has been suggested by the late Commodore Nourse, for clearing the bar of this river, which, if put in execution, would render this harbour, already made a custom-house port, highly valuable. It is the last harbour on the eastern coast of the colony.*

The Great Fish River takes its rise beyond the Snowy Mountains, and, in its long course, collects a multitude of streamlets, most of which are constantly supplied with water. "On each side of its mouth is a wild, rocky, and open shore; but the projecting cheeks form a small cove or creek, which, it seems, was frequented by the Portuguese shortly after their discovery of the Cape; though, from the boisterous appearance of the sea upon the bar, it is difficult to conceive how they dared to trust their ships in such an exposed situation; unless, indeed, they were so small as to be able, at high water, to cross the bar; in which case, they might be at all seasons in perfect security."† The bar has been crossed by a boat, but it is constantly shifting, and the offing is much more exposed than the mouth of the Kowie.

The northern regions without the colony are watered by two large rivers, the Lesser Fish River and the Gariep or Orange River. The latter, which falls into the Atlantic in lat. 28° 30′, is formed by two rivers, the Ky Gariep (Yellow River) and the Nu Gariep (Black River), which unite their waters in latitude 29° 4′,

* Thompson, vol. ii. pp. 324, 328. The Kowie River is not mentioned by Barrow, the imperfection of whose account of the coast, we have endeavoured to correct by aid of Mr. Thompson's valuable observations on the bays and harbours. The whole of the coast has been recently surveyed by Captain Owen, R.N., and a far more complete account, therefore, may be expected in his forthcoming publication.

† Barrow, vol. ii. p. 22.

upwards of 500 miles due E. from their mouth. The latter branch, flowing from the S.E., is called, higher up, the Cradock River, and receives the Sea-cow River and some other streams from the Sneuwbergen. The Muddy or Alexander River, flowing also from the S.E., falls into the Yellow River above its confluence with the Nu Gariep. The former river, the Ky Gariep, comes from the N.E., and is formed by the union of the Vaal River with the Hart stream or Malalareen. The Krooman River, which has its source to the E. of New Lattakoo, and is now lost in the desert, is said to have formerly reached, by a south-westerly course, the Great Gariep, in about longitude 21° 10′.* The Little Fish River or Konup, which waters the Great Namaqua territory, also falls into the Gariep about 70 miles from its mouth.†

The whole of the territory comprised within the Dutch colony at the time that it came into the hands of the English, was divided into four districts, *viz.*, 1. Cape District; 2. Stellenbosch and Drakenstein; 3. Zwellendam; 4. Graaff Reynet.‡ In 1810, the extension of the colony, and the formation of new villages, had rendered it necessary, for the more convenient administration of the local jurisdiction, to divide the territory into eleven districts of very unequal extent. These consisted of the four original districts,

* Mr. Campbell, in 1820, met with natives who remembered its flowing much further into the Desert.

† Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 341. The Konup is stated to be formed by many tributary streams which issue from the Copper Mountains; and its course, which is nearly S., has been traced about 300 miles N. from the point where it falls into the Orange, to the country of the Damaras. Mr. Burchell, however, places a "Fish River" (that of Le Vaillant) between the parallels of 26° and 27°, flowing westerly into the Atlantic.—Burchell, vol. i. p. 579.

‡ Barrow, vol. ii. p. 25.

each placed under the superintendence of a land-drost; the sub-drostdies of Caledon, Clanwilliam, Albany, and the Tarka; and the districts of George, Uitenhage, and the Tulbagho.* To these has subsequently been added, the new district of Beaufort.† And the extension of the eastern frontier to the river Keiskamma, about 32 miles N.E. of the Great Fish River, has given occasion for the formation of a new district under the name of Fredericksburg. Other modifications and sub-divisions will hereafter become necessary, as the population of the colony advances. The Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of the colony have offered a suggestion which has received his Majesty's approbation, as to dividing the whole into two provinces. According to this arrangement, the distribution of the districts will stand as under:—

WESTERN PROVINCE.

1. Cape District.
2. Stellenbosch.
3. Caledon.
4. Zwellendam.
5. Worcester (formerly Tulbagh).
6. Clanwilliam.

* Burchell, vol. i. p. 75. "Each (of these districts) is placed under the superintendence of either a *land-drost* or a deputy *land-drost*, who administers the government, in most respects, as the representative of the governor; and it is through him that all laws, proclamations, and inferior regulations are carried into effect. Each district is subdivided into a number of *Veld-cornetcies*; in which it is the duty of the *Veld-cornet* (field-cornet) to put into execution all orders from the *land-drost*, to whom he is more immediately accountable."

† "Beaufort was created a sub-drostdy only a few years ago; and the village which has arisen in consequence of the establishment of the provincial magistracy, contains about thirty houses. It is situated near the base of the Nieuwveld mountains, on the verge of the Karroo, and is watered principally by a fountain which forms one of the sources of the Gamka River."—Thompson, vol. i. p. 272.

Eastern Province.

1. Graaff Reynet.
2. Beaufort.
3. Somerset.
4. Albany.
5. Uitenhage.
6. George.
7. Fredericksburg.

The superficial extent of the two provinces, is nearly equal; but their physical character and productions are very dissimilar. Corn and wine are the chief produce of the western districts: the eastern are principally adapted for pasturage. It is proposed, that the capital of the Eastern Province shall be either Uitenhage or Graham's Town.*

The population of the colony, which was estimated, in 1798, at nearly 62,000 souls, had risen in 1806, to 77,055; of which 26,768 were whites, 20,426 were Hottentots, and 29,861 slaves.† In 1808, it appears to have declined to 73,873; but in 1810, it had again risen to 80,443; and, in the following year, it is stated at 87,018 souls. In 1812, however, it had sunk to 81,964. Whether these fluctuations arose from the influx and reflux of emigration, or from any

* Miss. Reg., 1828, p. 39. Caledon is not now a distinct district of the Westward Province: it was a sub-drostdy of Zwellendam. Fredericksburg is not yet recognised as a district. Uitenhage and George have been rejoined, as also Albany and Somerset.

† Thompson's Africa, vol. ii. p. 426. In Malte Brun, a different census has been followed, which states the numbers, in 1806, at only 75,145 souls; in 1810, at 81,122; in 1814, at 84,069; in 1819, at 99,026; in 1821, at 116,044; and in 1822, at 120,000; no notice being taken of the intermediate fluctuations. In the latter estimate, 115,000 is taken as the fixed population, and 5000 are added for sojourners, troops, crews of ships, and Hottentots. Of the fixed population, 47,978 were free; 28,835 Hottentots; and 33,557 slaves.—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 361.

difference in the way of obtaining the census, we are unable to state. From the last date, the increase appears to have been constantly progressive, the numbers having risen in 1814, to 84,657; in 1816, to 88,486; in 1817, to 97,535; in 1819, to 101,657; in 1822, to 111,451; in 1823, to 116,205;* and in 1827, to 120,036, *viz.*†

	Free.	Slaves.	Total.
Western Province .	45,014	28,934	73,948
Eastern Province .	39,513	6,575	46,088
	84,527	35,509	120,036

Owing to immigration, the population of the eastern division increases much faster than that of the western, though even this appears to have doubled its population in twenty-four years. There is now, therefore, an individual to every square mile, or forty persons to every farm; the total number of farms in the colony being, in 1822, about 3000, though very unequal in point of extent.

The Cape District is at once the smallest and most populous, containing, on a surface of about 2240 square miles, a population of 7462 souls, exclusive of the capital.‡ It consists of two parts; the peninsula on which the town is built, and the slip of land extending from the shore of Table Bay to the mouth of Berg River, and separated from Stellenbosch and Drakenstein by the Little Salt River, Deep River, and Mossel

* Thompson, vol. ii. p. 426.

† Miss. Reg., 1828, p. 39.

‡ According to the census of 1823: *viz.*, 2891 whites, 960 Hottentots, and 3611 slaves.—Thompson, vol. ii. p. 424. The numbers have since then probably increased, and with the population of the capital, cannot be under 28,000 souls, or three eighths of the population of the Western Province.

Bank River. This is about eighty miles from N. to S., and twenty-five from E. to W.; while the Cape Peninsula is about thirty miles in length, and eight in breadth.

The natural productions of the Cape Peninsula, in the vegetable kingdom, are more numerous, varied, and elegant than, perhaps, any spot of equal extent in the world. It is from this part that we have received the most magnificent plants that adorn our gardens or green-houses, while many others, of not inferior beauty, remain strangers to Europe. The bulbous class of plants are particularly numerous in the Cape, and no where exhibit so many beautiful varieties. The tribes of ixia, iris, antholiza, gladiolus, amaryllis, and geranium, are singularly numerous and elegant. The frutescent or shrubby plants that grow in wild luxuriance, some on the hills, others in the deep chasms of the mountains, and others on the sandy isthmus, furnish an endless variety for the labours of the botanist. The silver-leaved *protea* imparts to the groves of the Cape, a "metallic splendour," finely relieved by the deep foliage of the oak and the still deeper hue of the stone pine; while one of the numerous species of heath (*erica tomentosa*) gives the appearance of a carpet of hair. The Cape olive-tree and the *sophora*, a tree like the ash, furnish some wood for joinery; but there is a deficiency of building timber and fire-wood, although forests of magnificent oaks are said to exist to the east of False Bay, in that part called Hottentot Holland. Generally speaking, however, the vegetation of this part of Africa does not satisfy the eye of a European. "The fields," we are told, "are separated by deserts; the green turf, scattered and thin, nowhere presents a close bed of

verdure; the forests, filled with pointed trees, afford neither a delicious coolness nor a solemn darkness. Nature is here more imposing than beautiful; and, as if to divide her favours, while lavishing brilliance of colour and elegance of structure on the Flora of the Cape, is said to have withheld that sweetness which fills the gardens of Europe with fragrance. Hence, it is a common saying, that, in South Africa, flowers have no smell, birds no song, rivers no fish." * This is, nevertheless, far from being universally true. The sides of the hills, Mr. Barrow says, are finely scented with the family of geraniums; the beautiful species of *gladiolus* called *Africaner*, has a fragrant smell; and the *avond-bloem* or evening flower (*iria hesperanthera*), which remains closed up in its brown calyx all day, expands at sunset its small white blossoms, and perfumes the night air with its fragrance.

Culture has introduced many European plants. The Madeira vine here produces an excellent wine. The plants of the Muscadel vine brought from the South of France, thrive well, and the Cape Frontignac and Lavelle are nearly equal in flavour to the original wines. The famous Constantia, which is produced from plants originally brought from Shiraz, possesses a peculiar flavour not to be found in any of the French wines. "The Pontac of Constantia," says M. Malte Brun, "is pure ambrosia, far superior to French Pontac, which our connoisseurs nevertheless admire. If the inhabitants of the Cape better understood their interest, and would abandon their beaten tracks, they

* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 348. The latter part of the remark, it is added, is not quite correct, but it explains why two rivers have been distinguished by the name of Fish River.

would much raise the high character of their wines; and this colony might become the great vineyard of England." *

The fruits of Northern Europe, such as cherries and apples, have somewhat degenerated here; but the figs, apricots, almonds, and oranges are as delicious as those of France. Wheat, barley, and oats are cultivated with success; but rice does not grow. Flax yields two crops in the year, and hemp is abundant;

* "The Constantia wine, already so exquisite, does not seem susceptible of much improvement; but the other varieties, sold in England to the amount of 5000 pipes *per annum*, under the appellations of Cape wine and Cape Madeira, have an earthy taste, a dilute taste of Muscadel, and, in most instances, an undisguised taste of brandy. The first fault is said to be derived from the argillaceous soil on which the vine-stocks grow, and with which the grapes may occasionally come in contact. It is never met with in wine produced from a soil of decomposed feldspar, and most probably is proportionate to the quantity of clay in the soil of the vineyard. But the sole cause of this and the other vices being found so generally in these wines, is the avarice or mismanagement of the Cape merchants, who vainly endeavour to correct them by mingling up all sorts together with a large addition of their wretched brandy. So great has been the depreciation of these wines from this cause, combined with over-production, that the 6909 pipes of wine, which were the produce of the vintage of 1806, for exportation, were actually worth more than the 10,000 pipes of 1821. The whole colony is computed to grow 22,400,100 bearing vines, equivalent to 21,333 pipes, and to be easily capable of producing double this quantity. But, as the colony alone consumes above 6500 pipes annually, and the population has increased above one-half since 1806, the present dismay of wine-merchants and planters, from the low prices, must speedily be removed, by the rectifying influence of a demand increasing so much faster than the supply." That over-production is the chief cause of the present depression, is sufficiently demonstrated by Constantia wine having fallen nearly in the same ratio (from 200 to 150 rix-dollars the nineteen gallon cask) as the other and faulty wines of the Cape. Of these, there are no fewer than 150 varieties known, though all proceeding from no more than eleven different species of the vine."—Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 350.

but they have not yet been able to make either linen or cordage. The Dutch East India Company had latterly attempted the culture of tea, and had tolerably succeeded; but the English, it is said, destroyed all the shrubs, to prevent the commerce with China from being injured.* "The tea of China, the coffee of Java, the cotton of India, the tobacco of America, together with a long list of the productions of the southern countries of Europe, might all, it is believed," says Mr. Thompson, "be successfully cultivated in different parts of the Colony. But it is not from these sources that the early prosperity of the Colony must arise, any more than from the iron, the copper, and other minerals which it is known to possess." Copper is known to exist in abundance in Little and Great Namaqualand,† and according to the reports of the Missionaries, native iron also in considerable blocks, as in Siberia and Senegal.‡ The mineral most likely to be first in request, is that well known to exist on the Van Staade's River, between the Camtoos River and Algoa Bay,—a rich vein of silver and lead. It is currently reported, that coal has been found on the Kromme River, not far from Van Staade's River; a discovery which, if verified, would be an invaluable

* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 352.

† The Bamakwün and Morutzi countries, and the Koperbergen (copper mountains) in Little Namaqualand, are specified by Burchell (vol. ii. p. 568) as the only places in the extra-tropical part of South Africa, where copper has hitherto been found, although its existence in other parts is probable. The ore is manufactured by the Bichuanas.—Ib. vol. ii. pp. 439—532.

‡ Iron ore is found at Sensavan in the Transgariepine country, and forms an article of barter, being used as an unguent. At Litakun or Lattakoo, the Nuakketsi Bichuanas bring to market, iron ware of their own manufacture, consisting of knives, hassagays, and hatchets, together with iron and copper beads, and copper bracelets.—Burchell, vol. ii. pp. 257—439.

acquisition to Africa, as furnishing the means of smelting her ores and supplying her steamers.* For some time to come, however, the staple commodities of South Africa will be the produce of the wine districts,† grain,‡ hides and skins, horses, argol, aloes, wool, and perhaps silk. The white mulberry attains here, Mr. Thompson says, to the highest degree of perfection; the climate is precisely suited to the worm, and a population well adapted for the tendance of these insects, is to be found in the Hottentots. The whale-fisheries on the coast, which have hitherto furnished an article of export, are on the decline; and unless conducted on some better principles, the trade is likely to become of little value to the colony.

We shall not further pursue in this place the statistics of the colony, but must now proceed with our topographical sketch, commencing, of course, with the seat of government.

CAPE TOWN.

Cape Town, which may be considered as the capital of the colony, is situated on the south-east angle of Table Bay, on a plain sloping down from the Table

* Thompson, vol. ii. p. 295.

† The principal wine districts lie in the Stellenbosch districts along the chain of Hottentot's Holland Mountains. The other parts that produce the Cape wines are, the skirts of Table Mountain, Constantia and its neighbourhood, Hout's Bay, and Tiger Berg. These latter places chiefly produce the favourite wines, such as Hock and sweet muscadels; while the more distant farms produce the Cape Madeira and Pontac.—Thompson, vol. ii. p. 285.

‡ The principal corn districts are the Blue Berg, Koëberg, Zwartland, and Twenty-four Rivers; all in the Cape district. But the greater part of Swellendam, George, and Uitenhage are equally capable of producing corn abundantly.—Thompson, vol. ii, p. 285.

Mountain. It stands in latitude 33° 55′ 40″ S., longitude 18° 23′ 11″ E. "It usually happens," remarks Mr. Barrow, "that the advantages of the bay, in forming a new settlement, determine the choice of the site for the town; but, in this instance, the convenience of a plentiful stream of pure, limpid water, rushing out of the Table Mountain, was the primary object to which the bay was subservient. Had this not been the case, the first settlers would unquestionably have given the preference to Saldanha Bay, whose only defect is the want of fresh water in the vicinity: whereas, Table Bay is faulty in every point that constitutes a proper place for the resort of shipping, and is so boisterous for four months in the year, as totally to exclude all ships from entering it."*

In other respects, the situation of Cape Town is disadvantageous. The want of pasture in the neighbourhood is a serious inconvenience; and standing as it does at the extreme corner of the country, the roads into the interior being for many miles an incurably heavy sand, it is in as bad a situation as possible for inland traffic. Yet, in a country so destitute of navigable rivers, the capital could flourish no where but on the coast, and its situation is as central as a maritime position admits of. The safety of the harbour, too, Mr. Thompson says, has been much undervalued. Occasionally, during the months of June, July, and August, it is exposed to the N. W. monsoon; but the

* Barrow, vol. ii. p. 224. "Saldanha Bay is one of the best bays, when once entered, on the African coast; but is nearly destitute of fresh water. Much has been said about bringing the Berg River into this bay; but I fear, if practicable, this is not a work for the present generation. Saldanha Bay being situated so far to the leeward of the Cape of Good Hope, during the S.E. monsoons, renders it far from being that desirable naval station so much recommended by some writers."—Thompson, vol. ii. p. 314.

greater part of the accidents that occur, are attributable to either carelessness or ignorance.

The first view of Cape Town, backed by the immense precipice of Table Mountain, rising like a wall, is very imposing. On approaching the land from the S. W., a range of faint blue mountains is first descried, at the northern end of which, Table Mountain and Lion's Head are easily distinguished by the peculiarity of their form. During great part of the summer, when a S.E. wind prevails, a remarkable white cloud, called by sailors the Table Cloth, is generally seen resting upon the mountain with all the appearance of a ponderous substance.* To a ship keeping the Lion's Head and the middle of the northern side of Table Mountain in a line at the distance of about two miles, the mountain exhibits the form of a lion couchant, its fore-paws forming the southern point of Camp's Bay, while the tail is represented by the flat land of Green Point. On rounding this point, the Jutty (or landing-place) and castle, first come in sight; and at length, after passing the Chavonne and Amsterdam batteries, the town itself, with its neat white buildings, spreading over the valley from the sea-shore to the mountains on either side.† The low tower of the Calvinist church, surmounted with a squat, pyramidal steeple, is the only prominent feature; but the whole effect is very cheerful and pleasing.

The best description of the town, as it appeared in 1810, is furnished by Mr. Burchell. It then contained more than twenty streets, all of which, intersecting at right angles, run either in a north-westerly

* As long as this table-cloth is spread over the top of the mountain, it is difficult to enter the Bay, from the furious blasts that at such times pour down as from the clouds, and baffle the mariner.

† See Plate.

direction parallel to the strand, or south-westerly from the sea towards Table Mountain.* "These streets," continues the Traveller, "though not paved, are kept always in excellent order, and derive an agreeable freshness from trees of oak and pinaster planted here and there on either side. The houses are built of brick, and faced with a stucco of lime. They are decorated in front with cornices and many architectural ornaments, and frequently with figures both in high and low relief. In front of each house, is a paved platform, (called the *Stoep*, or step,) usually eight or ten feet wide, and commonly from two to four feet above the level of the street. It is ascended by steps, and has, generally, a seat at each end; and here the inhabitants frequently walk or sit to enjoy the air, or to converse with passing friends. The roofs are flat, having no greater inclination than is just sufficient to throw off the rain water, and form a very commodious terrace. On account of the mildness of the Cape winters, fire-places are no where seen, excepting in the kitchens. Within, the houses have, to an eye accustomed to the elegant decorations and furniture of an English apartment, the appearance of a want of comfort, and, not having a plastered ceiling, the bare joists and floor above give them the look of an unfinished building; but the loftiness and size of the rooms render them respectable, and contribute greatly

* "Cape Town," says Mr. Barrow, "is built with great regularity; the streets being all laid out with a line. It is the only assemblage of houses in the colony, that deserves the name of a town. It consists of 1145 dwelling-houses, inhabited by about 5,500 whites and people of colour, and 10,000 blacks. Many of the streets are open and airy, with canals of water running through them, walled in and planted on each side with oaks: others are narrow and ill-paved. Three or four squares give an openness to the town."—Barrow, vol. ii. p. 26. This was in 1806.

to their coolness in summer. The houses, even of the poorer class of inhabitants, have, outwardly, a neat and architectural form. Carpets are seldom used; and the reason assigned for this is, that they afford in this, as in all warm climates, a harbour to insects.

"It is remarkable, that one of the finest situations in the town is occupied by buildings of the most inferior description. The beach, with a full view of the bay and shipping, would seem to be a site worthy of some elegant houses and of a handsome terrace; which, being the first objects to meet the eye of a stranger on entering the bay, would considerably strengthen the favourable impression of the respectability of the town.

"There are two churches; one for the reformed or Calvinistic congregation, the established church of the Dutch Government, and which is also used by the English for the performance of their service; the other built by the Lutherans, the number of whom is very considerable. Besides these, there is a good-sized meeting-house, which is open to preachers of various denominations. The Malays have also a house dedicated to the Mohammedan form of worship, with a regular priest, established and supported by themselves: this latter building is nothing more than a private dwelling-house converted to that use. The government-house is situated in the town, surrounded with plantations, in a garden, consisting of several acres of ground, laid out in avenues crossing each other at right angles, and thickly shaded by oaks. This garden is an exceedingly pleasant promenade during the heat of the day, and is always open to the public. The *stad huis*, or burgher-senate-house, is a large, handsome building, appropriated to the transacting of

public business of a civic nature. It stands in the middle of the town, on one side of the square called *Groente Plein*, in which a daily market for vegetables is held. There is on the northern side of the town, another square, called *Boere Plein* (Farmer's Square), where the farmers used to assemble with their waggons, to dispose of their commodities; but, since my arrival in the colony, another boor-market has been established at the southern entrance to the town, and a market-house erected, at which every waggon, bringing a load of country produce, is obliged to halt, while proper officers take an account of every article they may have for sale; and, having ascertained the quantities of each, register them in books kept for that purpose. Here, they are generally met by purchasers; if not, they proceed into the town.

"The castle is a large, pentagonal fortress on the south-eastern or inland side of the town, close to the water's edge. It commands the jutty, or landing-place, and part of Table Bay, and completely controls the only road between the town and country. On the north-western side of the castle is the Parade, a large oblong plain, surrounded with a walk, shaded by pinasters and stone-pines, and enclosed by a wall and moat. Near the parade are the barracks for the cavalry, an extensive and ornamental building, begun in the year 1772, originally intended for a hospital; and between this and the castle is the custom-house, built in 1813. Close to the entrance to the government garden, is a large and handsome building, completed in 1815, which contains the Court of Justice, the Secretary's office, and most of the principal public offices. The theatre is situated in the *Boer Plein;* it was seldom used, as it depended chiefly on the performance of amateurs.

Cape Town possesses several other buildings appropriated to business of a public nature, such as may easily be supposed requisite for a large town and a considerable population."*

Among other edifices which have since been erected, are the commercial exchange (founded August 1819) and the butcher's hall (1820), an English church, and an observatory. To the southward of the town, a great number of elegant villas are scattered about, between vineyards, groves, and plantations. The country, as far as Rondebosch, Wynberg, and Constantia, is "really delightful, and, more than any other part of the colony, resembles the rich, cultivated scenery of England."†

The climate of the Cape is both pleasant and salubrious. The town is, indeed, subject to violent winds, and the dust of the streets is then extremely annoying. The winter and the spring are the most delightful part of the year. The thermometer then seldom sinks below 50° of Fahrenheit, although ice is sometimes found on the top of Table Mountain, and during a few days in the year, the summits of the Stellenbosch and Hottentot Holland Mountains are covered with snow. The highest degree which Mr. Burchell observed the thermometer to attain, in Cape Town, was 102° of Fahrenheit, in the shade. During the warm season, it generally ranges between 80° and 90°. The price of provisions is comparatively low. Labour, house-rent, and fire-wood constitute a large proportion of the expenses of living at Cape Town. Fruit, vegetables, and fish are abundant and cheap; but fresh-water fish are so rare as to be deemed almost a curiosity.

* Burchell, vol. i. pp. 70—74. † *Ib.* p. 74.

In the official census of 1824, the population of Cape Town stood as follows :*

White Inhabitants	8,246
Free Blacks	1,870
Prize Apprentices	956
Hottentots	520
Slaves	7,076
	18,668

In this census, the English settlers recently arrived, were not included ; and the entire population of the town, exclusive of the military, cannot be under 20,000 souls.

The Whites are of various European nations. The Dutch are still the most numerous, and fill many situations of importance. Justice was, till within the past year, administered according to the Dutch law, and causes were pleaded in that language in writing. The English are numerous, chiefly of the military and mercantile classes. Besides these, there are Germans, Swedes, and French, or their descendants born in the colony. The slaves are, for the most part, Malays or natives of Madagascar and the eastern coast. The Hottentots, preferring a country life, are generally averse from engaging in the service of masters residing in the towns.

The picture which Mr. Barrow drew, thirty years ago, of the state of society in Cape Town, and the colony generally, if not somewhat overcharged, is no longer a fair delineation of the Cape Dutch. "Of the habits and customs of the Cape Dutch, in Cape Town and its vicinity," says Mr. Thompson, "I need only say, that they are becoming every day more decidedly English. It will be a matter of regret, if they ever so

* Thompson, vol. ii. p. 423.

entirely change as to lose some of their present characteristics. They are a frank and hospitable, and at the same time a prudent and thrifty race."* Other changes, however, have recently been made, and are in progress, which will, it is hoped, prove of a beneficial character. The old Dutch court of justice has been superseded by a court more on the English model; consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges, with an attorney-general, &c. in place of the old fiscal. Landdrosts and heemraden have been supplanted by civil commissioners, resident magistrates, and justices of peace. A council has been appointed, to assist with their advice the governor; consisting of the chief justice, the government secretary, the military officer next in command to the governor for the time being, the accountant-general, and the chief commissioner of the eastern province. But the most important measure of all, is an order in council, just passed, placing the Hottentots and other free coloured population under the equal protection of the laws, and declaring them to be, as subjects of the British government, in every respect on the same footing as the white colonists, whether Dutch or English.

A minute topographical description of the extended and thinly peopled territory comprised within the Cape colony, would neither be interesting to the reader, nor practicable within our fast contracting limits.† A few particular places, however, seem to claim to be specifically described.

* Thompson, vol. ii. p. 238. With regard to the back country boors, this Traveller says, the truth seems to lie between the very dark picture of their brutally rude and indolent habits drawn by Mr. Barrow, and the opposite representations of Dr. Lichtenstein, who has not always discovered a respect for truth or fairness.

† "The only villages in the colony, in 1815, were those of Stel-

The Table Mountain is the chief feature of the country in the vicinity of the capital; and an excursion to its summit is one of the first rambles taken by an adventurous traveller. To the botanist and the geologist, it affords a rich source of gratification; and the prospect it commands, though somewhat too much of a bird's-eye view, is of vast extent: it has been calculated that the eye ranges over the ocean to the distance of 73 miles. The height of Table Mountain has been ascertained to be 3,582 feet above the ocean.* The most beautiful ride within a short distance of the town, is to Wynberg; Constantia, also, has its attractions; and a Guide to the Cape would embrace a variety of pleasant rambles, of which we cannot attempt the detail.

About seventy-five miles from Cape Town, in the direction of S. E. by E. are the warm baths of Zwarteberg, "the *Baiæ* of the Cape." Unlike the watering-places of England, however, the site of these springs affords no attractions of amusement or society, and can barely accommodate its visiters with the necessary supplies. They are resorted to only by a few invalids, who have faith in their medicinal efficacy. The temperature of the springs is as high as 118°, and 112° in the bath. The water contains iron and sulphur, and has a slightly chalybeate taste. Throughout the whole distance from Cape Town, not a large tree is to be seen, except round the houses of the colonists.

lenbosch, founded in 1670; Graaffreynet, 1786; Swellendam, 1745; Tulbagh, 1804; Uitenhage, 1804; Paarl; Simon's Town, Zwartland, 1801: George, 1812; Caledon, 1810; Graham's-town, 1811; here enumerated in the order of their size. And the only churches, except those in Cape Town, were at Stellenbosch, Swellendam, Paarl, Zwartland, Graaffreynet, Tulbagh, and Caledon."—Burchell, vol. i. p. 76.

* Burchell, vol. i. p. 43.

The Black Mountain itself, as it is appropriately named, is an assemblage of black, barren, rocky hillocks, rising one above the other in strange confusion, inhabited only by wolves, jackals, tigers, and serpents. It stretches about ten miles N. E. and S. W., and is perfectly barren.*

To the N. of the Zwarteberg is the Gnadenthal or Bavian's Mountain, where the Moravian Missionaries have their chief settlement. This interesting establishment lies about 130 miles E. by N. of Cape Town. It was founded in the year 1737; but George Schmidt, the first missionary, was at length compelled to abandon his benevolent undertaking, and returned to Europe in 1744. In 1792, three Moravian Missionaries were sent out, with the permission of the Dutch East India Company, to renew the mission; and they fixed themselves at the same place, where, after a lapse of nearly fifty years, they still found some remains of the venerable Schmidt's garden and hut.† The place derived its original name, Bavian's Kloof (Baboon's Glen), from having formerly been the resort of a great number of baboons, who have now retired to more desolate parts of the mountain, seldom making their appearance, except in the fruit season. The name of Gnadenthal, or Grace Vale, was bestowed upon it by Governor Janssens. Its secluded situation in a pleasant valley, surrounded with bold and lofty mountains, well harmonizes with the quiet, neat, and orderly aspect of every thing in the village, and with the general

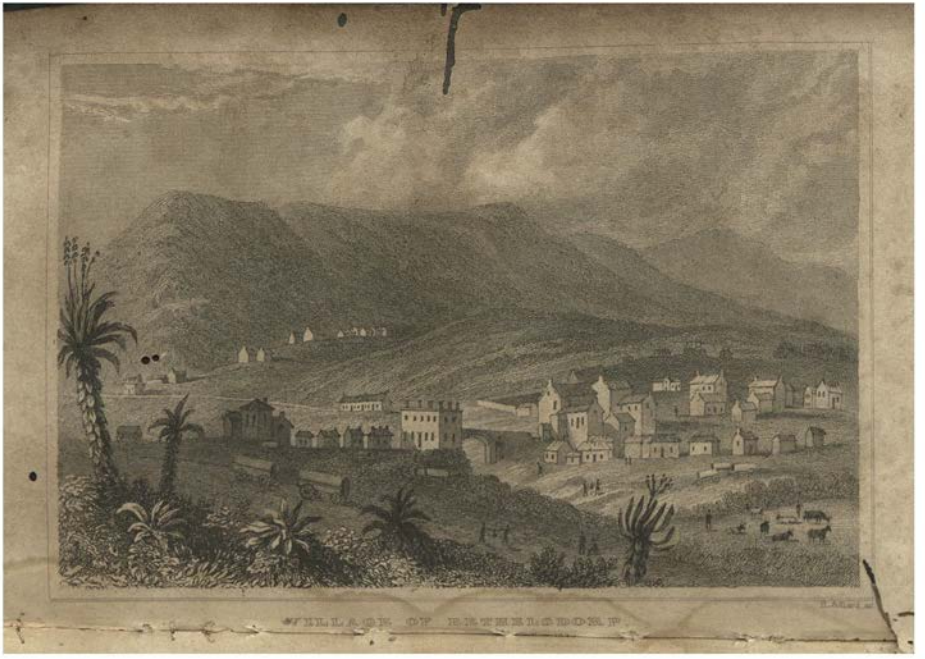
* Burchell, vol. i. p. 95. Latrobe, p. 77. A further account of the waters is given by Sparman and Thunberg.

† A great pear-tree, planted by the venerable Missionary, served the brethren, in 1792, for both a church and a school, the people sitting under the shade of its wide-spread branches. It was still flourishing in 1816.—Latrobe, p. 62.

character of the Institution. At one end of a small green stands the church, built in 1797; a plain oblong white building, with a thatched roof. On one side, a shady grove of oaks, planted soon after the re-establishment of the mission, surrounds, and half conceals, the dwellings of the Missionaries, the water-mill, the blacksmith's shop, and other buildings; all the work of the Missionaries and their Hottentots, and substantially built in the Dutch style, neatly covered with thatch. Contiguous to the church is an excellent garden; beyond it a vineyard; and behind the latter, a large burying-ground, laid out in the regular style peculiar to the Moravians. A small rivulet, called Bavian's river, issuing from the kloof or glen, meanders through the village, and falls into the Zondereind. On each side of the valley the cottages are placed in rows; the rest are irregularly scattered. Each house has its garden, which becomes forfeited in case of any breach of good order or morality. The number of Hottentots belonging to the Institution in 1810, was about 1400 souls; but the number of actual residents varies according to the demand of the neighbouring farms for Hottentot labourers.*

Bethelsdorp, the principal establishment of the London Missionary Society, is in the district of Uitenhage, 450 miles eastward of Cape Town, near Algoa Bay. Its situation is confessedly most ill-chosen, or rather, most disadvantageous; for Dr. Vanderkemp, the founder, had no election in the

* Burchell, vol. i. pp. 103—115. Latrobe, pp. 59—69. The number of children now in the school, is 326; and the average daily attendance is 200. Since the commencement of the Mission, there have been baptized in Gnadenthal, 1285 adult Hottentots and 1144 children.—Miss. Reg., 1829, p. 22.



case.* The first view is as unpleasing as the site is incorrigibly unfavourable. "Not a tree is to be seen, excepting two or three ragged *speckbooms* before the Mission-house, and scarcely a blade of grass. The hills inclosing the small kloof near the village, are completely barren, and their outlines tame and uninteresting. The small brook coming out of the kloof is quite insufficient for the purposes of irrigation or to supply water for a mill." † Every thing about it, however, is not as barren as the scenery; and though deficient in the picturesque, it has, since it was visited by the writer we have cited, considerably improved in more essential respects. The following description of its appearance in 1825, is given by a gentleman who unites to poetical genius, the heart of a patriot and a philanthropist.

"It is now about five years," says Mr. Pringle, "since I first visited Bethelsdorp, on arriving at Algoa Bay with my party of settlers in 1820. At that time, the outward appearance of the place was far from prepossessing. The country around is naturally bleak and barren, and the want of water for

* Mr. Latrobe, through misinformation, states, that "Government most generously offered every facility, and gave Dr. Vanderkemp his choice of the best places in its territory;" that "he looked at some, and at length sat down in this most barren, desolate, unpromising desert." Dr. Philip remarks, that it is evident from the Doctor's own statements, that he saw the disadvantages of the site; that he accepted it merely as a temporary accommodation for himself and his people, till a more suitable place, which had been promised him by the Colonial Government, should be pointed out; and that he continued, till the latest period of his life, to urge upon the Colonial Government, but in vain, the fulfilment of its promise.—Philip, vol. i. p. 317. The reasons which have prevented its subsequent removal, are also given.

† Latrobe, p. 207.

irrigation had prevented the inhabitants from cultivating gardens or planting fruit-trees. The same circumstances, the want of personal and permanent interest in the soil, and, above all, the want of the feelings and habits which such circumstances promote, had prevented the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp from attaining that progress in the comforts and decorums of civilized life, which tend so much both to improve their own character, and to please and prepossess the passing traveller. These defects, which were indeed much more the misfortune than the fault of the Bethelsdorp Hottentots, have been, since that period, to a great degree remedied. Many of the Hottentot families have now substantial, clean, and commodious houses. Some have even reached a degree of comfort and convenience much beyond the average of the frontier boors. The kloof adjoining the scanty brook, has been cultivated to the utmost extent of its capabilities. The whole of the people, and even the majority of the children, are decently dressed in English manufactures. The sheepskin caross and its squalid accompaniments have disappeared. Many of the people have waggons and oxen, and earn much money by carrying goods to Graham's Town, &c. There are good masons, carpenters, smiths, and other tradesmen among them, who execute the greater part of the work in the rising village of Port Elizabeth, as well as the various improvements in progress at Bethelsdorp. The entire aspect of the place and its inhabitants, has strikingly improved since I first visited it: there is an air of activity and intelligence about the people, which I did not then perceive; and I have no doubt that they are rising, and that rapidly, in the scale of society.

"So much for externals. In regard to the progress

of piety and morals, it is more difficult for me to speak with precision, as the evidences on these points require a more close and cautious investigation than I can profess to have given; but I have little doubt, from all I could observe during my visit, and from my subsequent inquiries in the vicinity, that much has been done, and is now doing, in these most important matters. There is every appearance of seriousness and sincerity among the mass of the people in their religious assemblies. There is no drunkenness, and, so far as I can ascertain, few gross breaches of morality at Bethelsdorp; though it is true, that the Hottentots residing in the neighbouring villages of Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth are exceedingly corrupted. At Graham's Town, I hear, they are in a still more deplorable condition.

"But what pleased me more than any thing else on this visit, was the appearance of the schools both for children and adults. The Sunday-school for adults is efficient and interesting in a very high degree. The unaffected earnestness and ardour evinced by the whole adult population to learn to read their bibles, was far beyond any thing I could have anticipated; and is, I believe, quite unprecedented in any other institution except Theopolis. The Hottentots at these Sunday-schools have forgotten altogether their constitutional apathy, and appear to have at once acquired the earnestness and vivacity of the natives of southern Europe.

"In regard to the other improvements of the place, it is unnecessary for me to speak, as they must be all well known to you. The excellent alms-house, the tanks, the smiths' shops, the store, and missionaries' houses, are all great and obvious improvements since my former visit.

"I am glad to find my own sentiments respecting Bethelsdorp corroborated by so important a witness as Sir Richard Plasket. He visited Bethelsdorp about ten days before me, in company with the landdrost, Colonel Cuyler, and expressed himself, as I was informed, highly pleased with the appearance and good order of the institution; adding, that 'it was evident, that if any thing had been done for the Hottentot race, it had been done by the missionaries.' Even Colonel Cuyler bore a reluctant testimony to the improvements at Bethelsdorp, which he had not visited for two years preceding." *

Of the other missionary stations, we can give but a brief enumeration. About forty miles N. of Cape Town is the Moravian settlement of Groene-kloof, formed in 1808, at the suggestion of the Earl of Caledon, then Governor of the Cape. In 1815, the number of inhabitants, old and young, amounted to 300.† At Enon, on the Witte River, near Algoa Bay, the United Brethren have another settlement, founded in 1818, which appears to be less favourably situated as regards the climate and the occasional want of water. The number of inhabitants in 1827, amounted to four hundred and sixty-three, besides forty upon trial. At Hemel en Aarde, about twelve miles from Caledon, is an hospital for the relief of lepers, in connexion with a

* Philip's Researches, vol. i. pp. 227—229. See also Thompson's Travels, vol. i. p. 23. "The meritorious exertions of the Moravians are well known," remarks Mr. Pringle, in the notes to his Poems; "but it is at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis in particular (institutions of the London Missionary Society), that the Hottentot race have, during the last few years, made the most surprising advances; and this, too, while these missions were exposed to the incessant persecution, not merely of the provincial functionaries, but of the Colonial Government itself."

† Latrobe, p. 43.

Moravian station. And at Elim, near Cape Aiguilla, (8½ hours ride from Hemel en Aarde, and between 10 and 11 hours from Gnadenthal,) in a pastoral district, the Brethren have a fifth settlement. They have also recently formed a little colony on the Klipplantz river, in the Tambookie country, under the immediate protection of the Colonial Government, who have granted 200*l.* in aid of the design.* The Tambookies are a division of the Caffre nation, having the same language, and nearly the same customs. They inhabit an extensive and fertile tract of country bordering on the district of Somerset. Having suffered greatly from the inroads of the Mantatees, they applied to the British Government for protection. As this could not be afforded beyond the boundaries of the colony, they were invited to remove within the colonial territory; but they were not willing to leave their fine country a prey to others; and their chief, Powana, applied to the Government to use its influence in establishing a Missionary Institution among his people.

The London Missionary Society have stations (besides Bethelsdorp) at Bosjesveld, 40 miles N. of Cape Town; Paarl in Stellenbosch, about 35 miles N. E. of Cape Town; Tulbagh, in the same district, 75 miles N. E. of Cape Town; Caledon, 120 miles E. of Cape Town; Pacaltsdorp, in the district of George, 245 miles E. of Cape Town, and two from the sea; Hankey, recently founded in a very beautiful situation, near the Chamtoos River, between Pacaltsdorp and Bethelsdorp; Theopolis, in Albany, about 60 miles N.E. of Bethelsdorp; Graham's Town,

* Miss. Reg., 1828, pp. 31; 375—382. 1829, p. 31.

in Albany; Tzatzoe's Kraal, near the Buffalo River, in the Caffer country; Griqua-Town, 530 miles N.E. of Cape Town, and 27 miles N. of the Orange River, in the midst of the Griquas, Bosjesmans, and Corannas; Campbell, 30 miles E. of Griqua-town; Philippolis, on the north side of the Cradock River, among the wild Bosjesmans; New Lattakoo, in the country of the Matchappes, about 970 miles N.E. of Cape Town; and Steinkopff in Namaqualand.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society have Missionaries at Cape Town; Graham's Town;* Somerset; Wesleyville, 12 miles from the mouth of the Kalumna; Mount Coke, 15 miles from Wesleyville, on a rivulet which flows into Buffalo river; Butterworth, in the territory of Hintza, the most powerful of the Caffre chiefs, 110 miles from Wesleyville; Platberg, in the Botsuana country, near the Maquasse mountains, north of the Yellow River; and Lily Fountain, near the Khamiesberg, in Little Namaqualand.

The Colonial Government and Glasgow Missionary Society have a Missionary stationed at Chumie, the largest settlement in Caffraria, containing about 300 inhabitants in 100 huts; and at Lovedale, a settlement 12 miles from Chumie, in a populous vicinity.†

There still remains undescribed, a vast region of Southern Africa north of the British colony, comprising the Portuguese possessions on both coasts, respecting which the state of our knowledge is at pre-

* In the Cape Town and Graham's Town circuits, the labours of the Wesleyan preachers are almost exclusively among the old colonists or English settlers. This is the case, also, in great measure, with their eight or nine stations in Albany district.

† These details are taken chiefly from the Miss. Reg. 1829, pp. 20—35.

ent very imperfect; and we find ourselves compelled to relinquish the task of attempting an abstract or analysis of the crude materials furnished by the older travellers, who are our chief authorities.* The expedition under Captain Tuckey to explore the river Zaire, has added something to our geographical information; but the country through which this great river descends, was not found very interesting, as far as the expedition proceeded, as to either its general appearance, its natural products, or the condition of its inhabitants. The state of society among the tribes of Congo, appears to be pretty nearly the same as that of the other negro nations; but, in their moral and physical character, they seem to occupy the lowest degree in even the scale of African attainments. They are, however, represented as lively, good-humoured, hospitable, and more honest than could be expected. The language of Congo extends quite across the continent, and many of its words are found to correspond, not only to the language of Mozambique, but also to that of the Caffres.†

No part of the African continent has hitherto excited less interest in Europe, than the Eastern coast; owing, in part, to the jealousy with which the Portuguese have guarded its approach, and withheld all information respecting it. Mr. Salt, who visited

* In the sixteenth volume of Pinkerton's Voyages will be found, an Account of a Voyage to Congo by Fathers Angelo and de Carli: Merolla's Voyage to Congo; the Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell, sometime prisoner at Angola: Abbé Proyart's History of Loanga, Kakongo, &c. and Dos Santos's History of Eastern Ethiopia. To these authorities are to be added, De Grandpré's Voyage à la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique. Cavazzi and Labat, Relation Historique, &c. Zucchelli, Voyage and Mission. Lopez, Relazione di Congo. Oldendorp, Histoire de la Mission. And other authorities, of which M. Malte Brun has made learned and diligent use.

† Tuckey, pp. 351, 369—385.

Mozambique in 1809, has furnished the only recent description of that part of Africa. This settlement then retained few traces of its ancient strength or importance. The fort was garrisoned by a few sentries and some confined felons; and the whole population consisted of about 500 Portuguese, 800 natives of Arabian extraction, and 1500 negroes. The gold and ivory, which, with slaves, formed the exports, are chiefly brought from the mountainous tract near the head of the Zambezi; and the preservation of the settlements on that river, has always been the main object of Portuguese policy. At its mouth, about three days' sail to the south of Mozambique, is the port of Quilimane, where there is a depôt for merchandize. About 247 miles above Quilimane, lies Sena, the head town of the settlement or captaincy. Of this settlement, we are enabled to give a statistical sketch, drawn from a MS. memoir by Governor Teraos, a young man of much promise, who was stabbed in 1810 by one of his own officers.

The Captaincy of the River Sena extends along the coast between the parallels of 15° and 20° S., and the meridians of 27° and 37° E. Its extent, E. and W., is about 120 leagues, from the sea to the vicinity of Chicova; its mean breadth about 30 leagues; forming a territorial surface of 3600 square leagues. It is bounded eastward by the sea; on the S. by the mountains of Sofala; its boundary passing through the kingdoms of Quiteve and Barue; and afterwards skirting the empire of Monopata to the vicinity of Chicova, on the west; while the river Zambezi and the Lupata chain form the boundary on the north, separating the captaincy from the territory of the Maravi Caffres. The European and mulatto population, in 1806, scarcely exceeded 500 souls, of

whom the adults between 15 and 60, formed 194. This included all the capitated inhabitants of both sexes in the three towns of Quillimane, Sena, and Tata, and the ports of Zumbo and Manica.* The births amounted, in that year, to 36; the deaths to 32; and the marriages to 6. "When, in a country naturally so fertile, lands that might support a numerous population, scarcely furnish the means of subsistence to the scattered inhabitants, the causes of such a state of things," remarks this intelligent young governor, "can be found only in a faulty legislation." The causes of this depopulation and depression of agriculture, he states to be: 1. The want of security in the right of proprietorship, inasmuch as the tenants of the crown lands hold them for three lives; by which regulation they are very liable to incur forfeiture, and lose their estates. 2. The enormous quantity of land comprised in each estate, which it is impossible for a single individual to bring into cultivation. 3. The great abuse of permitting numerous families of Goa and Mozambique to hold estates in this captaincy, who receive the rents, without rendering back any thing; while the under-renters content themselves with procuring the mere means of subsistence, besides ill using both the colonists and the slaves. 4. The immoral deportment, violence, and oppression of the Dominican friars, who are the curates of the parishes of the captaincy; and especially the obstacles which they oppose to matrimony, even among the poor, for the sole purpose of extorting money in all ways, and by means the

* Manica is the great gold-market, twenty days inland, where an annual market is held, at which gold and ivory are bartered for Surat cloths, coarse silks, and iron. Tete or Tata is a settlement about sixty leagues above Sena; and Zumbo is beyond Tata, and can be reached only by a difficult and circuitous route.

most indecent and violent; whence flow debauchery and immorality, alike unfavourable to the advance of the population or the prosperity of the colony. The slaves of the colony nominally amounted to 21,027: but of these, a small proportion were employed in useful labour, the greater part living in absolute idleness, and about half were runaways.

Such is the picture drawn, in an official document,* of the colonial system of Portugal, civil and ecclesiastical. No wonder that, under its withering influence, all the once splendid establishments reared by the lords of India and Guinea on the three coasts of Africa, and the shores of the Indian Ocean, should exhibit the mere wreck and shadow of their former pride and power.

The physical capabilities of this colony would appear to be very great. Among the productions and exports are enumerated, gold, ivory, slaves, copper, iron, rice, wheat, millet, oil, tobacco, teeth of the hippopotamus, rhinoceros' horns, wax, and amber. The rivers of Sena present greater facilities for internal navigation than any other part of Africa. The Zambezi might be rendered navigable throughout the year, from Quilimane to the interior of Zumbo, a distance of 300 leagues, if two obstacles were removed: the first occurs about 30 leagues from its mouth, where the river divides into two branches, and is incumbered with sand-banks, which obstruct it, but might be obviated by a canal of half a league in length: the other is a cataract beyond the limits of the colony, at Cabrabacas between Chicova and Tata.

The jurisdiction of the Portuguese now extends

* We are indebted for the use of this interesting document, to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Philip; whose friend, Captain Owen, translated it from the original Portuguese.

from Cape Delgado on the N. to Cape Corrientes on the S. Of this whole line of coast, from the Cape of Good Hope northward, a survey has recently been executed by command of the Lords of the Admiralty; as well as of the whole western coast. Captain Owen, the intelligent and meritorious officer to whom the survey was entrusted, is understood to have collected a mass of most interesting information relative to these almost unknown regions, which will shortly be laid before the public.*

But to complete the description of Africa is impossible. Wide spaces of *terra incognita* still remain upon its map, to excite and baffle curiosity. Tribes unknown wander over its interior recesses; and the shy unicorn, whose existence has been so long regarded as fabulous, may yet be discovered in the central steppes of the unexplored continent. All that we have attempted, has been, to exhibit the actual state of our knowledge with regard to regions which have in every age been the subject of intense curiosity, and which still remain less known than the countries of the New World. The fabled Sphinx is the appropriate symbol of Africa.

* Captain Owen's survey occupied four years and a half, and upwards of thirty officers lost their lives upon the service, owing chiefly, it may be supposed, to the extreme insalubrity of the climate.

THE END.

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